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The Phrygian Language

By
Bartomeu Obrador-Cursach

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The Phrygian Language

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A mon pare i ma mare, Tomeu i Eulàlia,
en agraïda i afectuosa penyora
dels capvespres de lectura als terrats.

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Abbreviations and Conventions

Abbreviations

Languages and Greek Dialects

Aeol.	Aeolic	Lyd.	Lydian
Alb.	Albanian	MBret.	Middle Breton
Arc.-Cypr.	Arcado-Cyprian	MHG	Middle High German
Arm.	Classical Armenian	MoE	Modern English
Att.	Attic	MPhr.	Middle Phrygian
Av.	Avestan	Myc.	Mycenaean
CLuw.	Cuneiform Luwian	NPhr.	New Phrygian
Cret.	Cretan	OCS	Old Chuch Slavonic
Cypr.	Cyprian	OHG	Old High German
Dor.	Doric	OE	Old English
El.	Elean	OIr.	Old Irish
Etr.	Etruscan	ON	Old Norse
Gaul.	Gaulish	OP	Old Persian
Gm.	Germanic	OPhr.	Old Phrygian
Go.	Gothic	PA	Proto-Anatolian
Gr.	Greek	Pamph.	Pamphylian
Hitt.	Hittite	PGm.	Proto-Germanic
HLuw.	Hieroglyphic Luwian	Phr.	Phrygian
IE	Indo-European	PIE	Proto-Indo-Eropean
IIr.	Indo-Iranian	Russ.	Russian
Ion.	Ionic	Skt.	Sanskrit
Lacon.	Laconian	Thess.	Thessalian
Lat.	Latin	ToA	Tocharian A
Lesb.	Lesbian	ToAB	Tocharian A and B
Luw.	Luwian	ToB	Tocharian B
Lyc.	Lycian		

Reconstruction, Grammar and Text

abl.	ablative	adj.	adjective
acc.	accusative	adv.	adverb
act.	active	aor.	aorist
AD	*anno domini*	athem.	athematic

BC	before Christ
c.	century
ca.	circa
cf.	compare
conj.	conjunction
dat.	dative
DN	divine name
DO	direct object
e.g.	for example
EN	ethnonym
encl.	enclitic
fem.	feminine
fn.	footnote
fthc.	forthcoming
fut.	future
gen.	genitive
H	any PIE laryngeal
id.	idem
ind.	indicative
ins.	instrumental
impv.	imperative
loc.	Locative
LP	Late Phrygian period
MP	Middle Phrygian period
masc.	masculine
med.	middle
n.	neuter
neg.	negative
nom.	nominative
obl.	oblique
opt.	optative
p.	page
p.c.	personal communication
pcl.	particle
perf.	perfect
pers.	personal
pl.	Plural
PN	personal name
poss.	possessive
pres.	present
prep.	preposition
prev.	preverb
pron.	pronoun
pass.	passive
ptc.	participle
rel.	relative
subj.	subjunctive
sg.	singular
s.u.	*sub uoce*
them.	thematic
uel sim.	or similarly
voc.	vocative

Greek and Latin Authors and Works

A.	Aeschylus
Pers.	*Persae*
Supp.	*Supplices*
Alcm.	Alcman
AP	*Anthologia Graeca*
Arist.	Aristoteles
Ar.Byz.	Aristophanes Byzantius
Arn.	Arnobius
Cic.	Cicero
Leg.	*De Legibus*
Clem. Al.	Clemens Alexandrinus
Strom.	*Stromateis*
Cons. VII	Constantinus VII
D.S.	Diodorus Siculus
EM	*Etymologicum Magnum*
Erot.	Erotianus
Eur.	Euripides
Ba.	*Bacchae*
Eust.	Eustathius
Ad Il.	*Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem*
Hsch.	Hesychius

Hippon.	Hipponax
Hdt.	Herodotus
Il.	*Iliad*
Iuu.	Juvenalis
Sat.	*Satirae*
Liv.	Titus Livius
Plin.	C. Plinius Secundus (major)
HN	*Historia Naturalis*
Ps.-Plu.	Plutarchus
Fluv.	*De Fluuiis*
Od.	*Odyssey*
Orph. Fr.	*Orphica Fragmenta*
Ov.	Ovidius
Fast.	*Fasti*
Met.	*Metamorphoses*
Paus.	Pausanias
Philyll.	Philyllius
Pi.	Pindarus
N.	*Nemean*
Plato	Plato
Cra.	*Cratylus*
S.	Sophocles
Fr.	*Fragmenta*
OC	*Oedipus Coloneus*
Socr.Sch.	Socrates Scholasticus
HE	*Historia eclesiastica*.
St.Byz.	Stephanus Byzantius
Str.	Strabo
Th.	Thucydides
Verg.	P. Vergilius Maro
Aen.	*Aeneis*
X.	Xenophon
HG	*Historia Graeca* (*Hellenica*)

Conventions

Linguistic Conventions

>	becomes by regular phonological development
<	reflects by regular phonological development
(?)	meaning uncertain
*X	a reconstructed item of a proto-stage
⟨X⟩	spelled with the symbol X
/X/	the phoneme X
Y=X	clitic element
Y-X	morphological segmentation of a word: prefixes, suffixes, endings, etc.
#	word final

Epigraphical Conventions

⟨αβ⟩	Characters erroneously omitted by the engraver. Restored or corrected by the editor.
[αβ]	Letters missing from the original text due to lacuna. Restored by the editor.
[.]	A lacuna or gap in the inscription, not restored by the editor, extent known. Each dot counts as one estimated letter.

[ ]	A lacuna or gap in the inscription, not restored by the editor, extent known but difficult to calculate number of letters lost.
[---]	A lacuna or gap in the inscription, not restored by the editor (extent unknown).
[-?-]	Unknown if a lacuna or gap must be suggested to the inscription.
{αβ}	Letters in the text considered erroneous and superfluous by the editor.
⟦αβ⟧	Deleted letters by the engraver and legible.
α(β)	Abbreviation in the text, expanded by the editor.
α̣β̣	Characters damaged or otherwise unclear in the text, ambiguous outside of their context.
α$^{?}$β$^{?}$	A very dubious reading.
...	Traces of letters on the surface, insufficient for restoration by the editor.
α|β	Line feed or, when the text is read in more than one face, the corner.
uac.	Space left empty (*uacat*) on the stone. In OPhr. context it is not given in italics.
α · β	Use of interpunctions, the number of dots used is the same in the inscription (· , ⁚, ⁝, ⋮).
α β	Word boundary considered by the editor. It is specified when spaces are used in the inscription for that purpose.
α͡β	Ligature of letters.
⌜αβ⌝	Letters corrected by the editor.
←	Sinistroverse line. Unless otherwise noted, the following lines are also sinistroverse.
→	Dextroverse line. Unless otherwise noted, the writing is supposed to be dextroverse. This sign is only used after sinistroverse mark. Unless otherwise noted, the following lines are also dextroverse.
→	Arrow incised.
❧	*Hedera*.
☩	Cross incised.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Phrygian is a fragmentary ancient language, and much of its corpus remains unexplained despite the efforts of scholars over the last century. The language is still being deciphered, and new inscriptions and interpretations appear in scientific journals year after year. Many difficulties and limitations complicate our understanding of the Phrygian texts, yet it is no less true that Phrygian is edifying in many respects, particularly for the new linguistic information it provides and the historical implications of the texts. This explains why the critical study of Phrygian is increasing. Mallory and Adams (2006, 37), for example, are explicitly aware of its value, as they state in their introduction to Proto-Indo-European: "of all the minor languages, Phrygian has probably the greatest claim to consideration."

Nonetheless, only a handful of people are working on Phrygian with full scientific rigour. The explanation for this scenario can be found in the lack of works that provide an introduction to or comprehensive up-to-date study of the Phrygian language. We have excellent editions of the Old Phrygian inscriptions by Brixhe and Lejeune (*CIPPh* and Brixhe's supplements), but an *editio maior* of the all New Phrygian inscriptions is still lacking. Some Phrygian lexica exist, but they offer arbitrary interpretations[1] or new discoveries in historical phonology invalidate a significant part of them. Indeed, ad hoc interpretations are found elsewhere in many lexical approaches to Phrygian. Finally, there is the updated grammatical overview of the Phrygian language by Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013 and 2018), but it is a concise work whose findings are to be applied to the whole corpus.

Therefore, dealing with Phrygian is a near-Sisyphean task: great effort and poor results. Although frustration is always a factor when working with fragmentary languages, Phrygian offers many possibilities that other ancient corpora do not. Its corpus is not closed, and many ongoing digs, such as in Kerkenes Dağ, are promising with regard to the appearance of new texts. The contexts of such texts have been more extensively and more effectively studied. From a

1 See, e.g., Martin West's criticism (2003, 78) of Orel's book on Phrygian (1997a): "nearly all of this seems to be as arbitrary and ad hoc as much of the exegetical material in Orel's useful but unsatisfactory work." Orel also published a Phrygian vocabulary in the journal *Orpheus* (1997b) but this work will be not considered here because it mainly reproduces the vocabulary offered in his book.

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historical and archaeological point of view, Central Anatolia during the Iron Age is not as obscure as it was, and with specific regard to language and culture, knowledge of the surrounding Anatolian languages and the contents of their preserved inscriptions has increased considerably in the last decades. In addition, the study of the influence of "local cultures" (as Hellenists refer to this phenomenon) on Greek epigraphy in Anatolia also provides useful information that must be considered when analysing a Phrygian inscription.

Unfortunately, leaving aside some significant exceptions, Anatolists and Hellenists ignored the Phrygian question because Phrygian does not belong to the Anatolian branch of Indo-European languages and is not Greek, although they have much to say on this matter. Indeed, Phrygian texts must be studied in the cultural context of Iron Age and Roman Anatolia and from a comparative Indo-European perspective combined with internal reconstruction. In any case, this information related to the Phrygian world—but not always considered—is relevant in the decipherment of this language.

1.1 Purposes, Aims and Overview

The objective of this work is to provide a comprehensive approach to the Phrygian language based on the Phrygian inscriptions with a special focus on their lexicon. As addressed in § 4.6.1.5 and § 6, there are some words transmitted in Greek sources, although their filiation is not always clear and the indirect transmission affects their quality as a source. Therefore, the lexicon contained in the inscriptions must be the basis of any approach to Phrygian, while borrowings and glosses in Greek must be studied in light of the epigraphic material.

As has been said, this work is intended to fill what some scholars have identified as an important gap in Phrygian studies. Indeed, I agree with Woodhouse, for instance, that this kind of work was needed in our field: "[t]he situation of Phrygian is very similar to that of Lydian. If anyone is looking for a PhD / Kandidat project, I think there is probably room for a book like Gusmani's *Lydisches Wörterbuch* that would contain not the biased conclusions of one scholar but an annotated compendium of whatever useful interpretations have been advanced for each interpreted word that has been divined in the corpus or corpora" (2009, 176). This first objective is the core of this book and corresponds to chapter § 5.

I must acknowledge the usefulness of Gusmanis's *Lydisches Wörterbuch* (1964) and Neumann's *Glossar des Lykischen* (2007) as models for building the Phrygian lexicon. However, the lexical tradition of the former Department of Latin Philology and Indo-European Linguistics at the University of Barcelona

has provided me with useful examples of how to deal with fragmentary languages. Moreover, this work was not the first analysis of this subject to be defended at this university: ten years ago Morante Mediavilla wrote about the history of Phrygian studies (2007) in an unpublished work that gives a useful and detailed study of the first approaches to this language.

Nevertheless, before attempting to list all the Phrygian terms preserved in the inscriptions I have had to compile all the known Phrygian inscriptions. This is another key objective of this work. Most of the Old Phrygian inscriptions were gathered and well edited in the Brixhe and Lejeune corpus (*CIPPh*) with Brixhe's supplements (2002a and 2004a). However, some findings were not included. The situation of the New Phrygian inscriptions is more precarious: no critical edition of the whole corpus was published. I endeavoured to remedy this with my master's dissertation (2013), but since I was unable to corroborate all of the data of the inscriptions (few of which are preserved, and most of which fare lost), I produced what can be best described as a catalogue, joining the inscriptions according to their origin (beginning from the northwest) and containing critical remarks on the texts. This academic work, with many corrections and additions, forms the basis of the one presented and used here. The full catalogue of the Phrygian inscriptions is given at the end of the book.

Another objective is to present an overview of the Phrygian language as gleaned from the Phrygian inscriptions. This is intended to join together the available data and to identify the ad hoc explanations that are inconsistent with the main evidence. The outcome is essentially an overview of the Phrygian language (§ 4) based on the lexicon. During the writing of this work, this exercise proved as useful means of improving the different entries in the lexicon. Finally, in my analysis of the Phrygian lexicon I devote some pages to the glosses, with the exception of the onomastic ones (§ 6). The main objective of this chapter is to show how our knowledge of the epigraphical lexicon can be used to corroborate the filiation of each entry and its connection with directly transmitted words.

Finally, I conclude this book with indexes of terms from the other languages used here and epigraphical correspondences in order to make the work easier to use both for scholars accustomed to previous studies in the literature and for those from other fields who have an interest in Phrygian. Indeed, this work aims to be a useful tool for anyone wishing to dicover what Phrygian linguistic materials exist and what we know about them.

1.2 Methodology

The basis of this study is the epigraphical corpus because the inscriptions provide a guaranteed source of Phrygian material. Nevertheless, the necessary first step is to "use a correctly-edited and judicious corpus of inscriptions."[2] For the OPhr. subcorpus I used as a reference Brixhe and Lejeune's *CIPPh* and its supplements, but I also considered some inscriptions not gathered before (mainly edited by Brixhe himself). The criteria for considering those inscriptions not included in *CIPPh* as Phrygian are as follows: the script must be the Phrygian alphabet, the features of the linguistic material they contain must be consistent with our knowledge of Phrygian and their contexts must be chronologically defensible as Phrygian. Instances that cannot be fully confirmed are duly noted in the catalogue of inscriptions (§ 7). I followed the enumeration of the OPhr. inscriptions provided in the *CIPPh* and supplements. The only exception is MPhr-01 (W-11), which is not classed here as an OPhr. text because of its exceptional features (a Phrygian text written in the Greek script in the early Hellenistic period). Inscriptions written in Phrygian script are given in transliteration, while those written in the Greek alphabet are given in standardised classical Greek form, although particularities in the shape of the letters are indicated when known.

Because of the similarity between the Phrygian and Greek scripts and the occurrences of words in both the OPhr. and NPhr. subcorpora, the value of most of the Phrygian letters is known. However, some letters lack a direct counterpart or are used in a different way. Such cases are dealt with in chapter § 3.1, where I discuss the status of the sign and the assigned phonetic value through the contexts in which they appear. Although I deviate from the traditional interpretation of *CIPPh* letters no. 20 and 23, which I consider mere variants of ⟨k⟩, I did not transliterate them in order to show where these discussed letters appear.

As has been said, NPhr. is more problematic because a critical corpus of inscriptions is lacking (see also § 2.2). I have had to work with my own catalogue. New findings are excellently edited by Brixhe and Lubotsky in collaboration with other scholars, but most of the inscriptions are only known through copies. Unfortunately, I was unable to see for myself the preserved impression of the NPhr. inscription 11.2 (18). Since the traditional numbering of this corpus is defective (Brixhe 1999, 286), I renumbered the inscriptions according to the

2 I take the formulation of this basic criterion from Valério 2016, 32, which is, in turn, mainly based on Pope 1999 and Duhoux, Palaima and Bennett 1989.

place where they appeared, starting from North-West Phrygia. Nevertheless, I also provide the old numbering in order to facilitate the use of this work.

All inscriptions considered in the catalogue are introduced by number and with a brief description based on prior editions. After the inscription itself, I have added a critical apparatus with the most relevant alternative readings. While the insertion of this apparatus is not frequent in Old Phrygian, since the *CIPPh* improved on previous editions, for New Phrygian I chose to be more exhaustive due to the lack of a prior critical corpus.

Another matter that must be considered before working with the Phrygian language is determining the segmentation of the texts, since *scriptio continua* occurs elsewhere in the Phrygian corpus. Indeed, establishing word boundaries is a difficult task in a language that has not been fully deciphered. I followed the *CIPPh* method and Lubotsky's reference work on B-01 (1993b). When a sequence does not occur more than once, the segmentation is based on morphological and orthographic reasoning. However, sometimes the data to detect a boundary are lacking.

The lexicon in chapter § 5 is based on the suggested segmentation. I grouped the various attested forms of the same word in a single entry to avoid redundancy. However, "calling lemmata" with the all forms are also given when going after the main entry in order to redirect the reader to the place where the word is analysed. Note that many calling lemmata are preceded by a crux to indicate that the segmentation is no longer deemed valid, despite being commonly found in prior works. In the case of nouns, adjectives and pronouns, the sg. nom. is the preferred lemma form. However, very often the sg. nom. is lacking, in which case the accusative, the genitive or the dative is chosen as the lemma.

Unfortunately, we do not know the original order of the Phrygian alphabet. Nevertheless, since some words written in Phrygian script also occur in Greek script and must be studied together, I merged the lexicon of all corpora following the common Greek order. Of course, the result is an artificial order of the lemmata, as follows:

a / α	*v* / Ϝ	*l* / λ	*p* / π	χ	Ϝ?
b / β	↑ Τ Φ / ζ	*m* / μ	*r* / ρ	ψ	
g / γ	η	*n* / ν	*t* / τ	ω	
d / δ	θ	ξ	*u* / υ	*y*	
e / ε	*k* Ψ ϒ / ϰ	o / ο	φ	ϙ?	

Note that although I consider Ψ and ϒ to be variants of ⟨k⟩ and ↑, Τ and Φ can be equated to Greek ζ, I have preserved the shape of these letters in this work to reflect what appears in the inscriptions.

Each lemma is followed by the word class, given in brackets (noun, adjective verb, conjunction, preposition, PN, etc.), and the suggested meaning, if it is known. In each entry I first give the variants of the word according to the subcorpus to which they belong, in the given alphabetical order. A morphological analysis is also provided for each variant, when known. After this, the class, the context(s) and the origin of the word are discussed. Since purely etymological approaches are essentially speculative if they are not corroborated by the context of the inscriptions, the discussion of each word takes into account the available linguistic, historical and material evidence for each word. With regard to etymology, ad hoc interpretations are avoided in light of the general knowledge of the language presented in chapter § 4. At the end of each entry I have attached a list of references in which the word is discussed. Generally, the oldest references (prior to Haas and Lejeune) are omitted. However, they are considered if they have been corroborated recently or remain the sole reference for a particular word. Works by Ramsay and Calder are commonly listed because of their significance.

Since Phrygian is an ancient Indo-European language, the comparative method and historical reconstruction are fundamental to its analysis. For this reason, I used constantly updated Indo-European lexica. With regard to Proto-Indo-European forms, verbal roots are quoted according *LIV*^{2}, nouns *NIL* and particles *LIPP*. Pokorny's *IEW* is also quoted. In general, I only provide Greek, Latin and Sanskrit forms in order to avoid large lists of cognates, although other languages are often considered. In any case, Greek is the most useful comparative language, so Greek etymological dictionaries (primarily *EDG* and *DELG*) are fundamental to this work.

Finally, the Anatolian corpora are frequently considered. Indeed, the information contained in the Anatolian corpora and the Greek and Aramaic inscriptions from Anatolia often provide suitable parallels for the cultural context of the Phrygian inscriptions. Even calques are found in many formulae. Although word-for-word bilinguals are lacking, some themes are found elsewhere in Anatolia from the Iron Age to the Roman Imperial period. When the theme of an inscription is identified because some words of a sentence are known, these parallels, in combination with internal reconstruction, can shed light on unclear words. This method, which is used in other fragmentary ancient languages (such as Italic languages and Etruscan),[3] is especially productive for curses and funerary formulae.

3 See a brief explanation of this method (developed by Olzscha and Pallottino) in Agostiniani 1982, 38–39, who obtained very successful results.

CHAPTER 2

The Direct Sources for the Phrygian Language: The Epigraphical Subcorpora

Traditionally, the Phrygian epigraphical material is divided into two separate subcorpora: Old Phrygian (or Paleo-Phrygian) and New Phrygian (or Neo-Phrygian).[1] There are several reasons for this division. The two kinds of inscriptions attest to different stages of the Phr. language, they are written in two different alphabets, the materials themselves are highly dissimilar and even the locations of the findings differ.

The Old Phrygian subcorpus as considered here (see the Catalogue) consists of 395 inscriptions of many different typologies found across a huge area and dated between ca. 800 and 330 BC. At the start of this period Phrygia was an independent region (though it is unclear if such a political organisation ever existed as one unified state), but it fell under the Lydian hegemony (beginning at some point toward the end of the seventh c. BC)[2] until the period of Persian rule, which lasted two centuries (ca. 540–330 BC).[3] Although *CIPPh* and its supplements (Brixhe 2002a and 2004a) contain most of the known OPhr. inscriptions, some entries consist of nonverbal graffiti. For this reason, W-103, G-208, NW-101a, NW-107 and NW-115 are excluded from the present compilation. By contrast, other Phr. inscriptions not included in *CIPPh* (nor in the supplements) are considered here. In any case, most were also edited by Brixhe (sometimes in collaboration with other scholars),[4] so their consideration as Phr. is endorsed by the main authority in this field. Texts not considered by Brixhe are restricted

1 The terms Paleo- and Neo-Phrygian were mostly used in the earliest works devoted to Phrygian (see, e.g., Ramsay 1905), while Old Phrygian and New Phrygian are now more common (especially after the publication of Lubotsky's papers). On the formation of the Phrygian corpus and the first approach to the language, see the exhaustive research by Morante Mediavilla 2010.

2 Details of this Lydian period are mainly lost, see Payne and Wintjes 2016, 31–37.

3 A very useful and up-to-date comprehensive overview of Phrygian history between 900 BC and 100 AD is provided by Thonemann 2013, who expands on the classic overview of Phrygian in the Iron Age by Barnett 1967.

4 W-11 in Brixhe and Sıvas 2002. M-11, M-101, W-13 and W-102 in Brixhe and Sıvas 2003. W-12, W-101 in Bilgen, Brixhe and Coşkun 2011. G-346 in Liebhart and Brixhe 2009. NW-120–NW-139 in Brixhe and Sıvas 2009. K-01, K-101, K-102, K-103 and K-104 in Brixhe and Summers 2006. HP-02 and HP-115 in Brixhe and Keles 2011. B-08 in Brixhe and Vottéro 2016.

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to three seals,[5] two graffiti from Kerkenes Dağ,[6] and one isolated graffito on an orthostat.[7] In addition, an unpublished text on a block stone is included.[8] Because of the importance and influence of *CIPPh* and its supplements, its enumeration is followed here, with only the nonverbal entries omitted. Texts not hitherto included are added to this enumeration. *CIPPh* divided the material into epigraphical areas denoted by the initial of the given name, thus: M- of Midas City, W- of West Phrygia, B- of Bithynia, G- of Gordion, C- of Central Phrygia, P- of Pteria,[9] T- of Tyana, NW- of North West Phrygia (Dorylaion), Dd- of *Divers Documents* and HP- of *hors de Phrygie*. A new area is added here: K- of Kerkenes Dağ. It must be added that most of the OPhr. inscriptions are preserved in museums or, when monumental, *in situ*.[10]

The New Phrygian subcorpus is greatly restricted in space and time: entries are dated to between the first and third c. AD and appear only in the western part of ancient Phrygia.[11] The subcorpus consists of 118 funerary inscriptions, most of them curses against desecrators added after a Greek epitaph. Two other differences with respect to the OPhr. corpus are that for the NPhr. inscriptions the Greek alphabet was used and most have been lost, so they are only known through the testimony of the first compilers.[12] These inscriptions form a consistent and homogenous subcorpus, very different to the one found in OPhr. The traditional numbering of the inscriptions consists of a number assigned to mark the time of discovery, following Ramsay's first collections.[13] Here, how-

5 G-347 (first published by Körte and Körte 1904), P-108 (Bittle and Güterbock 1935, 79–80) and HP-116 (Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, 86). Genz (2009, 310) claimed that these seals contain a Phr. text, although no reading is available.

6 K-102, K-103 and K-104, which have been published in the bulletin of the ongoing dig, *Kerkenes News*, and on the website of the archaeological project (with good photographs).

7 HP-01 (Börker-Klähn 1994).

8 NW-01. Although I was able to view them in November 2015 at Eskişehir Museum, I cannot provide a good reading of the few letters that are legible.

9 Although it is not a good identification, see § 2.1.1.

10 Lost inscriptions are B-04, P-01, P-101, T-01 and T-02.

11 Note that Dorylaion (Eskişehir) is the sole site where both Old and New Phrygian inscriptions have been found (NW- inscriptions and NPhr. 1.1 and 1.2, respectively).

12 Only 15 inscriptions are preserved in known places: 1.2 (98), 2.2 (130), 3.1 (97), 6.1 (88), 6.2 (131), 12.1 (121), 16.1 (116), 17.5 (91), 17.6 (119), 19.2 (129), 20.2 (128), 22.2 (118), 25.1 (115), 25.2 (126) and 33.3 (127).

13 Ramsay 1887 and 1905. He gathered some inscriptions found before (by Hamilton 1842 and Seetzen, in *CIG* III). After these collections, Calder, who accompanied Ramsay on some epigraphical expeditions, added most of the known NPhr. inscriptions in three papers entitled "Corpus Inscriptionum Neo-Phrygiarum", 1911, 1913 and 1926, and in different volumes of *MAMA* (I, IV, V, VI, VII and VIII). Since the late 1970s Brixhe (with some collaboration) has published more inscriptions: Brixhe 1978, Brixhe and Waelkens 1981, Brixhe

ever, the inscriptions are arranged according to the place they were found, and each city has a number that is followed by a second number for each inscription.[14]

A third stage of the Phr. Language, Middle Phrygian (MPhr.), is sometimes also considered. It is represented by a single inscription found in Dokimeion (MPhr-01 = W-11), a Phr. epitaph consisting of six hexametric verses (Lubotsky 2017) written in eight lines. It is dated to the end of the fourth c. BC or the beginning of the third c. BC, close in time to the Macedonian conquest and can be considered the first Phr. text written in the Greek alphabet. Its phraseology has some echoes of the OPhr. epitaph B-07, but it anticipates phonetic and spelling features found in the NPhr. subcorpus (see 3.2.1. for more details). Because of its exceptionality, in the present collection it has been removed from the OPhr. list and classed as the sole example of the MPhr. subcorpus. Some graffiti from Gordion are ambiguous in terms of alphabet and could perhaps be added to this subcorpus. This is the case, e.g., of G-226 (found in a layer dated to the fourth or third c. BC), G-244 (third c. BC) and G-158 (ca. 200 BC). However, their language is also ambiguous, since the Phr. filiation is not conclusive. Despite these problems, their position in *CIPPh* is followed here, in the hope that new studies will shed light on this question.

2.1 The Old Phrygian Subcorpus

2.1.1 *Contexts of the Old Phrygian Inscriptions*

The OPhr. inscriptions are found across a huge area of central Anatolia (Map 1 and 2). Although there are isolated findings (e.g., the bronze bowls found in the Tumulus D of Bayındır, East Lycia), most of the inscriptions are found between the cities of Dorylaion (Eskişehir) and Kerkenes Dağ (likely the old Pteria). During the Iron Age, this vast territory would have included the most important

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and Neumann 1985, Brixhe and Drew-Bear 1997, Brixhe and Drew-Bear 2010 (considered not NPhr. but Hellenistic). Other scholars have also published new inscriptions: Lamінger-Pascher 1984, Mitchell 1993, Drew-Bear, Lubotsky and Üyümez 2008 and Lubotsky fthc. See Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 182 and Lubotsky fthc. for the continuation of the traditional enumeration.

14 A similar attempt to catalogue was first suggested by Morante Mediavilla in her unpublished PhD dissertation (2007), where she labelled each inscription with the name of the place where it was found followed by a number (one can find this system in the HLuw. corpus). Nevertheless, the labels were not applied systematically to the whole Phrygian corpus because this was not the author's intention. I also used the same system given here in my master's dissertation (2013), although the enumeration has since been revised.

Phrygian cities: Midas City (Yazılıkaya), Gordion (Yassıhüyük), Karahüyük, Ḫattuša (Boğazkale, formerly Boğazköy, the Hittite capital) and Alacahöyük.

Gordion is by far the most important site, with 259 inscriptions—65.6 percent of the whole OPhr. subcorpus—found in this city to date (labelled with G-). This city was the seat of a Phrygian royal house and is often considered "the Phrygian capital" (e.g., Rose 2012, 1), as Greek sources report. Its relevance in the Anatolian Iron Age plateau is a matter of record. However, it is still debated whether Gordion was indeed the capital of a unified Phrygia (i.e. the capital of the entire "kingdom of Phrygia", Rose and Darbyshire 2011, 2) or the capital of one of several Phrygian chiefdoms (see Summers 2018, 69). Genz (2011, 360–361) excellently summarizes the difficulties of the traditional view of Gordion as "the Phrygian capital":

> the archaeological evidence does not unanimously support the idea of a unified Phrygian kingdom encompassing most parts of Central Anatolia with Gordion as its capital. While Gordion from at least the 9th century onwards was clearly a centre of supra-regional importance, several elements necessary for viewing it as the capital of an empire-like polity seem to be lacking. So far no evidence for any kind of administrative system involving the use of seals and writing has come to light in Gordion. Furthermore, while the richly equipped tumulus burials testify to the fact that persons of a high social rank were buried there, it has to be pointed out that similar tombs—although generally less well investigated—have been found at several other sites in Central Anatolia, for instance at Ankara, Kaynarca and Tatarlı. This rather seems to indicate the existence of several independent political entities—best termed chiefdoms—in Central Anatolia during the Middle Iron Age and the earlier part of the Late Iron Age. Thus the picture emerging from the archaeological record resembles rather Early Iron Age societies from Europe such as the Hallstatt culture than contemporaneous Near Eastern states such as Assyria or Urartu. A similar political organisation in fact is attested for Tabal, where Assyrian sources recorded as many as 24 kings ruling simultaneously.

In any case, Gordion has a special status in Iron Age and Phrygian studies because its citadel mound, tumuli and surrounding area provide an extraordinary wealth of information about central Anatolia in this period. Since the Körte brothers' excavations in the early twentieth c., Gordion has been considered "one of the most important sites in the Near East because of its chronology" (Rose and Darbyshire 2011, 2). Indeed, given the unique preservation of

TABLE 1 Gordion (Yassihöyük) chronology according to Rose and Darbyshire 2011, 2

YHSS phase	Period name	Approximate dates	Cultural affiliation
0	Modern	1920s	Turkish
1	Medieval	tenth–fifteenth centuries AD	Unknown/Selçuk
2	Roman	first century BCE–fourth century AD	Roman
3A	Late Hellenistic	260(?)–100 BC	Galatian
3B	Early Hellenistic	330–260(?) BC	Phrygian/Greek
4	Late Phrygian	540–330 BC	Phrygian/Persian
5	Middle Phrygian	800–540 BC	Phrygian
6A–B	Early Phrygian	900–800 BC	Phrygian
7	Early Iron Age	1100–900 BC	Phrygian
9–8	Late Bronze Age	1400–1200 BC	Hittite
10	Middle Bronze Age	1600–1400 BC	Hittite

the city's stratigraphy and the possibility of dating its phases not only relatively but also absolutely (using modern techniques such as dendrochronology and radiocarbon dating,[15] see Table 1), archaeologists use Gordion as the basis for chronologies of less well-known sites. The city provides a record of periods of construction and destruction that can be connected to historical facts known through literary sources.

Although information is available for a period covering five millennia (from the Early Bronze Age to the present day), it is the Gordion Iron Age (first millennium BC) that is most useful for the study of central Anatolia. More important, however, for the study of the history of the alphabet is the oldest alphabetical inscriptions appear there. The context of the first Phr. inscriptions (G-03, G-104, G-237 and G-249, according to Brixhe 2004b, 276–278) is the destruction level, a layer in the Citadel Mound (the palatial area of the city), which attests a great fire. Young[16] first considered it evidence of the Kimmerian invasion (710–

15 On dendrochronology applied to Gordion, see Kuniholm and Newton 2011. On ^{14}C results, see Manning and Kromer 2011.

16 Young (1981, 272) connected the archaeological evidence to the information provided by Str. 1.3.21: οἵ τε Κιμμέριοι, οὓς καὶ Τρῆρας ὀνομάζουσιν, ἢ ἐκείνων τι ἔθνος, πολλάκις ἐπέδραμον τὰ δεξιὰ μέρη τοῦ Πόντου καὶ τὰ συνεχῆ αὐτοῖς, τοτὲ μὲν ἐπὶ Παφλαγόνας τοτὲ δὲ καὶ Φρύγας ἐμβαλόντες, ἡνίκα Μίδαν αἷμα ταύρου πιόντα φασὶν ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὸ χρεών 'the Kimmerians, or a separate tribe of them, called the Treres, have frequently overrun the countries to the

709 BC), but following a re-examination and reevaluation of the material lead by DeVries, this layer must now be considered the consequence of an accidental burning dated ca. 800 BC (see § 3.1). The reevaluation of this dating, and that of the Tumulus MM (the "Midas Mound"), had a bearing on our understanding of the whole Gordion site and, by extension, of those whose chronologies were based on the original datings.

Despite the reevaluation and our knowledge of Gordion, most of the inscriptions remain undated or are, at best, only classifiable to one of the two major periods that provide epigraphical material: Middle Phrygian (MP), dated between the reconstruction after the destruction level (c. 800 BC) and the conquest of the Persians (540 BC), including the Lydian hegemony, or Late Phrygian (LP), which corresponds to the Achaemenid period (540–330). The reason for such a relative dating is that most of the epigraphical material was found in rubble containing a mixture of broken artefacts from several periods or artefacts reused in a new building (as is the case of many stone inscriptions). Unfortunately, sherds without clear filiation (leaving aside the kind of paste) are all too common in this scenario and do not provide much information. Moreover, surface inscriptions are found that have no known context (e.g., G-09) or clear origin (G-10). Of course, some inscriptions appeared in clearer contexts associated with buildings or areas, such as the Middle Phrygian megara or other buildings (see Map 3 for their locations), in particular the Citadel Mound, the core of Gordion with the most extravagant buildings, where digging has been more extensive and more inscriptions have been found.

Tumulus MM is also a very important site with regard to chronology. It is the largest tumulus of the 151 standing primarily in the northwest of the city and was not looted when Young opened it in 1957. Young thought that the tomb was dated to 725–718 BC, although today it is known that it was closed ca. 740 BC (Kuniholm and Newton 2011, 92–94). The valuable material found inside, corresponding to a funerary banquet, can be perfectly dated. Inscriptions were found on jars (G-109), silver and bronze bowls (G-105, G-106, G-107 and G-108) and also on a beam (G-346). This finding allows us to date similar objects from other, less well-known tumuli (see, e.g., the İkiztepe Tumulus, Lydia, or Tumulus D from Bayındır, East Lycia). All of these inscriptions contain PNs. Other areas of Gordion in which inscriptions appeared are the Küçük Höyük (a sector preserved

right of the Euxine and those adjacent to them, bursting now into Paphlagonia, now into Phrygia, as they did when, according to report, Midas came to his death by drinking bull's blood'.

because it was buried by a Persian assault ram, see DeVries 2011, 17), the surrounding wall, the Lower Town (which has not been dug) and the house under Tumulus E (dated to before the sixth c. BC, when the tumulus was built on it).

Karahüyük, an artificial mound (tepe) located between Hacıtuğrul and Yenidoğan, is not far from Gordion (20 km to the northeast). It was inhabited since the Bronze Age. The inscriptions found there, grouped under the label C- in *CIPPh* (I, 215–222), are engraved on a fragment of stone (C-01) and a fragment of a plate (C-101), a handle (C-102) and a kind of lekythos (C-103). No datings are available for these materials.

A second important site where many OPhr. inscriptions (labelled M-) were found is Midas City (in Turkish Yazılıkaya 'inscribed rock', also Midas Kale 'Midas' Fortress').[17] This is the most impressive Phrygian site, since it is a mountain fortress where many cultic monuments devoted to the mother goddess *Matar* were built during the MP period, although even in Roman times she was worshiped as Μήτηρ Ἀγδιστις. The popular name given to that site, Midas City, is a modern creation taken from the main façade, devoted to Midas (M-01a).[18] Indeed, in the city sixteen inscriptions incised on cut-rock monuments (stepped monuments, idols and façades) were found, as well as one graffito on a sherd (M-101). These monuments are dated to the MP period (mostly in the first half of the 6th c. BC, although some are a little earlier). Façades are the most typical Phrygian monument and can be found in many parts of West Phrygia (especially the Highlands).

Another important site is Dorylaion (Karacahisar, a höyük near Eskişehir), located to the northwest of Phrygia, an ancient city where twenty-eight graffiti incised on sherds (few containing more than a letter) and one stone inscription have been found. All these inscriptions (the NW- group) are dated to the LP period (540–330 BC).[19]

Under the label P-, derived from Pteria, *CIPPh* (I, 223–251) grouped inscriptions from four sites: Alacahöyük, Kalehisar, Pazarlı and Boğazköy. Brixhe and Lejeune (in *CIPPh* I, 224) considered that Alacahöyük corresponds to Pteria, an important capital of Cappadocia under the Assyrian Empire, finally conquered and destroyed by the Lydian king Croessus who defeated Cyrus the Great in 547 BC, according to Hdt. 1.76. Although this identification is far from confirmed

17 For a detailed overview of the site, see Berndt 2002, although the chronology of the rock-cut monuments used here is provided by Berndt-Ersöz 2006. See also Summers 2018.

18 This site is very likely to be the mountain *Agdus* attested by Arn., *Adversus Nationes* 5.5.1. Note that the epithet of the local mother goddess worshiped there must derive from this oronym. I will deal with this question in a future study.

19 All these inscriptions were published by Brixhe 2004a, 3–24.

and Kerkenes Dağ is a more likely candidate,[20] the Assyrian influence seems to be attested in the patronymic *kanutieivais*, containing the Assyrian PN *Kanutî* (see § 4.6.6). The inscriptions found in this area were engraved on block stones (P-01, P-02, P-04), a slab (P-03), a sculpture of a lion (P-05),[21] and a rock-cut monument (P-06) and contain similar series to PN. All of them are tentatively dated to the MP period but their archaeological context is unknown and some of the blocks were reused in the building of modern houses. The old Hittite capital, Ḫattuša (Boğazkale, formerly Boğazköy), was also occupied by Phrygians, as were many former Hittite cities and settlements. This city yielded seven graffiti on sherds dated to the MP period, corresponding to the period Büyükkale Ic-a.[22] The third site in this area is Pazarlı (about 29 km NE of Alacahöyük), where a Late Iron Age fortification is located.[23] The sole inscription from this site (P-101) is a graffito incised on the bottom of a pot dated to the seventh c. BC (according to Bossert 1942, 289).

The most promising site for forthcoming research is Kerkenes Dağ, a fortress located to the North of Cappadocia. The site was built *ex nouo* and inhabited for only a short period in the first half of the sixth c. BC. Nevertheless, it is the largest city in Central Anatolia and has been identified with Pteria by Summers (see 1997, see also Brixhe and Summers 2006, 93–111, Draycott and Summers 2008, 4 and Genz 2011, 343). The city, which had many buildings including megara and was defended by a wall with seven gates, was an ambitious project. At one of these, the Cappadocia Gate, a broken block of stone, very possibly a statue base, was found containing a monumental inscription (K-01), as well as two graffiti on sherds (K-103 and K-104), while two further graffiti were found in the palatial complex (K-101 and K-102). Although no more inscriptions have been discovered to date,[24] new findings are expected.

OPhr. inscriptions are not only found in the area traditionally considered to be occupied by Phrygians. Daskyleion (modern Ergili), the seat of the Helle-

20 Note, however, that neither city is located near Sinop on the Black Sea, as Herodotus reports.

21 This sculpture is dated to the Imperial Hittite period, although the inscription is clearly a later Phrygian addition. See Summers and Özen 2012, 516–518.

22 The Phrygian inscriptions at this site were first published Neumann 1975, 81–82. On the comparison between the chronology of Gordion and Boğazkale, see Genz 2009, 311 and 2011, 334.

23 The site was occupied before, since there are also considerable Chalcolithic and Hittite remains. Nevertheless, the Phrygian period is the most important one. The depiction of Phrygian soldiers on terracotta is the most famous finding. See Koşay 1941, Åkerström 1966, 167–189 and Genz 2011, 34.

24 Scott Branting, p.c. 19/09/2017.

spontic Phrygia satrapy (OP *tayaiy drayahyā* 'those (peoples) that (are) in the sea', DB 1.15),[25] is also an important site for Phrygian epigraphy during the Achaemenid Period (= LP). This multicultural city provides inscriptions written in Old Babylonian, Old Persian,[26] Aramaic,[27] Greek,[28] and Phrygian. Phrygian inscriptions are found on funerary stelae (B-06 and B-07), Attic pottery (B-101, B-102 and B-103), northwestern Anatolian amphorae (B-104, B-105 and B-106), a Mysian plate (B-107) and an unclassified pottery artefact (B-108). Note that these materials are not related to the Phrygian tradition and Daskyleion is the sole location where Old Phrygian epitaphs have been found.

In the territory of Bithynia we know of five isolated inscriptions engraved on rock. When possible, they have been dated to the Achaemenid period (= LP). B-01 and B-08 are large inscriptions on rock associated with the cult of the mother goddess (in B-01 the niche was also engraved).[29] B-02 is a Greco-Persian funerary stele found near Afşarıvvel. B-03 and B-04 are inscriptions engraved on stone blocks without a clear function. The first was found at Fıranlar, while B-04 was found at Üyücek. Both are undated. Finally, B-05 is a large Greco-Persian stele found at Vezirhan and dated to the fifth c. BC. It contains a bilingual text with a *lex sacra*. It is the largest Phrygian text, while the Greek part is a short summary of the contents.

Other findings are even more isolated. A large stone slab was found in the centre of Kocagür, perhaps the ancient Pitya (14 km from the ancient Parion, in Bithynia). However, its context is unknown (Brixhe and Keleş 2011). An undated clay spindle (HP-101, Dinç and Innocente 1999) appeared in a höyük at Çamönü (ancient Karasonya), in northern Lydia (Gusmani 1988) and, also from Lydia, a silver cup (HP-102) was found by clandestine diggers in the main tumulus of İkiztepe. This last object is similar to the ones found in Gordion Tumulus MM and in Tumulus D at Bayındır, East Lycia, where silver cauldrons (HP-103 and HP-104), a silver ladle (HP-105), a silver bowl (HP-106) and bronze bowls (HP-

25 See Schmitt 1972. Greek sources are Hdt. 3.120.2 and Th. 1.129.1.

26 Both languages are only found on *bullae* with impressions of stamp and cylinder seals. Aramaic and Greek are also found on such artefacts, on which see Balkan 1959.

27 Ten *bullae* (Balkan 1959, 128 and Lemaire 2000, II.4 no. 1–4) and two well-known Aramaic funerary stelae (see, e.g., Dupont-Sommer 1966, Lipiński 1975a, 150–153, Altheim-Stielh and Cremer 1985 and Lemaire 2000, II.1 and II.2).

28 After the Macedonian conquest, the site was Hellenised; however, before this only a single *bulla* is written in Greek (Balkan 1959, 128 = DS 144 in Kaptan 2002). The text may be read as [Ἀρτί]μας according to Kaptan (2002 I, 173 and 2013, 31 fn. 18). See also Benvenuto and Pompeo 2017, 34.

29 On the B-01 monument see *CIPPh* I, 62 and Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 239–240 (with exhaustive references). On B-08, a recent finding, see Brixhe and Vottéro 2016.

107, HP-108, HP-109, HP-110, HP-111, HP-112 and HP-113) were discovered (Varinlioğlu 1992). These objects are dated to the mid-eighth c. BC, close in time to the main Gordion tumulus and were very likely gifts between sovereign allies from Bayındır.

Moving to the east, the most relevant site is Tyana (Luw. *Tuwana*) in Tabal, the heartland of Luwian-speaking territory. In this city fragments of three stelae (T-01, T-02 and T-03) have been found, very likely related to Midas's campaigns against Sargon II (final quarter of the eighth c. BC). Also in a Neo-Hittite State, an undated Phrygian PN was incised on an orthostat from Karkemiš which contains an earlier HLuw. inscription (850 BC).[30] In addition, a seal stamp of Neo-Assyrian style appeared at Nemrud Dağ (Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, 86),[31] and a stone bowl was found in Alişar Höyük (Cappadocia, Brixhe and Summers 2006, 134). Finally, the most interesting text found outside Phrygia is the clay tablet in the Persepolis Fortification Archive, dated to the end of the sixth c. BC or the first half of the fifth c. BC. This extraordinary piece must of course be related to the Achaemenid administration (Brixhe 2004a, 118–126).

To conclude this overview, it is worth mentioning an inscription on a handle of a vase found in the treasury of the Corinthians (ca. 620–600 BC) at Delphi (Perdrizet 1908, 144 no. 137), which was suggested to be a Phrygian dedication by Jeffery (1961, 39) and considered so by Roller (2018, 128 fn. 10). Indeed, the alphabet looks like Phrygian because of the presence of a letter identical to the Phrygian yod, but an iota with the same shape, a Greek broken iota, occurs in Corinthian inscriptions (as well as in local scripts from Korkyra, Arkadia, Crete, etc.). Should, then, this inscription be read as Phrygian or as Corinthian inscription? There is no simple answer to this question because of the scant information we have about the typology of this object and its unclear contents. A sequence [---]+*aryag*ʔ+[---] or [---]+*aryal*ʔ+[---] is unparalleled in Phrygian but a Greek reading is not clearer. One could adduce a Greek PN Ἀριάγγ[α] in the light of Ἀριάγνη (a late variant of the well-known Ἀριάδνη found in Macedonia, Rhodos and Lydia), but it is not easy to assume this solution because the shape of the possible gamma is not expected in a Corinthian inscription. Herodotus (1.14) tells us that Midas was the first barbarian who made an offering of a royal throne to the Oracle of Delphi and DeVries and Rose (2012) sug-

30 The text was identified by Börker-Klähn 1994. This scholar also considered some graffiti from Hamath, however they are less clearly Phrygian and, worse still, some of the shapes of the "letters" are unparalleled in the Phrygian corpus.

31 This inscription was recently claimed as Phrygian by Genz 2009, 310, although no reading is provided.

gested that an ivory figurine of a man with a lion found near the Treasury of the Corinthians was a piece of a possible Phrygian throne. In the light of the ancient information and the modern identification, it is not surprising to find a Phrygian inscription at Delphi. However, the lack of a good study of this artefact and the ambiguous identification of the script prevent us from including this inscription in the present Phrygian corpus.

2.1.2 *Old Phrygian Writing Materials*

Old Phrygian has been identified on four kinds of materials: pottery, stone, metal and wood (see Table 2). Pottery is by far the most attested material, accounting for almost 77 percent of the subcorpus: 304 of the 395 known OPhr. inscriptions were found on pottery. Unfortunately, many of these inscriptions (125) were found on unclassifiable sherds[32] that do not provide useful information about either the form or function of the original piece. Those pots that have been classified are objects for daily life, especially for containing food and drinks (water and beer), and are mostly of local facture: 54 cups,[33] 27 pithoi,[34] 24 bowls,[35] 17 pots,[36] 16 vessels,[37] 11 jugs,[38] 3 jars, 3 saucers, 3 North-west Ana-

32 M-101, W-101, W-102, G-111, G-112, G-120, G-144, G-154, G-155, G-157, G-159, 163, G-164, G-168, G-179, G-180, G-182, G-184, G-185, G-186, G-187, G-189bis, G-192, G-196, G-197, G-201, G-206, G-207, G-209, G-217, G-218, G-220, G-221, G-222, G-223, G-232, G-233, G-235, G-236, G-240, G-247, G-251, G-252, G-253, G-255, G-256, G-258, G-259, G-263, G-264, G-267, G-268, G-270, G-273, G-275, G-280, G-281, G-286, G-287, G-290, G-291, G-292, G-294, G-298, G-299, G-300, G-303, G-305, G-306, G-307, G-308, G-309, G-311, G-312, G-313, G-314, G-315, G-316, G-317, G-318, G-320, G-322, G-324, G-325, G-327, G-328, G-329, G-330, G-332, G-333, G-334, G-335, G-343, G-344, C-102, P-102, P-103, P-105, P-106, P-107, K-103, NW-103, NW-104, NW-105, NW-111, NW-112, NW-113, NW-114, NW-116, NW-119, NW-120, NW-121, NW-122, NW-123, NW-124, NW-125, NW-127, NW-128, NW-129, NW-133, NW-134, NW-135, NW-136, NW-137 and NW-139.

33 G-135, G-141, G-146, G-156, G-158, G-160, G-161, G-162, G-167, G-169, G-172, G-173, G-181, G-183, G-188, G-210, G-210, G-215, G-216, G-227, G-228, G-234, G-244, G-248, G-254, G-257, G-265, G-269, G-272, G-277, G-278, G-282, G-285, G-289, G-295, G-297, G-304, G-319, G-336, G-337, G-339, G-345, P-104, NW-106, NW-108, NW-109, NW-110, NW-117, NW-118, NW-126, NW-130, NW-131, NW-132 and NW-138.

34 G-116, G-117, G-122, G-126, G-143, G-147, G-150, G-151, G-152, G-171, G-174, G-191, G-193, G-200, G-204, G-219, G-230, G-231, G-237, G-238, G-239, G-271, G-283, G-301, G-302, G-323 and G-326.

35 B-108, G-104, G-115, G-118, G-119, G-121, G-133, G-142, G-153, G-165, G-194, G-195, G-202, G-203, G-205, G-208, G-241, 242, G-243, G-246, G-276, G-293, K-101, NW-102 and HP-115.

36 G-101, G-103, G-113, G-114, G-123, G-125, G-128, G-132, G-140, G-148, G-149, G-175, G-189, G-214, G-288, P-101 and K-105.

37 G-124, G-127, G-130, G-137, G-166, G-170, G-176, G-177, G-190, G-198, G-211, G-229, G-260, G-262, G-274 and G-279.

38 G-131, G-134, G-139, G-145, G-199, G-250, G-284, G-310, G-338, G-342 and K-102.

tolian amphorae, 3 plates, 2 jugs, 1 dinos, 1 marmite, 1 oenochoe, 1 tile, 1 mortar and 1 clay spindle.[39] In Bithynia and once in Gordion, Phrygian inscriptions were also incised on Attic importations: 3 Attic cups (B-101, B-102 and B-340), 1 Attic plate (G-341) and 1 Attic kantharos (B-103). To this list, a Cyprian cup found in Gordion can also be added (G-102).

TABLE 2 The Old Phrygian inscriptions according to writing material

Material	Typology	No. of OPhr. inscriptions	Total
Stone	Façades	10	74
	Stone blocks	11	
	Niches	9	
	Rock walls	7	
	Stelae	7	
	"Altars"	6	
	Slabs	5	
	Statues	3	
	Seal	5	
	Mortar	1	
	Weight	1	
	Undet. frag.	9	
Pottery	Unind. Sherds	125	303
	Cups	53	
	Pithoi	27	
	Bowls	24	
	Pots	18	
	Vessels	16	
	Jugs	1	
	Attic cups	3	
	NW Anat. Amph.	3	
	Jar	3	
	Saucers	3	

39 Dinos: G-138. Jars: G-109, G-22,6 and G-296. Saucers: G-213, G-225 and G-261. North-est Anatolian amphorae: B-104, B-05 and B-106. Jugs: G-110 and G-129. Plates: G-266, C-101 and B-107 (Mysian). Marmite: G-224. Oenochoe: G-331. Tile: G-321. Mortar: G-245. Clay spindle: HP-101.

TABLE 2 The Old Phrygian inscriptions according to writing material (*cont.*)

Material	Typology	No. of OPhr. inscriptions	Total
	Jugs	13	
	Plates	2	
	Marmites	1	
	Oenochoe	1	
	Lekythos	1	
	Tile	1	
	Attic plate	1	
	Attic kantharos	1	
	Cyprian cup	1	
	Mysian plate	1	
	Mortar	1	
	Terracotta disc	1	
	Clay spindle	1	
	Clay tablet	1	
Metal	Bronze bowls	10	17
	Silver bowls	3	
	Silver cauldron	2	
	Silver cup	1	
	Silver ladle	1	
Wood	Beam	1	1
Total Old Phrygian inscriptions			395

Most of these graffiti on vessels were incised after firing and may be interpreted as owner's marks. Note that graffiti consisting of PNs (complete or abbreviated) are abundant in this category of materials. Even the numerous graffiti consisting of a sole letter can be interpreted as the owner's first initial. However, there remains a degree of ambiguity, and the use of these letters as a mark without linguistic referent cannot be ruled out. Indeed, commercial marks are also known in this collection, among which "capacity marks" are the clearest (see § 3.1.7.3). Only two examples of "verbal" graffiti incised before firing are found: W-101 and K-104.[40] Of course, being incised before firing implies that

40 This is not a surprising account when compared to Roller's compilation of non-verbal

the inscriptions were made in the potter's workshop. There are certain reasons why a potter marks their products: to identify the potter or his establishment or to denote the potential capacity of the pot, its function, or where it should be stored. However, for the two examples considered here the reason is unknown. In any case, W-101 bears only a single letter ⟨p⟩, which seems to be a PN abbreviation expanded after firing as *p²asakas*, while K-104 consists only of a possible letter ⟨n⟩ and a non-verbal mark cannot be ruled out.

Leaving aside this common material, there are two special artefacts made of clay. The first is a terracotta disc found in Dorylaion, NW-101, with an obscure inscription. Its function and significance are unclear.[41] The second is a clay tablet, HP-114, found in the Persepolis Fortress Archive among Elamite artefacts. Because there are no parallels for such material in Phrygia and the place where it was found, this clay tablet must be related to the Persian administration. Indeed, although it is broken and difficult to read, it appears to be a list of workers (or products) and people like those found in Elamite in the same archive.

The second most productive material is stone, on which seventy-two inscriptions were found. As is the case of pottery, there is a rich typology of stone inscriptions. Cult façades, associated with the mother goddess, are the most representative form of Phrygian rock-cut monument, on which ten inscriptions were engraved: M-01a, M-01-b, M-05, W-01a, W-01b, W-01c, W-02, W-03, W-05a and W-06 (perhaps also M-11). Sometimes, the façades have a niche where inscriptions were also engraved: M-01c, M-01d, M-01e, M-01f and W-05b. Although there is a niche with an inscription in a step-monument, W-04, other niches with inscriptions are independent: W-07 and B-01 (B-08 was found near this inscription).

Rock-cut step monuments, sometimes considered altars because of the presence of iconic idols, also have OPhr. inscriptions: M-02, M-03, M-04, M-06, W-11 and P-06. Nevertheless, Phrygian inscriptions were also engraved on unworked rocks. Of these, three are on sole lone rocks, W-08, W-09 and W-10, while the others are on the walls of larger rock formations: M-07, M-08 and W-13.

As can be seen, all of the above inscriptions were found basically in Midas City and West Phrygia. Bithynia, Gordion, East Phrygia and Kerkenes Dağ pro-

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marks from Gordion (1987a, 1–7): of 560 marks, only twenty-four were incised before firing. There are also sixteen examples of stamps, but these contain no letters, only triskeles, tetraskeles, ingo-shaped, or asterisk marks.

41 In the same city, another disc was found with nonverbal inscriptions (NW-101a, omitted from this work). This disc is older than the first one. On both pieces, see Brixhe 2002a, 3–11, who suggests some possibilities.

vide eleven inscriptions on worked blocks of stone: B-03, B-04, G-03, G-04, G-11, P-01, P-02, P-04, NW-01, HP-01 and K-01. Five stone slabs with inscriptions were also found in Gordion and East Phrygia: G-01, G-02, C-01, P-03 and HP-02. Two small stone idols with inscriptions were found in Gordion: G-136, a falcon-shaped idol, and G-178, an anthropomorphic idol. Text on a large statue was only found in Alacahöyük (near the ancient capital of the Hittites, Ḫattuša), on an unfinished statue of a lion (P-05). Stelae have only been found on the periphery of Phrygia. Indeed, four stelae (of the Greco-Persian type) have been found in Bithynia, B-02, B-05, B-06 and B-07, as well as fragments of three stelae of Assyrian-type in Tyana, T-01, T-02 and T-03. Unfortunately, eight inscriptions are preserved on stone fragments whose original shapes and typologies are unknown: M-09, M-10, W-12, G-05, G-06, G-07, G-08, G-09 and G-10.

Small artefacts containing inscriptions have also been found. There are two seals made of (semi-)precious gemstones, Dd-101 (Chalcedony) and Dd-103 (Agate), an alabaster weight (G-249, reused as a loomweight in Gordion) and a mortar, G-164bis.

There are seventeen metal artefacts with a Phrygian inscription, pertaining to funerary banquets inside tumuli (Gordion MM, İkiztepe and Bayındır). The most abundant are bronze bowls: G-105, G-106, G-107, G-108, HP-108, HP-109, HP-110, HP-111, HP-112 and HP-113. There are also three silver bowls (Dd-102, HP-106 and HP-107), two silver cauldrons (HP-103 and HP-104), a silver cup (HP-102) and a silver ladle (HP-105). While most of the inscriptions were made by scratching the artefacts, on the bowls G-105, G-106 and G-107 they were made by smearing beeswax.

Finally, a list of names was found engraved on a wooden beam from Tumulus MM in Gordion. It is the sole example of a Phrygian inscription preserved on wood. There is no evidence for the use of perishable materials (papyrus, parchment) as writing supports for Phrygian, but it is a strong possibility because the kind of epigraphic supports found to date are typically those used only marginally in other, better attested Near Eastern languages.

2.2 The New Phrygian Subcorpus

As stated above, the New Phrygian subcorpus consists of 118 inscriptions[42] dated to between the end of the first and the middle of the third c. AD, found in a far more restricted area than the OPhr. subcorpus (Map 1 and 3), "bounded by Eskişehir-Dorylaion, Kütahya-Kotiaion, the lake of Eğridir, Laodikeia Katakekaumene and the northern point of Lake Tatta (Tuz Gölü)" (Brixhe 2013, 60). Note that a sizeable part of ancient Phrygia was occupied by the Galatians (including Gordion, see Mitchell 1993, 13–20) and a deep Hellenisation left its mark on many important cities. In any case, the whole NPhr. subcorpus consists of funerary texts on stone, mostly the local limestone. Although the number of inscriptions is considerable, the material itself is largely redundant, since few inscriptions contain more than a formulaic curse. Indeed, most of the New Phrygian texts follow an epitaph in Greek, although this disposition is reversed in two inscriptions (13.1 = 122 and 58.1 = 72), where the Phrygian curse is followed by a Greek epitaph. The most common text resembles the following standardisation: ιος νι σεμουν κνουμανει κακουν αδδακετ, με δεως κε ζεμελως κε ατ τιε τιττετικμενος ειτου 'whoever does harm to this tomb, let him be accursed by Zeus in the sight of gods and men'.

NPhr. curses have parallels in the contemporaneous Greek inscriptions but the most striking parallel is the continuity of the Luw. phraseology (Lubotsky 1998, 420; see §4.6.2.2). How the Iron Age phraseology could have survived until Roman times is unknown, because texts containing these formulae are not attested in earlier periods. Indeed, OPhr. curses are different to those found in NPhr.

Only twelve of the inscriptions contain other kinds of texts, although these are always related to the epitaphs.[43] By the time of NPhr., the process of language replacement in Phrygia seems to be complete in the major cities, since most of the NPhr. inscriptions are restricted to villages and towns. However, Greek borrowings and calques are found elsewhere in the Phrygian inscriptions, so even outside the cities this process of change can be perceived. In any case, it has been said that the last possible evidence for Phr. as a living language is provided by Socr.Sch. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.23 in the fifth c. AD: Ἐπηκολούθησε δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Σεληνᾶς ὁ τῶν Γότθων ἐπίσκοπος, ἀνὴρ ἐπίμικτον ἔχων τὸ γένος· Γότθος

42 Or 117 if 11.1 (17) and 11.3 (74) are considered to be the same inscription, as in Haas 1966 (Friedrich 1932, 138 fn. 74) and Lubotsky (in *TITUS*). Nevertheless, Brixhe 1999, 286 argued that they are two different inscriptions.

43 The NPhr. inscriptions 1.1 (48), 1.2 (98), 2.1 (15), 2.2 (130), 11.2 (18), 16.1 (116), 17.1 (116, the largest NPhr. inscription), 22.1 (9), 37.2 (30), 40.3 (31), 43.1 (69) and 56.2 (58).

μὲν ἦν ἐκ πατρὸς, Φρὺξ δὲ κατὰ μητέρα· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς διαλέκτοις ἑτοίμως κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐδίδασκε 'Selinas bishop of the Goths adopted the views of this party, a man of mixed descent; he was a Goth by his father's side, but by his mother's a Phrygian, by which means he taught in the church with great readiness in both these languages'. Roller (2018, 124–125, following Vryonis 1971, 46–47), however, has recently stressed that "in preaching to the Phrygians of Kotiaion Selinas used not Phrygian, but Greek." This conclusion is inferred from a parallel text by Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 7.17, where Selinas is said to be able "to instruct not only in their national language [Gothic], but also in that of the Greeks" (διδάσκειν οὐ μόνον κατὰ τὴν πάτριον αὐτῶν φωνὴν ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τὴν Ἑλλήνων).

As has been said, all of the monuments that bear New Phrygian inscriptions are funerary, mainly of the door-stele type, on which thirty-four inscriptions have been found.[44] This is perhaps the most characteristic form of Phrygian monument in Roman times (see an example in Fig. 1). Despite attempts to link it to the OPhr. cult façades, the stone representation of a door as part of a funerary monument (tumulus or rock-cut chamber) is first attested in Lydia in the sixth–fourth c. BC (Roosevelt 2006, 66).[45] Whatever their significance for the people who made them, Kelp is right when linking the use of NPhr. to the "distinctive local forms of grave monuments" and pointing out that "[t]he more urban an area and richer the purchasers, the more similar their grave monuments appear to the well-established funerary repertoire of the *metropoleis* of Asia Minor; no Neo-Phrygian curses appear on wealthy urban monuments … [g]rave-types with a door façade and the Neo-Phrygian inscriptions tended to occur in recently or partially urbanized regions" (2013, 92–93). Although the funerary function of the door stelae is clear and their chronology is well established, monuments with NPhr. inscriptions did not appear *in situ* (with one exception) and only one of all the known examples of door-stelae has been found in its archaeological context: grave T1073 at Amorium (Kelp 2013, 76–77). In the light of this discovery, Ramsay's words about NPhr. 18.3 (6) are particularly interesting. Although he did not record what kind of monument it was, he described a finding that is consistent with our knowledge of funerary practices

44 3.1 (97), 6.2 (131), 7.2 (111), 10.1 (112), 10.2 (113), 11.3 (17), 12.1 (121), 13.1 (122), 14.1 (73), 15.1 (120), 17.4 (90), 17.5 (91), 17.6 (119), 19.1 (96), 21.1 (42), 21.2 (43), 22.1 (9), 25.1 (115), 26.2 (38), 37.2 (30), 43.1 (69), 45.1 (65), 51.1 (80), 53.1 (76), 56.1 (57), 56.2 (58), 57.1 (78), 59.4 (106), 62.1 (32), 62.2 (33), 62.3 (34), 62.4 (35), 62.5 (36) and 65.1 (20).

45 The Archaic and Hellenistic filiation of some examples was defended by Waelkens 1986, who gathered and studied all the known examples of this phenomenon, examining their rich typology, original workshops and distribution. See also Lochman 2003 and Kelp 2013 and 2015.

FIGURE 1 Door-stele (Waelkens 1986, n. 753) from Pessinus (modern Ballıhisar) containing a Greek epitaph
OBRADOR-CURSACH

in Roman Phrygia and the grave found at Amorium: "beside Surmeneh, on one of the circle of stones (χρηπίς) which surrounded a small tumulus. There seem to have been in this neighbourhood many small tumuli, built all in the same way with a low circular wall enclosing and holding together a mound of earth" (Ramsay 1887, 389).

Another kind of funerary monument containing NPhr. inscriptions is the pediment stele (14 examples are recorded),[46] which normally consists of a relief

46 1.2 (98), 16.1, 20.2 (128), 22.1 (9), 29.1 (114), 31.1 (29), 33.3 (127), 46.1 (53), 48.1 (81), 55.1 (56), 59.1

representing two columns supporting a triangular pediment (perhaps a representation of a temple). In the central space, the deceased and his family may be depicted,[47] while the pediment is commonly reserved for a lion (46.1 = 53) or an eagle (33.3 = 127), apotropaic symbols of the mother goddess and Zeus Bronton respectively. These elements are also common in door-stelae, while the depiction of people is only found in their pediment instead of these animals are not found. Other types of monuments are *bomoi* 'altars' (6 examples),[48] round pillars (4 examples),[49] and even shapeless stone (44.1 = 61).

None of these inscriptions contains any dating. Nevertheless, the typology and palaeography of these monuments are coherent with the "flourishing high Imperial period of the second and third centuries AD" (Kelp 2013, 71). Moreover, some of the deceased bore the *praenomen* Αὐρήλιος or its fem. Αὐρήλια,[50] which provides a terminus *post quem*. Indeed, this name was adopted by many people in the empire after the emperor Caracalla, officially *Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus Augustus*, who extended the citizenship through the *Constitutio Antoniniana* in the year 212 BC.

Since most of the NPhr. inscriptions have been lost and are known only through old copies (only 20 are preserved),[51] it is difficult to know whether inconsistences in the spelling were originally engraved on the stone or if they are a modern copyist's mistake. As seen in § 3.2, spelling mistakes and hesitations are found elsewhere, but there also readings that must be considered a confusion of the copy. In contrast to the OPhr. subcorpus, one cannot corroborate the old readings, particularly in inscriptions with many hapaxes. A comparison of different examples of formulae also points—cautiously—to copyist's mistakes.

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(107), 59.3 (79), 60.2 (60) and 62.6 (105). In some instances, however, it remains unclear if they were part of a door-stele.

47 See, e.g., 20.2 (128) in the good photograph provided by Drew-Bear, Lubotsky and Üyümez 2008, 113.

48 2.2 (130, a very large one), 8.1 (86), 17.1 (4b), 28.1 (71), 33.1 (28) and 52.1 (75). Despite the term, they were used as a prayer and vow to the deceased as well as to the divinities, see de Hoz 2017.

49 44.2 (70), 49.1 (110), 58.1 (72) and 64.1 (82).

50 In the NPhr. subcorpus it appears in 5.1 (19), 6.1 (88), 50.2 (55) and 65.3 (21). The fem. form only appears in 65.3 (21). It is common to find it abbreviated.

51 Preserved inscriptions are 2.2 (130), 3.1 (97), 6.1 (88), 6.2 (131), 7.2 (111), 10.1 (112), 10.2 (113), 12.1 (121), 16.1 (116), 17.6 (119), 19.2 (129), 20.2 (128), 22.2 (118), 25.1 (115), 25.2 (126), 29.1 (114), 31.1 (29), 33.3 (127), 63.1 (123) and 65.4 (124).

TABLE 3 Comparison between the Old and the New Phrygian subcorpora

Feature	**Old Phrygian**	**New Phrygian**
Number of inscriptions	395	118
Dating	ca. 800–330 BC	Late first–third c. AD
Alphabet	Phrygian	Greek
Writing material	Varied	Stone
Contents	Varied	Funerary
Area	Huge	Restricted
Archaeological context	Mainly yes	Never
Preserved	Mainly yes	Mainly no

CHAPTER 3

The Scripts Used to Note the Phrygian Language

3.1 The Phrygian Alphabet

The Phrygian language appears for the first time at the beginning of the eighth c. BC (or in the very last years of the ninth), recorded in a local alphabetic script written on stone blocks and sherds from Gordion. The archaeological context of these first inscriptions (G-03, G-104, G-237 and G-249, according to Brixhe 2004b, 276–278) corresponds to the reconstruction of the Gordion citadel after the Destruction Level dated to ca. 800 BC. This disaster, perhaps a great fire, was first considered a consequence of the Cimmerian invasion, which actually took place a century later (ca. 700 BC as recorded in the Neo-Assyrian documentation and some Greek traditions). However, recent revisions of the site resulted in a new chronology for Middle Phrygian Gordion (after 800–540s BC, see Rose and Darbyshire 2011), thus ruling out this initial hypothesis. The alphabet, then, arrives in the Phrygian capital alongside many elements borrowed from south-east Anatolia (the Neo-Hittite or Syro-Hittite states). Indeed, the architecture of Gordion from the ninth c. BC, the sculptural remains, much of the pottery and many prestigious objects have their origins in the Neo-Hittite states (Sams and Voigt 2011, 155–156). Far from dulling Gordion's splendour, the city's reconstruction was even more ambitious than the original architectural project and became the prelude to the "supraregional political and cultural importance" of the Phrygian state(s) (van Dongen 2014, 707) under the reign of Midas (late eighth–early seventh c. BC).

On the basis of the context of the first inscriptions, the Phrygians appear to have adopted the alphabet in the late ninth c. or early eighth c. BC, through contact with south-east Anatolia (Cilicia or Tyanide milieux). This is both chronologically and geographically consistent with scholarly conclusions regarding the Greek alphabet. The subject is too complex to be addressed fully here, but it should be noted that in the last two decades the Greek presence in Cilicia has provided a very suitable context in which the Greeks might have adapted the Phoenician abjad to their language, despite the lack of local Greek inscriptions.[1] Indeed, the western route of arrival of the alphabet to Gordion is hardly defensible because the Greek presence there is restricted to imports (mainly

1 See Yakubovich 2015, 48–50 for an attempt to explain this fact from a sociolinguistic point

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pottery of Corinthian and eastern Greek origin), which appear only from the late eighth c. onwards.[2] Consequently, the Greek influence is detectable only from a period in which the Phrygians were already using their alphabet, when the Greek alphabet is found for the first time.

Although the first Phrygian inscriptions are some decades older than the Greek ones, Brixhe (2004b, 284–285) is right to warn against converting the "traditional Hellenocentrism" (according to which the Phrygian alphabet is derived from the (Proto-)Greek alphabet) into "Phrygocentrism." His thoughts on this issue are in agreement with Sass (2005, 133–152), who from a (very necessary) Semitic perspective established that the Phrygians and the Greeks adopted their alphabets from a "monumental Semitic model" (Phoenician or Aramaean) dated "ca. 750 BCE or slightly [sic] earlier" ("maximum of ca. 75 years-to around 825 BCE," Sass 2005, 150–151). Given that the Greek and the Phrygian alphabets share their core letters, he also concludes that the Phoenician (or Aramean) abjad was adopted at the same time and it later passed from Greek to Phrygian or, as the chronology implies, from Phrygian to Greek, although the possibility remains that both derived together from a West Semitic abjad (as Brixhe 2004b, 284–285 suggests). Indeed, although the Phrygian inscriptions are older and the presence of Phrygian is attested in Tyana (albeit at the end of the eighth c. BC), the Greek alphabet preserves some of the Phoenician (or Aramean) letters not found in the Phrygian alphabet (e.g., ⊗ > Θ, compare Table 4).[3] Consequently, the seniority of the Greek or the Phrygian alphabet remains unresolved. In addition, any discussion of the matter

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of view. In his monumental and influential work, Jeffery 1961, 10–12 suggested that the place of the adoption may have been on the Cilician-Syrian border. Nevertheless, it is not the only location considered by scholars: Boeotian Thebes, Euboia, Crete and even Cyprus (Woodard 1997 and 2014) have all been posited. However, most of these proposals only consider Greek evidence and assume that Phrygian is derived from Greek. Note that new findings of the earliest Greek inscriptions in Methone and Eretria still date the first inscriptions to the second half of the eighth c. BC (Papadopoulos 2016). Janko 2015 raised the date of the inscription from Osteria dell'Osa (ancient Gabii, near Rome) to c. 825 at the latest and used it as evidence for an earlier Greek adoption of the alphabet. However, this piece is difficult to date and harder still to assign to one language or alphabetic tradition. For an overview, see Signes Codoñer 2009.

2 See DeVries 2005 and Genz 2011, 359, who follows Sams 1979, 8–10; DeVries 1990, 390; 1997; DeVries in Voigt et al 1997, 19–21. The presence of Greek imports at other sites is still less relevant.

3 Note that this is the only aspirated letter that is consistent in all Greek archaic alphabets. It is not considered a new incorporation in texts where the letters representing aspirated and double sounds are said to be borrowed after the first adoptions. On this question, see Willi 2013.

TABLE 4 Comparison of the Phoenician abjad, Classical Greek and Phrygian alphabets (excluding CIPPh no. 21–22)

Phoenician	Trans.	Phoneme	Phrygian	Trans.	Phoneme	Greek	Phoneme
𐤀	*ʔ*	/ʔ/	𐤀	*a*	/a/ /aː/	Α α	/a/ /aː/
𐤁	*b*	/b/	Β 𐤁	*b*	/b/	Β β	/b/
𐤂	*g*	/g/	𐤂	*g*	/g/	Γ γ	/g/
𐤃	*d*	/d/	Δ 𐤃	*d*	/d/	Δ δ	/d/
𐤄	*h*	/h/	Ε 𐤄	*e*	/e/ /eː/	Ε ε	/e/
𐤅	*w*	/w/	F	*ν*	/w/	F ϝ	/w/
			𐤅	*u*	/u/ /uː/	Υ υ	/u/
𐤆	*z*	/z/	-	-	-	Ζ ζ	/zd/ /dz/
𐤇	*ḥ*	/ħ/	-	-	-	Η η	/ɛː/
⊗	*ṭ*	/tˤ/	-	-	-	Θ θ	/tʰ/
𐤉	*y*	/j/	𐤉	*y*	/j/	Ι ι	/i/ /iː/
			Ι	*i*	/i/ /iː/		
𐤊	*k*	/k/	Κ 𐤊 𐤘	*k* 𐤊 𐤘	/k/	Κ κ	/k/
						Ψ ψ	/ps/ or /ks/
𐤋	*l*	/l/	𐤋	*l*	/l/	Λ λ	/l/
𐤌	*m*	/m/	𐤌	*m*	/m/	Μ μ	/m/
𐤍	*n*	/n/	𐤍	*n*	/n/	Ν ν	/n/
𐤎	*s*	/s/	-	-	-	Ξ ξ	/ks/
𐤏	*ʕ*	/ʕ/	Ο	*o*	/o/ /oː/	Ο ο	/o/
						Ω ω	/ɔː/
𐤐	*p*	/p/	𐤐	*p*	/p/	Π π	/p/
𐤑	*ṣ*	/sˤ/	-	-	-	Μ ϻ	/s/
𐤒	*q*	/q/	-	-	-	Ϙ ϙ	/k/
						Φ φ	/pʰ/
𐤓	*r*	/r/	Ρ	*r*	/r/	Ρ ρ	/r/
𐤔	*š*	/ʃ/	𐤎	*s*	/s/	Σ σ ς	/s/
𐤕	*t*	/t/	𐤕	*t*	/t/	Τ τ	/t/
-	-	-	𐤆 Φ	𐤆	/z/ /zd/ ?	Ͳ, ͳ	/ts/ ?

must consider the other Anatolian alphabets, which are traditionally assumed to be derived from the Greek, although the details of such relationships are not clear.[4]

The Phrygian alphabet was used steadily until around the time of the Macedonian conquest of Anatolia (333 BC), when Phrygian speakers began to use the Greek alphabet to write their language. Graffiti from Gordion recorded in *CIPPh* are claimed to have been written in the Greek alphabet prior to the arrival of Alexander the Great, although the difference between the Greek and Phrygian alphabets at this stage it not always clear (Brixhe 2004a, 7 illustrates this with G-153, G-158 and G-167). Leaving aside the older Phrygian funerary stele written in Greek (MPhr-01 = Brixhe's 2004a no. W-11), in Gordion the documentation from the Hellenistic levels shows "the decline of both Phrygian script and language" in favour of Greek as a consequence of "probable shifts of population during the late fourth and third century B.C." (and the later emergence of Galatian names after the middle of the third c. BC, Roller 1987b, 103–104).

The commonly used catalogue of Phrygian letters was given by *CIPPh* (280), which identifies twenty-four letters (see Table 5). However, this table must be reconsidered because some signs are known to be variants of other letters (no. 23 of no. 20 and, very likely, no. 24 of no. 2, according to Morante Mediavilla 2000, 40) and new variants have appeared since the publication of *CIPPh* in 1984 (e.g., X of ⤴ ⟨y⟩, in B-06 from Daskyleion). Consequently, a new classification of the Phrygian letters is suggested in Table 6, similar to the one given by Ligorio and Lubotsky (2018, 101). While the core letters and the *yod* largely follow the information given in the successive works of Brixhe and Lejeune, the remaining letters (*CIPPh* no. 19–24, which the authors refer to as "lettres rares," herein 19–22) will be reanalysed in the following pages.

Before dealing with the less clear letters, some generalities of the Old Phrygian texts are in order. Although Phrygian seems to have five vowels (/a/, /e/, /i/, /o/, /u/) that contrast in length with a further five (/aː/, /eː/, /iː/, /oː/, /uː/; the existence of /eː/ is controversial and not all vowels have been identified), the Phrygian alphabet has only five vowel letters (⟨a⟩, ⟨e⟩, ⟨i⟩, ⟨o⟩, ⟨u⟩): see, e.g., the 3sg.med. ending *-toy* /toj/ (*edạtoy* B-05) and the thematic sg. dat. ending *-oy*

4 For the Lydian alphabet, see Payne and Wintjes 2016, 76: "Lydian is recorded in a local, 26-letter alphabetic script. It may have been derived from an eastern Greek alphabet, the exact relationship between both unknown." On the Lycian alphabet, Melchert 2008, 47 (following Carruba 1978): "Lycian is written in an alphabet derived from or closely related to that of Greek. The details of the relationship remain unclear." On the problematic origin of the Carian alphabet see Adiego 2007, 230–233. For an overview of the Anatolian adoptions of the alphabet, see Adiego 2018.

TABLE 5 Chart of Phrygian letters according to CIPPh I, 280

	In dextroverse context	In sinistroverse context
1	𐤀	𐤀
2	𐤁	𐤁
3	𐤂	𐤂
4	𐤃 𐤄	𐤄 𐤃
5	𐤅 𐤅	𐤅 𐤅
6	𐤆	𐤆
7	𐤇	𐤇
8	𐤊	𐤊
9	𐤋	𐤋
10	𐤌	𐤌
11	𐤍	𐤍
12	𐤏	𐤏
13	𐤐	𐤐
14	𐤑	𐤑
15	𐤒 𐤒 𐤒 𐤒	𐤒 𐤒 𐤒 𐤒
16	𐤓	𐤓
17	𐤔	𐤔
18	𐤕 𐤕	𐤕 𐤕
19	𐤕 𐤕	𐤕
20	𐤕	𐤕?
21		𐤕?
22	𐤕 𐤕	
23	𐤕	
24	𐤕	

/o:j/ (*surgastoy* Dd-102). In OPhr. inscriptions, repetitions of the same vowel are rarely used within words (M-06 *deiatiteeạ.*??) and very often their presence is good evidence for a word boundary when spaces or interpunctions are not used to mark word boundaries and texts employs *scriptio continua*. However, in the inscriptions without *yod* the sequence ⟨ii⟩ occurs within the same word (T-03aI *a*↑*iiai*) to represent /ij/ or /ji/. Geminates are not marked by the Phrygian alphabet, although they are known to be pronounced, e.g., 3pl. ending *-sini* (P-101 *i̯sini*) / -σσιννι (2.2 δεδασσιννι) and the PN *ates* (M-01a, etc.), read as Αττης in Greek inscriptions (*KNP* 107 § 119–110) and as Ἄττης in manuscripts (e.g., Hermesian.8).

TABLE 6 Suggested classification of the Phrygian letters

No.	Dextroverse	Sinistroverse	Transcription	Phoneme
1	𐤀	𐤀	*a*	/a/ /aː/
2	𐤁 𐤂	𐤂 𐤂	*b*	/b/
3	𐤃	𐤃	*g*	/g/
4	𐤄 𐤋	𐤋 𐤄	*d*	/d/
5	𐤅 𐤅	𐤆 𐤆	*e*	/e/ /eː/
6	𐤆	𐤇	*v*	/w/
7	𐤉	𐤉	*i*	/i/ /iː/
8	𐤊 𐤌 𐤎 𐤏	𐤋 𐤌 𐤎	*k* 𐤌 𐤎 𐤏	/k/
9	𐤍	𐤍	*l*	/l/
10	𐤎	𐤎	*m*	/m/
11	𐤏	𐤏	*n*	/n/
12	𐤐	𐤐	*o*	/o/ /oː/
13	𐤑	𐤑	*p*	/p/
14	𐤒	𐤒	*r*	/r/
15	𐤓 𐤔 𐤕 𐤖	𐤔 𐤔	*s*	/s/
16	𐤗	𐤗	*t*	/t/
17	𐤘	𐤙	*u*	/u/ /uː/
18	𐤚 𐤛	𐤛 𐤚	*y*	/j/
19	𐤜 𐤝 𐤞 𐤟	𐤜	𐤜 𐤝 𐤟	/z/ /dz/ ?

Another feature of the Phrygian alphabet is that most inscriptions are written sinistroverse. However, at least sixty-six inscriptions are dextroverse and boustrophedon occurs in eighteen texts. Finally, Phrygian employs *scriptio continua* in many instances, though the use of interpunctions or spaces is not unusual (see § 3.1.7.1).

3.1.1 *The Letter* CIPPh *No. 18: The Phrygian* Yod, ⟨*y*⟩

The identification of the Phrygian *yod* is one of the most important contributions to the decipherment of Phrygian by Michel Lejeune (1969a, 30–38). Since his analysis, it has been universally accepted that *CIPPh* no. 18 represents the consonantal allophone [j] of /i/. According to his work, this letter appears in the following contexts:

a) At the beginning of a word before a vowel (never before *i*): e.g., *yos* (*passim*).
b) Between vowels (other than *i*): e.g., *areyastin* (W-01b).

c) Between a consonant and vowel: e.g., *kuryaneyon* (W-01c).
d) Optionally between *i* and another vowel (other than *i*): compare, e.g., *kuliyạ*[---] (G-101), *k*↑*iyanaveyos* (M-02) or *tiyes* (M-04) with *kadiun* (G-103) or *k*Φ*iyanaveyos* (M-01b).
e) In final diphthongs: *tedatoy* (W-01a), *materey* (W-01b), avtay…
f) Following the vowel *-i* at the end of a word followed by an initial vowel: *tuave|niy* ⋮ *ae* (M-01f), *materey eveteksetę́ʔy* (W-01b), *niy ạrt* (B-05)… One example is found before a consonant: *dedạsitiy tubetiv* (B-05).
g) This final *yod* is often found (especially in Bithynian text) after the vowel *-e* before an initial vowel or consonant (not considered by Lejeune), especially with the copulative conj. *ke*(*y*) 'and' in text from Bithynia (but not exclusively): *key venavtun* (W-01b), *key estạt* (B-05), *key iverais* (B-05)… This position is not to be confused with the athem. sg. dat. ending *-ey* < PIE **-e̯i̯*.

However, as Lejeune noticed, this sound is not always marked with this letter, since commonly the *yod* is not found in the second element of non-final diphthongs: see, e.g., *memevais* (M-02), *proitavos* (M-01b and M-02), or *esait* (W-01b, *esai*≀*t*). This said, even here some exceptions are found: e.g., *eymiyạʔkʔíʔ*[---] (G-178).

A surprising fact, also considered by Lejeune, is that this letter does not appear in Phrygian texts before the sixth c. BC (*pace* Brixhe 2004b, 281–284). During the two first centuries of Phrygian writing [j] is represented by ⟨i⟩: e.g., *a*↑*iiai* (T-03aI), [---]*ọi* ⋮ *avtoi* (T-03b, last quarter of the eighth c. BC), *agariṭoi pẹtes adoikavoi* (G-02)… Even in later inscriptions the use of the Phrygian *yod* was not at all widespread: e.g., *midai lavagtaei vanaktei* (M-01a, second quarter of the 6th c. BC) and *estatoi avun* (G-144, 5th c. BC).[5] In any case, ⟨y⟩ seems to be derived from the Phoenician(-Aramaic) *yod*, as well as the Phrygian iota (see Brixhe 2004a, 29), although it remains unclear if it was an internal development or the result of the Semitic influence.

3.1.2 *The Letter* CIPPh *No. 19: The Arrow-Letter* ↑

The arrow-letter (↑, Φ, and ⊤) is attested 23 times in 18 Phrygian inscriptions, from early texts of the eighth c. BC, e.g., Gordion Tumulus MM (some years before 740 BC) or Tyana stele(a) (730–712 BC), to the end of the Hellenistic period:

5 With regard to [w], a similar hesitation is found in three inscriptions where this allophone is represented by ⟨u⟩ instead of the most common ⟨v⟩. Compare M-01c *ṃ̨ʔonokaua*, M-01f *tuave|niy* and W-11 [.ʔ]*y*[.ʔ]*agaua* with M-01dI *tvemes*, M-01a *lavagtaei* and M-04 *ạkinanogavaṇ*.

1. G-105 *si↑idos akor* (incised on a bronze bowl found inside Tumulus MM, before 740 BC).
2. G-203 ↑ | *.X* (fragment of the bottom of a bowl from the fourth c. BC).
3. G-225 ↑ | *a* (on the bottom of a saucer from the fourth or third c. BC).
4. G-275 ⊤*i* (incised on a sherd from the fourth or the beginning of the third c. BC).
5. G-346 *si↑idos* (incised on a beam of Tumulus MM, Gordion, before 740 BC).
6. M-01b *baba* ⋮ *memevais* ⋮ *proitavos* ⁝ *kΦiyanaveyos* ⁝ *si≈keneman* ⁝ *edaes* 'Baba Memevais the proitavos, the *kΦiyanaveyos*, made this niche' (on Midas Façade dated to 575–550 BC, although the inscription is a later addition).
7. M-02 *bba* ⁝ *memevais* ⁝ *proitavo*[*s*] | *k↑ianaveyos* ⁝ *akaragayun* | *edaes* 'B(a)ba Memevais the proitavos, the *k↑ianaveyos*, made this *akaragayun*' (on a vertical side of an outcrop of rock near other monuments of Midas City, contemporaneous to M-01b).
8. W-08 [-?-] *ates agomoi* | *saϘ[?]ta tedaes* | *alus si↑eto[?]* | *bateles bab.*[-?-] (engraved on a lone rock at Çepni).
9. W-09 *si↑eto ae* | *alus* (engraved on a lone rock at Çepni).
10. W-10 *ạtai edae lel/ravo* | *vi↑e atevo atoios* | *alụs si↑eto das* (engraved on a lone rock at Çepni);
11. B-04 … *ạ[?]ṃ[?]ọp[?]tov[?]a↑ỉy* · *ạ[?]ẹ[?] lavọy* · *ue* … (undated marble block only viewed in 1926 on the wall of a house in Üyücek, a fragment).
12. B-05 †*iv*† ⟨*s*⟩*imun inmeney ạsenạn dạket torvetun ↑irạy ạyniy oy* | *tubnuv nevos, me deritoy kovis ke ạbretoy nun oy nev*⟨*otan*⟩ | *yos isekosos ↑emeney ḍ[?]upratoy, vebạn ituv* (fragment of the imprecative part of the Vezirhan stele, fifth c. BC).
13. B-06 *sṭaḷ[?]a ke* : *↑ek.*[---]*ẹṣkey*[---]*ạ[?]yọ[?]*[---] | *ḍẹṣ*[---] : *ẹvent noktoy* : *ẹṃetẹtariyois* | [---]*y* : *yos tumoy* : *↑ekmatin* | [---]*atonkeyen* (funerary stele from Daskyleion, perhaps from the first half of the sixth c. BC).
14. T-02b [---] | [---]*ṭumida* ⁝ *memeuis* ⁝ [---] | [---]*a* ⁝ *tesa n* ⁝ *a↑ion* ⁝ *v*[---] | [---]*oitumen* ⁝ *mịḍạ*[---] | [---]*n* ⁝ *a↑ios* ⁝ *mi*[---] | [---]*n̥* ⁝ *batan* ⁝ *e.*[---] and C ⁝[?] *ea.*[---] | [---].*na* | [---] | [---] | [---]↑| [---] (fragments of a stele from Tyana, late eighth c. BC).
15. T-03aI *a↑iiai* ⋮ *polodrẹ|tes* ⋮ *poreti* ⋮ *ọtu*|[---] and T-03bII | [---]*sn|a*[---]|[---]*ed|eia*[---] | [---]*ọ[?]r↑e|s* ⁝ *ar*[---] (fragments of a stele from Tyana, late eighth c. BC).
16. NW-139 *a↑*[*i*/*e.*[?]] (fragment of the bottom of a pot from Dorylaion, 550–330 BC).

TABLE 7 Contexts and occurrences of ⟨↑⟩

Contexts	Occurrences
/#_e	↑*emeney*; ↑*ek*.[---]; ↑*ekmatin*
/#_i	↑*iṛay*
/a_i	*a*↑*ion*, *a*↑*ios*, *a*↑*iiai*
/a_s	*a*↑*ses*
/i_e	*si*↑*eto*, *vi*↑*e*
/i_i	*si*↑*idos*
/k_i	*k*↑*ianaveyos*, *k*Φ*iyanaveyos*
/r_e	[---]*ọ*ʔ*r*↑*e*|*s*
Unclear	*a*↑[---], [---]↑| [---]

17. HP-109 *a*↑*ses* (on a bronze bowl found in the Tumulus D of Bayındır, east Lycia, middle of the eighth c. BC).
18. HP-110 *si*↑*idos* (on a bronze bowl found in Tumulus D at Bayındır, east Lycia, middle of the eighth c. BC).

On the sound it represents, Brixhe (1982, 229–239) equated the arrow-letter to the Ionian sampi ⟨T⟩ and the Lydian ⟨c⟩ (perhaps /dz/ or /ts/, see Melchert 2004, 603 and Gérard 2005, 58–59) and considered it a palatalised consonant arising in contact with front vowels (/e/ and /i/). This explanation fits well with the occurrences of the discussed letter (Table 7, only in HP-109 *a*↑*ses* is the letter not followed by a front vowel, see Brixhe [2004a, 115], who considered ⟨↑s⟩ a redundant representation of /ts/). However, he also suggested that it stands for a voiceless affricate /ts/ rendering the palatalisation of PIE **k* (even in Brixhe 2008, 74), perhaps written in NPhr. as σ(σ), although these proposals are more disputable.

Some facts must be considered to reveal the sound represented by the arrow-letter. First, words with this letter remain unclear, but there is no reason to consider that ⟨↑⟩ renders a development of /k/. The suggested etymology, "**se:*(*i*)*k*- ("tender, presenter…, cf. grec ἵκω, ἥκω, ἱκέτης, etc.)," for *si*↑*eto* (Brixhe 1982, 230–231, **seḱ*- in *LIV*² 522) can be refuted because the presence of the initial **s*- before a vowel is not preserved in Phr.: PIE **seǵʰ*- 'to hold, to overpower' (*LIV*² 515–516, *IEW* 888–889) > Phr. *egeseti*, εγεδου, εγεσιτ (Greek ἔχω 'have, hold', Sanskrit *sáhate* 'overwhelm, defeat').[6] Moreover, the only likely etymology for

6 The only possible exception is found in the demonstrative pron. σα, σι, σεμουν. However,

a word with the arrow-letter is PIE **ǵʰes-r-* 'hand' (*NIL* 170–172, Gr. χείρ, χειρός 'id.') > OPhr. B-05 ↑*irạy*, equated to NPhr. ζειρα (40.1 = 12), ζειραι (59.4 = 106, see Hämmig 2013, 150–151). Although the given etymology (and the meaning of the word) are open to discussion, the comparison between OPhr. ↑*irạy* and NPhr. ζειραι is strong enough to consider that OPhr. ⟨↑⟩ appears as ⟨ζ⟩ in NPhr. texts. It implies that ⟨↑⟩ represents a voiced consonant (perhaps a voiced alveo-palatal affricate or palato-alveolar affricate), since the Greek ⟨ζ⟩ stands for /zd/ or /dz/. The realisation of this Greek letter is difficult to determine and seems to be slightly different in each period and area, and it cannot be ruled out that another change, perhaps through the influence of Greek, was undergone by the sound represented by ⟨↑⟩ between OPhr. and NPhr. documentation. In any case, in such a scenario the etymology **ǵʰes-r-* 'hand' > OPhr. ↑*irạy* remains valid because a similar development is attested in Phrygian: PIE **dʰǵ⁽ʰ⁾e-m-* 'ground' (*NIL* 86–99, *IEW* 414–416)[7] > NPhr. ζεμελως 'men' (pl.dat., *passim*; Greek χθαμαλός 'low, near the ground'; very likely ζεμελως has the simplification **dʰǵ⁽ʰ⁾e-m-* > **ǵʰe-m-* found in Greek χαμαί 'to the earth, on the earth', χαμηλός 'low, lowered' and Lat. *humus* 'ground, earth'). Also, Hsch. ζ 128 seems to fit with this development: ζευμαν· τὴν πηγήν. Φρύγες 'Z.: source, stream. Phrygians', which can only go back to PIE **ǵʰeu̯-mn̥*, as well as Greek χεῦμα 'source, stream' (see Solmsen 1897a, 62 and *EDG* 1629).

In light of the little information available, ⟨↑⟩ may represent a secondary palatalisation of PIE **ǵʰ-* before front vowels (/e/ and /i/). However, in many examples PIE **ǵʰ-* is represented by ⟨g⟩ and ⟨γ⟩ in OPhr. and NPhr., respectively: PIE **seǵʰ-* 'to hold, to overpower' (*LIV*² 515–516, *IEW* 888–889) > Phr. *egeseti*, εγεδου, εγεσιτ (Greek ἔχω 'have, hold', Sanskrit *sáhate* 'overwhelm, defeat') and PIE **ǵʰer(H)-* 'desire, enjoy' (*LIV*² 176–177, *IEW* 440–441) > NPhr. γε-γαριτ-μενος 'cursed, devoted'. In Phrygian the PIE palatal series merged with the plain velar series (as *centum* languages) and the aspirate became a voiced stop. So, PIE **ǵʰ* is expected to become /g/ as well as PIE **gʰ*. Compare PIE **seǵʰ-* > OPhr. *egeseti* and PIE **gʰreiH(H)-* 'strike' (*LIV*² 203, *IEW* 457) > γεγρειμεναν (53.1 = 76, 60.1 = 59, etc.).

Therefore, we must assume the following steps: PIE **ǵʰ* > **gʰ* > Phr. *g-*, parallel to PIE **gʰ* > Phr. *g-*. In addition, in some words a secondary shift **g* > ⟨↑⟩ /⟨ζ⟩ occurs before front vowels. Nevertheless, this is not a consistent notation since it is common to find ⟨g⟩ and ⟨γ⟩ followed or preceded by front vowels, as we

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although it has been suggested that the *s-* goes back to the pronominal PIE theme **to-* / *so-*, Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 185 recently suggested that it is inherited from the PIE demonstrative **ḱi-* (see § 4.2.1.2.1), and this possibility is preferred here.

7 The reconstruction *dʰǵ-em-* is argued by Kloekhorst 2014.

TABLE 8 The Phoenician letter gīml and its reflections in other alphabets as suggested here

Phoenician	Phrygian	Greek	Lydian	Lycian
𐤂	𐤂 /g/ 𐤊 [gʲ, dz, zd]?	Γ /g/ Ͳ /ts/?	Ↄ [g] 𐤊 /dz/?	𐤂 /g/ 𐤔 /c/

have seen. The same is true of words without a clear origin: OPhr. *pʾerbastidages* (HP-101), *saragiṣ* (PN, B-108 and M-101), *lagineios* (PN, G-110), [-?-]*agipeia* (G-135), [---]*ṃʾagi.*[---] (G-240), [*lʾ*]*ągineią* (PN, G-276), *egertoy* (W-01c), *olgiavos* (G-150 a), *iyungidas* (PN, B-07), *u*|*rgitos* (PN, K-01) and [---]*egʾiʾ*.[---] (G-206); NPhr. ευγεξα|ρναι̣ (11.2 = 18), γεντι (15.1 = 120), γερε[ν] (28.1 = 71) and εγερετοι (37.2 = 30).

Consequently, in Phrygian some words with **gʰ* > *g* show this palatalisation and some do not. ⟨𐤊⟩ may represent a fricative allophone [z] or palatal [gʲ], [zd], [dz][8] or [ʤ] of /g/ not always indicated in writing. Finally, it is tempting to consider the Phrygian arrow-letter as derived from the Phoenician *gīml*, as well as the Phrygian gamma, by the addition of a stroke in order to make a new symmetrical letter (see Table 8).[9] However, this is a mere hypothesis and prior proposals cannot be refuted.

Brixhe 1982, 226–227 considered that Greek sampi was derived from the Phoenician *ṣadē* ⟨𐤑⟩. Although the earliest Phrygian texts have the arrow-shape of this letter, the Vezirhan stele has an unusual shape, 𐤑, which recalls the old shape of the Phoenician letter as found, e.g., in the inscription from Karatepe, 𐤑. However, Karatepe and Vezirhan inscriptions belong to different periods: the Phoenician inscription is dated to the eighth c. BC, the Phrygian one to the fifth c. BC. So, accepting this equation would imply that the "original" form of the letter was preserved in a peripherical location like Vezirhan, although the oldest Phr. inscription has the arrow-shape. Also Brixhe considered the Phoenician taw ⟨𐤕⟩ as a posible source for the Phrygian letter. More recently, Melchert suggested that the Carian ⟨τ⟩ and the Lydian ⟨𐤊⟩ was borrowed from the HLuw. sign *za/i* (see the discussion and references in Oreshko 2013, 81–82).

8 As Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 185 (= 2018, 1820) preferred.

9 Vertical symmetry is a common feature of the new letters developed in the Anatolian alphabets (Adiego 2018, 158–159).

3.1.3 *The Letters* CIPPh *No. 20 and 23: Variants of* ⟨*k*⟩

The Old Phrygian letter *CIPPh* no. 20 occurs twenty-three times in twenty-one different inscriptions from Gordion (11), Dorylaion (8) and Daskyleion (B-07) and on the Areyastin monument (W-01, near Midas City). However, ten of these occurrences are graffiti in which the letter does not appear in a text but as a (owner's) mark. The earliest instances of this letter can be dated to the beginning of the eighth c. BC (immediately after the Gordion Destruction Level, G-249 and, as a mark, in G-278), while most occurrences date to the period between the beginning of the Achaemenid period (550 BC) and the Macedonian conquest of Anatolia (330 BC), except G-324 (perhaps from the Hellenistic or Roman period). Regarding its shape, three variants are attested: 𐤚 (nine occurrences, W-01b, B-07, G-115, G-145, G-224, G-278, G-294, G-306 and G-339), 𐤛 (nine ocurrences, G-249, G-322, G-324, NW-101, NW-105, NW-112, NW-119, NW-121 and NW-121) and 𐤞 (G-112, NW-128 and NW-135).

After Lejeune (1978), who refuted prior equations with the different values of the Greek *psi* ⟨ψ⟩, it is commonly considered that this letter represents the stop + fricative sequence /ks/, like the Greek *xi* ⟨ξ⟩. However, this explanation is not at all compatible with the Phr. documentation, as I will try to show, following Lejeune's argumentation step by step. His analysis began with the misspelling found in G-145, a graffito incised after firing on "a flat strap handle of a gray ware jug, excellently black-polished" (Young 1969, 289), dated to the ffth c. BC:

voineio⟦𐤚⟧ *uriienois ḳu*[---]
s

As can be seen, the engraver first wrote *voineio*𐤚 and, later, incised the ⟨s⟩ under the letter ⟨𐤚⟩, after scratching it. In the light of this example, Lejeune (1978, 786) considered that the sound represented by this letter must be similar to that of ⟨s⟩. Then he suggested that it could stand for "une articulation consonantique complexe à composante sifflante" related to /s/ similar to /ss/, /ts/, /ks/, or /ps/, adducing the common hesitation in Greek between ξύν and σύν. Either way, as he admits, the text of G-145 is far from being clear: *voneios* can be considered a PN derived from *voines*, a well attested PN from Gordion (G-129, G-286; *voine* in G-228), but *uriienois* and *ḳu*[---] remain unclear.

Adiego, on the other hand, has recently suggested (p.c.) that if one examines carefully the photograph of this text given by *CIPPh*, the presence of ⟦𐤚⟧ is not as clear as has been said. According to his proposal, the engraver wrote ⟨o u⟩ and, after realising that he should have written ⟨osu⟩, tried to insert an ⟨s⟩ betwen the two vowels. However, there was not space enough and the result is not satisfactory. He then wrote the ⟨s⟩ under the position that it was supposed

FIGURE 2
Photograph of G-115
OBRADOR-CURSACH

to occupy and scratched the previous attempt because the result was confusing. Finally, he added another ⟨s⟩. Although this proposal must be confirmed or rejected by reading the physical object rather than the photograph, it shows that this error does not provide a valid basis to determine the nature of the letter ⟨ϒ⟩, because even the reading is unclear.

Second, Lejeune (1978, 785–786) adduced the graffito G-115, incised (also after firing) on the "base of a gray-ware bowl with finely black-polished surfaces" (Young 1969, 271) and dated to the sixth c. BC (Fig. 2). It reads as follows:

ϒuvaϒaros

Haas (1976, 80–82) identified it as the PN (also borne by a Median king) attested in OP as *ʰUvaxšatara-* (Behistun inscription), in New Assyrian as ^{m}*Ú-ak-sa-tar* (*TCL* 03, 5372 l. 42) and ^{m}*Uk-sa-tar* (*ABL* 645), in New and Late Babylonian as ^{m}*Ú-ma-ku-iš-tar* or ^{m}*Ú-ma-kiš-tar*, in Elamite as *Ma-ki-iš-tur-ri* and *Ma-ak-iš-tar-ra* (Behistun inscription, note that in Elamite the sign ME/PI often represents /v/), and, finally, in Greek as Κυαξάρης (Hdt. 1.73 and 1.103–107).[10] This

10 Lyc. *waχsser* (M 237; see Schmitt 1982, 27 and Neumann 2007, 423) cannot be considered in this list after Konuk 2016, 20–27, who read it as *waχssepddimi*, a PN also attested in Xanthos Stele (44a,49, perhaps Carian in origin, Adiego fthc.). Regarding *weχssere* (also read in coins, M 132, M 133, M 207 and M 236), one can consider that *waχsse-* and *weχsse-* are the outcome of a Luwic theme (Adiego p.c. 16/02/2018).

FIGURE 3 Detail of the façade W-01 with the discussed text
OBRADOR-CURSACH

name seems to go back to a Median form *^{h}*Uvaxštra*; following this likely interpretation for the Phrygian graffito, Lejeune considered that the Phrygian rendering follows the OP form with the common OP simplification of the Median cluster *-xštr-* > *-xšr-*. He argued that the second ⟨ϒ⟩ of *ϒuvaϒaros* stands for the OP ⟨xš⟩ and Greek ⟨ξ⟩ and, consequently, that Phr. ⟨ϒ⟩ represents a cluster /ks/, parallel to the Greek form. According to him, it fits with the misspelling found in G-145. Finally, for the first ⟨ϒ⟩, he suggested a regressive assimilation from the second ⟨ϒ⟩ to the initial /h-/ of this Persian PN, promoted because it is not a non-Phrygian phoneme. So, he reads *ϒuvaϒaros* as /ksuwaksaros/. In addition, G-224c, a graffito incised on a marmite (from the fourth c. BC, published after Lejeune's work), is very likely an abbreviation of this PN (*CIPPh* I, 180–181): *ϒuv*.

Following this interpretation, Lejeune also considered the verb *daϒet* of the imprecative protasis W-01b (see Fig. 3), read on a cult façade devoted to the mother goddess (near Midas City, dated ca. 550 BC according to Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 238):

yos esait ⁝ *materey* ⁝ *eveteksetę*$^{?}$*y* ⁝ *ovevin* ⁝ *onoman* ⁝ *daϒet* ⁝

In light of his analysis of the previous occurrences of ⟨ϒ⟩, he considered *daϒet* a clear form of the verb *edaes* (3sg.ind.aor.act.) / αδδακετ (3sg.pres.act.) < PIE *$d^{h}eh_{1}$- 'to put, to do', a sigmatic form (subj. or fut.) similar to Lat. *faxō* regarding to *faciō* / *fēcī*. In addition, since ⟨ks⟩ is also attested in the same sentence, he adduced that the difference between the sequence /ks/ found in *eveteksetę*$^{?}$*y* and in *daϒet* is that the first word contains a morpheme boundary between the two sounds: *ev-e-tek-s-e-tey*.

TABLE 9 Comparison between W-01b and the common NPhr. apodosis

W-01b	***yos***	***esai-t***	***materey eveteksetey***	***ovevin onoman***	***da𐤉et***
Morphological analysis	rel. pron. in sg.nom.masc.	demonstrative pronoun in sg.dat. (+ pcl.)	noun (+ adj. in sg.dat.)	(poss. pron +) noun in sg.acc.	3sg. verb
OPhr. B-05, syntactical parallel	†*iv*† (= *yos*)	⟨*s*⟩*imun*	*inmeney*	*ạsenạn*	*dạket*
NPhr. syntactical parallel	ιος (νι)	σεμουν	κνουμανει	κακουν	αδδακετ

However, a verbal sequence *-s-et* (suffix and ending) is never again attached to a consonant verbal theme without a vowel (see P-04 *egeseti*; the interpretation of *aniva𐤉eti* depends on *da𐤉et*, see below), and it is easier to consider *da𐤉et* a spelling variant of OPhr. B-05 *dạket* and the NPhr. (αδ)δακετ (3sg. pres. act.). Indeed, this sentence is a clear imprecative protasis, 'who(ever) puts his own name in this Mother *Eveteksetey*…', and is the same syntactic sequence as the common New Phrygian protasis ιος νι σεμουν κνουμανε κακουν αδδακετ (*passim*) 'who(ever) does harm to this tomb' (see Table 9). It is also similar to the OPhr. protasis †*iv*† ⟨*s*⟩*imun inmeney ạsenạn dạket* 'whoever puts/does *asenan* in/to this monument' (B-05, Vezirhan stele, following Hämmig's 2013 analysis). On the other hand, one could argue that there is a protasis with a similar verbal form, P-04 a, *ios ni ạḳenan egeseti*, but the ending *-ti* of this verb instead of *-t* shows that *egeseti* is not the same as *da𐤉et*, and note that there is a vowel between the root *eg-* (< PIE **seǵʰ*- 'hold') and *-s-eti* (NPhr. εγεσιτ).

Therefore, this is the first context in which Lejeune's suggestion is questionable, although the arguments given here to refute it are not conclusive. Nevertheless, there is a disregarded inscription that could be the key to this question: G-249. It is a short text incised on the bottom of an unfinished alabaster weight, according to the first editors (*CIPPh* I, 195–196):

se𐤅elt|ias

It is difficult to date this artefact because it was found in a layer of the sixth c. BC with many objects dated to the eighth c. BC. Despite the ambiguous context (a layer in the post-destruction level in building CC3), the editors considered it "archaïque" and, more recently, Brixhe (2002a, 26 and 2004b, 276) reconsidered that it may be dated to the beginning of the eighth c. BC, following the reconsideration of Gordion chronology by DeVries and Voigt (see § 3.1). In this case,

it would be the oldest occurrence of ⟨Ψ⟩. Note that this shape is the common one of the Phoenician *kāp* before the eighth c. BC (see, e.g., the *Schrifttafel* given by Friedrich and Röllig 1970).

The reading of this inscription is not easy, but the experienced editors did an excellent job. Indeed, not only is the text established by the editors the only defensible intepretation, it is also supported by new arguments. Since the artefact where G-249 was incised is a weight (modified to serve as loom weight, as the unfinished central hole and the archaeological context show),[11] it can be considered that the inscription refers to the unit of measurement. Indeed, the first part, *seΨel*, fits perfectly as a borrowing of the well-known West Semitic unit of weight: *šql* /šqel/ 'shekel, weight' (in Greek as σίκλος and σίγλος, referred to a weight or coin, also in Lyc. as *siχla-*, see Neumann 2007, 324–325). It is a common epigraph incised on weights from Old Aramaic and Imperial/Official Aramaic periods. See, for example, the typical Old Aramaic inscription on weights: e.g., *šql ḥmt* 'Shekel of Ḥamath', *šql ṣydn* 'Shekel of Sidon', *šql qrqr* 'Shekel of *Qarqar*' (see Riis and Buhl 1990, 65–66 and Deutsch and Millard 2014), all of them contemporaneous to the Phrygian one. Therefore, the word *seΨel* provides an explicit occurrence against the interpretation /ks/ for the letter ⟨Ψ⟩.

According to the given parallels, the rest of the inscription, *t|ias*, may be a toponym in sg. gen., however an ethnic in sg. nom. cannot be ruled out in the light of New Phrygian 1.1 (48) πουντας βας 'Pontic Bas' (sg. nom.). Here, it is tempting to consider *tias* as the ethnic of the Bithynian city Τίειον, Τίος, Τήιον (*KON* 618–619 §1337), named after *Ti-* (the Phrygian Zeus) according to FGrH 699 F 9 of Demosthenes's *Bithynian History* (St.Byz *s.u.* Τίος): Δημοσθένης δ'ἐν Βιθυνιακοῖς φησι κτιστὴν τῆς πόλεως γενέσθαι Πάταρον ἑλόντα Παφλαγονίαν, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τιμᾶν τὸν Δία Τίον προσαγορεῦσαι 'Demosthenes in his *Bithyniaca* says that the city's founder was Pataros, who conquered Paphlagonia, and that he called it Tios after Zeus worship'. Nevertheless, other unrecorded cities could be also named after this central Phrygian god and the suggested identification is a mere possibility.

Before giving an alternative interpretation for the representation of the letter ⟨Ψ⟩, I prefer to further explore the other occurrences of this letter. However, only the verb *anivaΨeti* (B-07) provides some information. This 3sg. verb occurs

11 On the large number of loom weights from this level and on textile production at Gordion, see DeVries 1990, 387 (who counts 509 weights in the main room of CC 3) and Burke 2005, 75–78. Note that this alabaster weight differs considerably from the more common "doughnut" type (most "made of sun-dried clay from the banks of the Sakarya River" according to Burke 2005, 75).

in a Greco-Persian grave stele dated to between 500 and 475 BC and found in Daskyleion (seat of the Persian satrapy of Hellespontic Phrygia). My reading below is based on the one given by Brixhe (2004a, 85), with some differences in the segmentation:

[.]*gat* : *s≈manes iyungidas manitos apelev porniyoy esṭ*[..]
[..]*es va ḳnais manuka odeketoy meros ke manes is yos tiv*[.]
[.?]*n ke devụṇ k umnotan ordoineten me kos anivaɣeti s≈maniṇ*

The stele has a relief representing a banquet scene with a couple reclined on a couch and surrounded by attendants.[12] It very likely represents Manes (l. 1, 2 and 3) and his wife Manukka (*va ḳnais manuka* l. 2). Although the text is unclear, the second part of the last line can be reconsidered. According to Brixhe (2002, 85), the sequence may be read as *mekos anivaɣeti* (*i*)*s maniṇ*, where *mekos* is a variant of *mekas* (erroneously considered a noun referring to the tomb) or, as he preferred, an unknown word in pl. dat., (*i*)*s* a preposition (the loss of its vowel is explained by its position after *anivaɣeti*) and *manin* the acc. of the PN *manes*. However, Brixhe cannot give clear sense to this part of the inscription and *mekos* has no parallels.

Considering that *me* has recently been identified as the prohibitive pcl. PIE **meh$_1$* (simultaneously Hämmig fthc. a and Obrador-Cursach fthc. a), B-07 *me … anivaɣeti* can be interpreted in the light of the New Phrygian curses against violators, where με + subjunctive occurs as the apodosis: e.g., με κε οι | τοτοσσειτι βας βεκος 'and let Bas not give him bread', similar to 86 βα[ς] | ιοι βεκος με βερε[τ] 'let Bas not bring bread to him' (following Hämmig's likely interpretation). Moreover, this new segmentation of B-07 shows a subject of the verb: the indefinite pron. *kos* (sg. nom. masc., inherited from PIE **k$^{\mu}$o-*). This pron. is found four times in NPhr. inscriptions: 2.2 (130) αινι κος κακην αδδακετ κορο|[υ]μανη… 'if anybody does harm to this place…', 11.2 (18) αινι κος σεμουν κνουμανει κ|ακουν αδδακετ αινι μανκα…, 'if anybody does harm to this tomb and stele…', 56.3 (64) αι κος [σεμουν του κνουμαν]|ει κα[κουν αδδακετ]… 'if anybody [does] ha[rm to this tomb]', and 58.1 (72) [αι] κος ϰ[ακον αδα]κκι-τορ… '[if] anybody [do]es h[arm]…' Since this inscription uses spaces to mark the word boundaries, the lack of a space between *me* and *kos* suggests that *me* is a clitic word as well as its Greek parallel μή. Finally, the lone *s* is the same clitic form of the demonstrative pron. found in M-01d *s≈materan* (*midas s≈materan tvemes eneparkes*? 'Midas engraved this Matar *tvemes*', a text from the

12 On the significance of this motif see Baughan 2013, 233–266.

same period as B-07). Consequently, *me kos anivaɣeti s=maniṇ* means something like 'let nobody *anivaɣeti* Manes'.

Despite the above analysis, the verb *anivaɣeti* remains the only misunderstood word of this short sentence. Nevertheless, a similar funerary stele with an Aramaic inscription found in the same city, Daskyleion, can be the key to clarifying the meaning of the Phrygian verb. According to Lipiński (1975a, 151), the Aramaic epitaph reads as follows:

> *ʔlh ṣlmh zy ʔlnp br ʔšy-*
> *hw ʕbd lnpšh hwmytk*
> *bl wnbw zy ʔrḥʔ znh*
> *yhwh ʕdh ʔyš ʔl yʕml*
>
> These are the images, which Elnāp, son of Ashyā|hū, has made for his tomb. I adjure thee | by Bēl and Nabû! May the man, who along this way | will be going, do no harm![13]

In light of the last line of the text, *me kos anivaɣeti s=maniṇ* can be considered to mean 'let nobody harm Manes'. But does *anivaɣeti* have any relation with harm? Here a suitable etymology can be proposed. If we consider *an*(*i*)- a preverb (as Brixhe 2004a, 84 does),[14] we have a verbal root *vaɣ*- that fits as inherited from PIE **u̯eh₂g-* / **u̯eh₂ǵ-* 'break' (*LIV*² 664–665) attested in Greek ἄγνυμι 'to break', Hitt. *u̯āk-ⁱ* / *u̯ākk-* 'to bite', and ToAB *wāk-* 'to split, to burst'. Of course, this development assumes the shift **-g-* / **-ǵ-* > *-k-* found in *mekas* 'big' (< **méǵ-h₂*, Greek μέγας Obrador-Cursach 2016), βεκος 'bread' (< **bʰh₁ǵ-os-* Lubotsky 2004, 233, following a previous identification by Panagl and Kowal 1983, 186) and τετικμενος 'accursed' < **de-dík-mh₁no-* (Greek δια-δικάζω 'judge', κατα-δικάζω 'condemn'). Thus, there is another ⟨ɣ⟩ related somehow to /k/.

Moreover, it can be suggested as a working hypothesis that, in light of the Aramaic relaltive clause in the same position, *zy ʔrḥʔ znh* | *yhwh ʕdh ʔyš ʔl yʕml* 'who along this way | will be going, do no harm!', the rel. clause read before this little sentence, *yos tiv*[.]|[.ˀ]*n ke devụṇ k umnotan ordoineten me kos anivaɣeti*

13 Other translations of the last sentence are "let no one do harm (to my tomb)" (Cross 1966, 8–9), "que personne ne (lui) fasse de mal!" (Lemaire 2000, 11.1).

14 Also found in B-05 *ạndạti* and as a preposition governing acc. in W-11 MPhr-01 αν δετοụỵ and, perhaps, in 40.3 αν | μανκαν. Since its origin is to be found in the PIE adverb **h₂en-* 'on, onto' (see, e.g., Greek ἀνά 'up, upwards, along', Avestan *ana* 'upwards, along'), I must admit that the presence of the vowel *i* in B-07 *an-i-* is a mystery to me.

s≈maniṇ, is related to *kos*, the subject of the sentence. Note also the presence of the DNs *bl wnbw* 'Bēl and Nabû' in the Aramaic text, the occurrence of the word *devun* 'god(s)' (sg.acc. or pl.gen?) and the tentative presence of the Phrygian Zeus in *tiv*[.]|[.?]*n* (first suggested by Lubotsky 2004, 230). Both inscriptions are formulated similarly.

Following the analysis of this letter, the remaining occurrences must be considered to confirm that they do not provide valuable information. Certainly, the form *de𐤅eti* seems to be related somehow to *da𐤉et* (a zero-grade form of the PIE root $*d^h(e)h_1$- 'to put, to do'?).[15] It was read by Brixhe (2002a, 6–7) on a small terracotta disc found on the surface of the ancient Dorylaion (Şarhöyük, near Eskişehir) without a clear archaeological context. The nature of this inscription remains unclear according to its editor (a seal?), and even the text, displayed on both faces, is a pile of minuscule strokes that are difficult to read (especially face B). The whole text was edited by Brixhe (2002a, 4–10) as follows:

Face	A I		*de𐤅eti*
	A II		*to𐤕i a tiei*
Face	B		*as-*
		←	*na isnou*

After *de𐤅eti*, the remaining words are even more obscure. The form *toTi* (with the rare letter no. 19, a variant of 𐤕) is tentatively suggested to be the object of the verb (a sg. acc. of an unknown *i*-stem neuter noun) and the collation *a tiei* seems to correspond to NPhr. α(τ) τι(η), 'by Zeus' (see Lubotsky 1997, 126 fn. 23 and Lubotsky 2004, 230). The two words of face B are even less clear: *isnou* is equated to NPhr. 87 ισνου (verb of an imprecative apodosis without clear meaning) and the hapax *as*|*na* is suggested to be the subject of the verb (a neuter plural).

Also unclear are G-112, a graffito from the sixth c. BC with the sequence *e𐤔tą*[---], perhaps related to W-02 *iketaios*, Greek Ἰκέτας, or Lyc. *ixtta*, Ικτα (Neumann 2007, 14), G-339 *𐤉ir*, an unparalleled graffito dated to 550–330 BC, G-306 [---]𐤉ǫ[---] or [---]ǫ𐤉[---] (fifth c. BC) and NW-135 *miye*[-?-]*o𐤔I* (550–330 BC). This letter elsewhere appears as a simple mark: 𐤉 in G-294 (fourth c. BC),[16] 𐤅 in G-322 (560–550 BC), G-324 (Hellenistic or Roman period?), NW-105,

15 The alternative given by Brixhe (2002a, 6–7), a form related to PIE *dék- 'take, perceive' (*LIV*² 109–112, Greek δέκομαι / δέχομαι 'to take, accept', Lat. *decet* 'it is fitting'), must be excluded in light of Phrygian *Lautverschiebung* suggested by Lubotsky (2004).

16 We can add to this list 𐤉 in G-278 (dated to between the eighth and the seventh c. BC according to Brixhe 2004a, 38–40); however, although there is a small amount of text ([-?-

NW-112, NW-119, NW-121 (all from Dorylaion and dated to 550–330 BC), 𐤅𐤅 in NW-121 (550–330 BC) and 𐤕 in NW-128 (550–330 BC).

Leaving aside the marks, the contexts in which it occurs can be established as follows:

a) Initial position (three occurrences), G-115 *𐤉uva𐤉aros*, its possible abbreviation G-224 *𐤉uv* and G-339 *𐤉ir*.
b) Between vowels (five occurrences), W-01b *da𐤉et*, B-07 *aniva𐤉eti*, G-115 *𐤉uva𐤉aros*, *se𐤅el* G-249 and NW-101 *de𐤅eti* twice between *a* and *e*, twice between *e* and *e*, once between *a* and *a*.
c) Beween a vowel and a consonant (one occurence), *e𐤕tạ*[---].
d) Unknown (three occurrences): G-145 *voineio*⟦𐤉⟧*s*, G-306 [---]𐤉ọ[---] or [---]ọ𐤉[---] and NW-135 *miye*[-?-]*o𐤕I*.

Moreover, in four of these twelve instances (or nine instances, leaving aside point (d)) it is found in borrowed words: G-115 *𐤉uva𐤉aros*, *𐤉uv* and *se𐤅el* and in six of these twelve instances (9 leaving aside point (d)) it is in contact with front vowels (/e/ and /i/). In *𐤉uva𐤉aros* it is the Phrygian rendering of the Persian *-xš-*, while in *se𐤅el* the Aramaic /q/ (*šqel*)[17] and in *da𐤉et* (= B-05 *dạket*, NPhr. [αδ]δακετ) and *aniva𐤉eti* it goes back to PIE **-k-* (**dʰeh₁-k-* and **u̯eh₂k-*, respectively), perhaps also in *de𐤅eti* if related to *da𐤉et*.

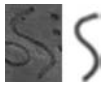
According to the available information, one can consider three possibilities:

1. ⟨𐤉⟩ represents a palatalised allophone of /k/ in contact with front vowels ([kʲ], [ʦ] or [ʧ]): *𐤉ir* (G-339), *da𐤉et* (W-01b), *aniva𐤉eti* (B-07), *de𐤅eti* (NW-101) and *e𐤕tạ*[---]. The suggested palatalisation was sufficient to be identified by the engravers, who developed a variant of the kaph / kappa. Later this letter was used to represent the foreign sounds of *ʰ*Uvaxštra-* >*𐤉uva𐤉aros*. The Lycian alphabet can be adduced as a parallel of the kaph-kappa split suggested for the Phrygian letters ⟨𐤉⟩ and ⟨k⟩, but in reverse: Lyc. ⟨𐤊⟩ (transcribed as ⟨k⟩) stands for /c/ and 𐤅 (transcribed as ⟨χ⟩) for /k/.
2. ⟨𐤉⟩ represents a fricative allophone [x] of /k/ in intervocalic position, a shift similar to **népot-s* > *nevos* (B-05, as Hämmig 2013 identified). In such a case, the use of this letter fits with *ʰ*Uvaxštra-* >*𐤉uva𐤉aros*, since /h/ could have been heard as /x/ by the Phr. speakers and *-xš-* could have been

].ʔ[.]*aiʔ uʔ*), this suggested letter appears near to nonverbal marks and is very likely not to be a proper grapheme. As has been said above, the certain instances of this letter appear in the sixth c. BC.

17 This uvular sound /q/ is supposed to merge with the Phrygian velar sound /k/, as occurs in Greek σίκλος and Lyc. *siχla-* (see Neumann 2007, 324–325 and note that the Lyc. letter ⟨χ⟩ represents /k/).

TABLE 10 Shapes of ⟨s⟩ in M-01a

⟨s⟩				

simplified to /x/. Again, this shift only occurred in some places and was not consistently represented.

3. ⟨ϒ⟩ and ⟨k⟩ are two shapes of the same letter ⟨k⟩, since *daϒet* (W-01b) is the same verbal form of *daket* (B-05) / (αδ)δακετ (*passim*). If this is the case, Phrygian *ϒuvaϒaros* renders this name in the same way as Ionian Κυαξάρης (Hdt. 1.73 and 1.103–107), where /k/ renders Persian /x/ and /h/,[18] and the cluster *-ks-* > was simplified in *-k-* in Phrygian (parallel to **u̯anaks* > *-vanak* M-04, Greek ἄναξ).[19] It must be added that all the Phrygian shapes related to ⟨k⟩ are found in Semitic inscriptions of the same period for *kāp*.

A problem shared by the two first possibilities is that the verb *daϒet* never again appears with a letter other than ⟨k⟩ in OPhr. and ⟨ϰ⟩ in NPhr.: *dạket* (B-05) / (αδ)δακετ (*passim*). Especially in the case of the second possibility, the lack of a NPhr. variant **δαχετ is significant and the spelling of the Greek borrowing χώρος, -ου > ϰορου (27.1 = 92) does not make sense because Classical Greek /kʰ/ was pronounced as /x/ by the New Phrygian times. Of course, it could be adduced that this shift occurred only in some some variants of Phrygian that were not precedents of the NPhr. stage. However, there is no evidence for such a conclusion. Moreoever, the first possibility may be refuted because in the same W-01b, ⟨k⟩ occurs in contact with a front vowel, *eveteksetę̓y*, *lakedo* and *key*.

The third possibility could be rejected because in W-01b and B-07 the two shapes occur in the same inscription with ⟨k⟩. However, this is not a valid argument because it is not unusual to find two or even more different shapes of one letter in the same inscription. See, e.g., the famous inscription M-01a (from the sixth c. BC, as well as W-01b), where ⟨s⟩ has several shapes (Table 10).

Turning back to the letter ⟨ϒ⟩, it seems also to be found in B-07 *ḳnays* (Brixhe 2004a, 74), if we consider that the breach at this position of the stele hides a

18 Since Phrygian and Ionian are psilotic, the rendering of /h/ is not expected. Consequently, one must assume an anticipatory assimilation between /h/ and /x/ in this PN: **huvaxšatara-* > **xuvaxsara-* (with the assimilation and syncope **-šatara-* > **-šara-*) > Ion. Κυαξάρης / Phr. *ϒuvaϒaros*.

19 From of *seѰel* < Aramaic *šqel* we know that this Semitic sibiliant was rendered as /s/ in Phrygian, as well as in Greek (σίγλος, σίκλος).

TABLE 11 ⟨k⟩ and ⟨ϒ⟩ in B-07 (stele from Daskyleion) according to the photo and copy by Brixhe (2004a, 74–75)

Occurrence	Photo	Copy	Word
1 (l. 2)			*ḳnais*
2 (l. 2)			*manuka*
3 (l. 2)			*odeketoy*
4 (l. 2)			*ke*
5 (l. 3)			*ke*
6 (l. 3)			*kos*
7 (l. 3)			*anivaϒeti,*

stroke of this letter. However, the shape is clearly different to the other ⟨k⟩ of the stele and similar to ⟨ϒ⟩, and detailed examination of the photo provided by Brixhe suggests that the consonant is complete (albeit eroded). Observe in Table 11 that not all the vertical strokes of the ⟨k⟩ are as apparent as drawn by Brixhe (especially 4, l. 2).

Indeed, by the time the alphabet had been adapted to the Phrygian language, the Phoenician-Aramaic variant ϒ was commonly used (e.g., the Kulamuwa stele, dated ca. 830 BC). Consequently, there is good reason to consider that ϒ is a mere graphic variant of ⟨k⟩ rather than a representation of /ks/ or other sounds. Nevertheless, I will represent here the variants of the letter in the words where they appear, since the question requires further research. Finally, the coexistence of various shapes must be addressed. The scenario suggested here may show interferences of cursive writing in monumental inscriptions; the same evolution is found in Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions. Note that ϒ is significantly more common in graffiti on sherds than in stone inscriptions, where it only occurs twice: *daϒet* (W-01b) and *anivaϒeti* (B-07). At least in W-01b, the use of ϒ instead of K seems to be conditioned by the lack of space at the end of the line (see Fig. 4), but the same can be adduced for B-07, where

FIGURE 4
Detail of da𐤕et in W-01b
OBRADOR-CURSACH

the letters are slightly bigger and spaced further apart at the beginning than at the end of the inscription.

3.1.4 *The Letter* CIPPh *No. 21: The Unparalleled Phrygian "Qof"*

The letter *CIPPh* no. 21 is a hapax found only in the rock inscription W-08 (undated): *ates agomoi* | *sa*𐤒*ʔta tedaes* | *alus si*↑*etoʔ* | *bateles bab*.[-?-] ('Ates made these *saqʔta* for Agomos. *alus si*↑*etoʔ*. *Bateles* Baba? …'). Although it has been sometimes equated to the Semitic qof and Greek qoppa, the letter could stand for ⟨p⟩ or the ligature of two letters (⟨o⟩ + ⟨i⟩?), according to *CIPPh* (I, 53, see also Brixhe and Drew-Bear 1982, 69 and 72). In any case, it is never found elsewhere in the Phrygian corpus and the reading is not certain enough for it to be deemed a proper letter. Indeed, the vertical stroke seems deliberate, but the circular part is more tentative. So, as *CIPPh* assumes, its existence is unclear.

3.1.5 *The Obscure Letter* CIPPh *No. 22*

Before the identification of the Phrygian yod by Lejeune (1969a), the letter *CIPPh* no. 18 was considered similar to Greek Z, ζ. However, when the yod was identified, the letter *CIPPh* no. 22 was suggested to be the counterpart of this Greek letter (see Lejeune 1969a, 39, Lejeune 1970, 58 and 60, Brixhe 1982, 240–241 and Morante Mediavilla 2000, 185–196). However, both of the claimed occurrences of this letter are far from clearly read texts and belong to very different periods of Gordion's history. In G-106 *u̯*𐤗*d*, the whole inscription ("scratched on a smear of beeswax beside one handle" of a bronze bowl of the MM Tumulus, Young 1969, 262 no. 32, dated before 740 BC) has no parallels and does not refer to any known sequence. Brixhe (1982, 240) considered it an abbreviation of a PN, however this PN is unknown. Very probably, his motivation is that two of the three letters are consonants and the other inscriptions found in MM are PNs. In any case, the first letter has a strange shape for a ⟨u⟩ and perhaps the claimed 𐤗 is the shape of another letter. As a working hypothesis,

one could suggest a three-stroke ⟨s⟩, similar to the one found in M-01d. However, the two letters are not at all equal, and whatever this inscription contains it remains unclear, as does the reading of the second letter. It is true that a reading *usd* would fit the NPhr. sequence υσδ- (22.1 = 9), but it is also problematic.[20]

The second claimed inscription is G-244, a graffito incised on a sherd (fragment of a cup from the third c. BC): [-?-]*me*ʔ*Ƶi*[-?-] (according to *CIPPh*, 191). Brixhe (1982, 241) suggested it was an abbreviated PN. However, since it is dated to the third c. BC, it seems most likely to be a Greek inscription (as is more common in Hellenistic Gordion). Moreover, the incised letters are highly simplified compared to other text Phrygian graffiti, especially the letter ⟨e⟩ without the central stroke. Therefore, G-244 could be read in Greek as [-?-]MEZI[-?-]. As can be seen, the two inscriptions claimed to attest such a letter are particularly difficult to read, so the existence of the Old Phrygian letter *CIPPh* no. 22 is hardly defensible.

3.1.6 *The Letter* CIPPh *No. 24: An 8-shaped Variant of ⟨b⟩*

The 8-shaped letter *CIPPh* no. 24 is only found in three obscure inscriptions, which lack clear significance because they are full of hapaxes:

1. P-101 (incised on the bottom of a cup from 7th c. BC) *ạini* | *da*8*p*ʔ*ula ịsini* (conj. + noun + verb);
2. P-106 (on a sherd, 7th or 6th c. BC) [---].*ti* ⁝ *makio*ʔ*ta*⊤*i*8*i* ⋮ .[---] (?);
3. W-08 (inscribed on a rock, undated) *ates agomoi* | *sa*Ϙʔ*ta tedaes* | *alus si*↑*eto*ʔ | 8*ateles* 8*a*8.[-?-] ('Ates made these *sa*Ϙʔ*ta* for Agomos. *alus si*↑*eto*ʔ. Bateles Babaʔ…').

Although a similar letter is found in the Lydian (and the Etruscan) alphabet as /f/,[21] Brixhe (in Brixhe and Drew-Bear 1982, 78; see also *CIPPh* I, 54) considered it a variant of ⟨b⟩ written with one stroke. Indeed, by analysing its positions he concluded that it was a consonant (in P-101 it is found after a vowel and before a consonant, in P-106 between vowels, in W-08 at the beginning of two words and before vowels). His proposal is very likely since the letter never occurs in a text where the common ⟨b⟩ is used, hence it does not suggest a possible new sound for the Phrygian language (never found again in either OPhr. or NPhr.)

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20 In addition, a Phoenician (or Aramaic) reading of G-106 can be ruled out because the letters would be too schematic. Moreover, neither a root nor personal name *D-Z-W* is attested in the West Semitic branch and this sequence does not fit anything known in Anatolia. I want to thank José Ángel Zamora López for his observations on ruling out this possibility (p.c. 19/07/2017).

21 A similar letter is also found in Carian (doubtfully mentioned by Brixhe): Masson no. 33(+34) Ⅹ and Ⅹ, transcribed as γ (see Adiego 2007, 20, 21).

and, finally, the common PN *baba*(*s*) can be read in W-08. Following Brixhe's analysis, here this *8*-shaped letter is transliterated as *b*.

3.1.7 *The Non-phonetic Signs*

3.1.7.1 Interpunctions and Spaces

Usually, OPhr. inscriptions are written in *scriptio continua* and word boundaries are not marked. Nevertheless, in some inscriptions interpunctions are used to separate words. These signs may consist of one or several dots in vertical disposition. In monumental inscriptions this sign consists of three (⁝) or four (⋮) dots: three dots in M-02, M-06, M-10, W-01, W-02, G-01a, G-10, P-06, T-01 and T-02; and four in M-01f, M-04 and K-01. Sometimes, interpunctions of three and four dots coexist in the same inscriptions: M-01a, M-01b, W-07, G-02 and T-03 (T-03aI only has ⁝, while the other fragments have ⋮). These two types of interpuntions are also found in graffiti on pottery, but less commonly: G-125 and P-107 have ⋮, G-136 has ⁝ and P-106 has both types. Only one inscription, B-04, has the single dot. Interpunctions consisting of two dots (:) are used in the funerary inscription from Daskyleion (B-07), in the graffito B-108 and the seal Dd-103.

Spaces to separate words are less common. They are only found in the monumental inscriptions B-01 and B-05 and some graffiti on sherds, G-109. Interpunction and spaces share a common feature: clitics are not separated from the stressed words. See, e.g., M-01b ⁝*sikeneman*⁝ for *si=keneman* and B-01 *sibevdos* for *si=bevdos*.

3.1.7.2 The "Determinative" ⟨ˈ⟩ before PNs

In three instances[22] an upper semi-circular sign appears before PNs: ˈ*urunis* (G-346), ˈ*uva* (K-01V) and ˈ*ṃąsa urgitos* (K-01VI+VIIa, where the inverse sign appears). The case of G-346, a beam from Gordion MM Tumulus (closed between 743 and 741 BC), is striking because this sign is not used in the other three PNs incised on the same beam. In any case, there is a significant space between ˈ*urunis* and the other PNs, and perhaps for some reason this name has a special status, also marked by the use of the symbol ˈ. After rejecting a reading ⟨k⟩ or ⟨g⟩ for this sign, Brixhe (in Liebhart and Brixhe 2009, 151–152) concluded that it must be a non-phonetic sign, used in the same way as the determinatives in the cuneiform and hieroglyphic scripts. Then, according to him, with this sign, Phrygians tried to imitate the cuneiform use of the sign 𒹻 (transliterated as $^{\text{I}}$ or $^{\text{m}}$), which is put before male personal names in cuneiform scripts.[23]

22 A fourth testimony is also found in K-01V. However, the following word is lost.

23 Perhaps, HLuw. also has a "personal maker", the sign no. *380 (see Payne 2010, 6–7 and 2017, 224).

3.1.7.3 Capacity Marks

Three pithoi from Gordion with grafitti also bear metrological marks, which are also found on other vessels (mainly pithoi) from the same city with non-verbal marks.[24] It is unclear whether they refer to the potential or actual volume of the vessel or even the weight of its contents. Roller (1987a, 60) provides a likely interpretation for their use: "because they were incised after firing [with one partial exception: 3b-29], the marks were probably first placed on the containers to record the volume or weight of the vessel's contents. Once incised, however, the marks became permanent and stood as a record of the potential capacity of the empty vessel."

These "capacity marks" consist of compass-drawn circles, half-circles, or a straight stroke. G-116 has four cicles and its capacity is 95.04 litres, so each circle has been considered to represent ca. 23.76 litres.[25] G-117 is estimated to contain 132 litres and the metrological marks consists of five circles (about 118.8 litres), one half-circle (about 11.88 litres), and one straight stroke, which must represent about 1.32 litres. Finally, G-150 has three circles (about 71.25 litres), but it is too fragmentary to corroborate its capacity.

Nevertheless, there are three gray-ware jugs from the same city that do not fit this theory. They are too small to contain the litres represented on them according to the previous analysis. So Roller (1987a, 62) considered that "the circle unit could have referred to two different units of measure altogether, perhaps a large and a small unit of grain, or perhaps the distinction between a wet and dry measure." In any case, inhabitants of Gordion do not use a Greek numeral system until the Hellenistic period, when the Ionic numeral system is found on several pithoi. Previous occurrences of Greek acrophonic numerals only appear on vases imported into the city.

3.2 The Use of the Greek Alphabet

3.2.1 *MPhr-01, the First Phrygian Inscription in Greek Alphabet*

The Phrygian alphabet had disappeared by the time of Alexander the Great's Macedonian conquest (mid 330s BC), perhaps in "the period immediately pre-

24 See the in-depth Roller 1987a, 60–68, section 3b, with forty occurrences of this system used "only on vessels of local manufacture." Regarding the dating of the objects, note that the book is previous to the recent revision.

25 These estimations are based on Young 1969, 272 and fn. 43. Edwards 1963, 46–47 considered that it represents approximately twenty-five liters, while Roller, more conservatively, speaks about twenty to twenty-eight liters.

ceding" it, as Brixhe (2008, 70) established. After this critical event, all Phrygian inscriptions are written in Greek script. However, only one clear text has been found from the period between the Macedonian conquest and the Roman Imperial era (the NPhr. inscriptions).[26] This single inscription (MPhr-01 = Brixhe's 2004a W-11) was engraved on a funerary stele discovered near Dokimeion, "the earliest colonial settlement [...] founded as a Greek *polis* in the last years of the fourth c. BC by a certain Dokimos" (Thonemann 2013, 17). Despite Brixhe's (2004a, 7–26) excellent edition and analysis, the inscription's content remains obscure. However, the language is clearly Phrygian, in light of some intelligible sequences (the clearest is l. 1 μανκα μεκας σας 'this big stele', see Obrador-Cursach 2016, 183–184) and the maintenance of some obscure terms found on other Phrygian funerary stelae (e.g., compare B-07 l. 8 ομνισιτου with B-07 *umnotan*). It seems clear that a man called Nikostratos for Kleumachos erected the stele (l. 4–5 νικοστρατǫ̣ς | ḳ̣λευμαχοι). Both men bear Greek names, so they are considered to belong to "a Phrygian elite family adopting Greek cultural practices (the practice of erecting inscribed funerary *stelai*, Greek names, the Greek alphabet, the Greek language),[27] with a Greek family adopting Phrygian cultural practices (the Phrygian language, a Phrygian 'baby-name'), or with a culturally hybrid family formed by intermarriage between settlers and natives" (Thonemann 2013, 17–19).[28]

This inscription is so significant that Brixhe considered an intermediate stage between OPhr. and NPhr.: Middle-Phrygian (MPhr.). Indeed, the phraseology of the text seems related to the OPhr. text, but the script is the same used in the NPhr. inscriptions. The epitaph reads as follows:

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26 As has been said, some OPhr. may be written in Greek script. Brixhe and Drew-Bear (2010) considered that NPhr. 20.2 (129, from Prymnessos) was also a Hellenistic inscription (perhaps from the second c. BC). However, since there is no good reason for such a consideration beyond the style of the letters, it should preferably be classed as another NPhr. inscription (the second one found in Prymnessos, 19.1 = 96), as in Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 182 and 2018, 1818). Indeed, the only significant feature of its letters is the presence of apices at the extremes, which is shared with the Imperial inscriptions. See also Bru (2017, 227–228), who suggested that it is perhaps from the first c. BC rather than third or second c. BC. Moreover, although incomplete, the content of the inscription is the common NPhr. imprecation against violators.

27 Brixhe (2013, 59) and Bru (2017, 227) preferred this possibility.

28 Another stele found alongside MPhr-01 has the Greek epitaph of Nikostratos's daughter, according to the Turkish translation of the text given by Drew-Bear (1985, 259, "Nikostratos'un kızı, Theophilos'un karısı Tatis") and the English translation by Thoneman (2013, 18, "Tatis, daughter of Nikostratos, wife of Theophilos"). This girl bears a typical Anatolian Lallname, which contrasts with the Greek names borne by her father and her husband.

μανκα μεκας σας κιυιν εν κε βιλαταδε-
ναν νεκοινουν : ποκραιου κη γλουρεος γαμενo̰υ̰ν
ʂo̰ σοροι ματι μακραν : βλασκον κε τακρις κε λo̰υ̰ν-
ι̰o̰υ̰ μροτις λαπτα ματι αοινουν : νικοστρατo̰ʂ
κ̣λ̣ευμαχοι μιρος αιδομενου ματιν κισυιν μ̣o̰-
.κρος υιταν παρτιας πλαδε πορ κοροος ..-
ρ̣o̰ʂ παντης πεννιτι ιος κοροαν δετoυ̰ν
ʂo̰υ̰ν ομαστα ομνισιτους

Some particularities of this inscription must be considered before moving to the NPhr. text. First, the lack of waw or digamma is supplied by the use of upsilon: l. 1 κιυιν, l. 5 κιυιν and l. 6 υιταν. Also by omicron: l. 6 κοροος and l. 7 κοροαν. However, the vowel /u/ is represented by the digraph ⟨ου⟩: l. 2 νεκοινουν, ποκραιου, γλουρεος and γαμενo̰υ̰ν, l. 3–4 λo̰υ̰ν|ι̰o̰υ̰, l. 4 αοινουν, l. 5 αιδομενου, l. 7 δετoυ̰ν and l. 8 ουʂ. Likewise, [j] is marked by iota: l. ιος (OPhr. *yos* / *ios*, NPhr. ιος). Another feature is the use of eta ⟨η⟩ for /e/ instead of a long vowel (as happens in some NPhr. inscriptions): see l. 2 κη < PIE **k^{u}e* 'and' (= l. 3 κε, OPhr. *ke*(*y*) and NPhr. κε / κη) and the athem. pl.nom. ending of παντης < PIE **-es* (compare with, e.g., NPhr. 1.2 = 98 πα|τερης). The lack of omega in this text is striking since it is expected in the *o*-stem sg. dat. κ̣λ̣ευμαχοι (OPhr. Dd-102 *surgastoy*, NPhr. 11.2 = 18 λευκιωι, 37.2 = 30 αυτω, although the common NPhr. ending is -ου, 65.3 = 21 and 65.4 = 124 σορου, 27.1 = 92 κορου). The presence of the Greek letter chi ⟨χ⟩ is unparalleled in the whole Phrygian corpus. Nevertheless, this oddity is unsurprising in PNs borrowed from Greek, such as Κλεόμαχος / Κλεύμαχος. Finally, there is one possible example of geminates in πεννιτι (*pace* Brixhe 2004a, 13).

3.2.2 *The Greek Alphabet of the New Phrygian Inscriptions*

After MPhr-01, Phrygian is not found again until Roman Imperial times, in a homogeneous group of inscriptions dated to between the end of the first and the end of the third c. AD: the New Phrygian subcorpus. The script used at this stage resembles Greek monumental inscriptions from Hellenistic and Roman times. However, reading these texts is not always easy. Leaving aside the significant fact that this alphabet was not designed for the Phrygian language, the changes of Greek phonology (itacism, disappearance of the length contrast, loss of word-end consonants and geminates, etc.) affected the manner in which Phrygian was written (see § 3.2.2.1), and there are many hesitations in the spelling of the words: e.g., αδδακετ (*passim*) ~ αδακετ (3.1 = 97, 7.1 = 99, 7.2 = 111, etc.), σεμουν (*passim*) ~ σεμον (3.1 = 97, 7.1 = 99, 10.1 = 112, etc.) ~ σεμιν (53.1 = 76, 59.1 = 107 and 61.1 = 100) and ιος (*passim*) ~ ειος (40.1 = 12) ~ ις (17.1 = 4 b, 12.1 =

121, etc.). Moreover, the lack of spaces between the words (the so-called *scriptio continua*) or interpunctions in most cases also complicates the segmentation and interpretation of the texts.

Nevertheless, the main problem with this subcorpus is that many of the NPhr. inscriptions are now lost and the readings given by the old copies (riddled with mistakes) cannot be corroborated. As Brixhe (1999, 293–295) showed,[29] one of the most common mistakes in reading the inscriptions is the confusion of the round letters. Indeed, by Imperial times it is common to find epsilon and sigma as Є and C (the so-called lunate epsilon and sigma),[30] which is why in many copies of the first known inscriptions they are confused, also with O, Φ and even Θ. Since most of the Phrygian texts are reiterative formulae, many of these mistakes can be detected. Taking one example given by Brixhe (1999, 293), according to *CIG* 3880 in the NPhr. inscription 17.1 (4 *bis*) there is an unparalleled sequence ΟЄΜΟΝ that must be read as the common pron. σεμον. In the lost inscriptions it is impossible to corroborate if these mistakes were originally on the stone. In any case, mistakes like this are also common in contemporaneous Greek inscriptions: see, e.g., ΛΟΙΠЄΙϹ for ΛΟΙΠΟΙϹ in *IG* II^2 1028 (l. 13).[31] The same can be said of the quadratic *epsilon* and *sigma*. Moreover, the angular letters (Δ, Λ, A and M) present similar problems: see, e.g., 43.1 (69) l. 1, EINEAM or EINEMA? There are two instances of hesitation in the reading of T and Γ: μᾳγρε or μᾳτ[ε]|ρε (19.2 = 129) and ιστεικετ or ισγεικετ (6.1 = 88). Very likely, the letter *iota* (I) appears instead of *tau* (T) in two inscriptions. As suggested here, πειες (40.1 = 12) may be read as πεῖες, and the relative pron. ιος seems to introduce an apodosis in 33.1 (28), where τος is expected (see, e.g., 18.3 = 6 and 6.2 = 131).[32] In these examples, it remains unknown whether we are dealing with a copyist's misreading, an eroded letter, or a mistake by the engraver, who could have forgotten to engrave the horizontal stroke.

29 In this paper, "Prolégomènes au Corpus Néo-Phrygien," he dealt with the main issues of this chapter, giving a very detailed and useful account. Here I follow his approach, although some alternative interpretations will be added.

30 The classical and the rectangular shapes of these letters are also found in the New Phrygian inscriptions.

31 This example is taken from McLean 2014, 15, where these kinds of mistakes are introduced with some references.

32 The only possible ιος introducing an apodosis is found in 15.1 (120). However, it occurs as ις, and while in the protasis it is well spelled (*pace* Brixhe and Drew-Bear 1997, 89), one wonders if it is the ending of the preceding ατεαμα. This noun also appears as ατεαμας, αᾳ̣ι̣αμα, τεαμα, τεαμας and τιαμας. Although it would be morphologically unexpected, similar variants are found for μανκα: μανκαι, μανκαν and μανκης.

Finally, engravers' mistakes seem to occur often (Brixhe 1999, 296);[33] however, in many instances it is difficult to detect them in non-formulaic texts, and even in the case of the many lost inscriptions one cannot rule out errors made by modern copyists. A clear example of an engraver's mistake on a preserved stele is αδ̣ακτε (33.3 = 127) for αδακετ (*passim*, see Drew-Bear, Lubotsky and Üyümez 2008, 111).

3.2.2.1 The Representation of the Consonants

The main difference between the consonants of the Phrygian alphabet and those of the Greek alphabet from the Imperial period is that the New Phrygian inscriptions tend to mark geminates: αδδακετ, τιττετικμενος, αββερετ... As has been shown, this feature seems to be found in MPhr-01 (see § 3.2.1). However, by the time of these inscriptions geminates had been simplified in Greek (Brixhe 1987a, 31–33), and the same appears to have occurred with Phrygian texts. Indeed, although fifty-five of the 118 NPhr. inscriptions (46.61 percent)[34] have geminates, twenty (16.95 percent)[35] do not and seventeen (14.41 percent)[36] show hesitation. The remaining twenty-six inscriptions (22.03 percent)[37] do not provide information relevant to this issue. In such a scenario, the presence of hypercorrect geminates is not strange: e.g. κνοῦμ|μανει (38.1 = 44) and κν[ου]||μμανει (46.1 = 53) for κνουμανει (*passim*).

The lack of the Greek letter chi (as has been said, χ is only attested in MPhr-01) and the few attestations of the other two letters which represent the aspirated stops are remarkable. This is accounted for by the fact that the Phrygian phonemic repertory does not contain this kind of sound, and their occurrences are very limited. The letter theta (⟨θ⟩, /t^{h}/ > /θ/) appears three times in the whole

33 Note also that Brixhe (1999, 296 fn. 22) considers the possibility that the engravers were not Phrygian speakers.

34 No. 1.1 (48), 2.2 (130), 4.1 (2), 6.1 (88), 6.2 (131), 8.1 (86), 10.2 (113), 11.2 (18), 12.1 (121), 14.1 (73), 15.1 (120), 17.2 (3), 17.3 (7), 17.5 (90), 17.4 (91), 18.6 (129), 18.3 (6), 20.3 (62), 21.1 (42), 21.2 (43), 24.1 (40), 25.2 (126), 28.1 (71), 29.1 (114), 30.1 (39), 31.1 (29), 35.1 (25), 36.1 (26), 38.1 (10), 39.1 (11), 40.1 (12), 40.2 (13), 41.1 (45), 42.1 (101), 45.1 (65), 46.1 (53), 49.3 (85), 50.1 (54), 50.2 (55), 51.1 (80), 52.1 (75), 53.1 (76), 53.2 (77), 54.1 (108), 55.1 (56), 56.1 (57), 59.2 (47), 59.3 (79), 60.1 (59), 62.1 (32), 62.2 (33), 62.3 (34), 62.4 (35), 63.1 (123) and 65.4 (124).

35 No. 3.1 (97), 7.2 (111), 7.3 (14), 9.1 (87), 19.1 (4), 18.2 (5), 19.1 (96), 26.2 (38), 27.1 (92), 30.2 (68), 32.1 (93), 33.1 (28), 33.3 (127), 34.1 (37), 40.4 (102), 61.1 (100), 62.5 (35), 62.6 (105), 65.1 (20) and 66.1 (103).

36 No. 7.1 (99), 10.1 (112), 17.6 (119), 20.1 (63), 20.2 (128), 22.2 (118), 25.1 (115), 36.3 (94), 43.1 (69), 44.1 (61), 44.3 (67), 47.1 (51), 57.1 (75), 58.1 (72), 59.4 (106), 64.1 (81) and 65.3 (21).

37 No. 1.2 (98), 2.1 (15), 5.1 (19), 11.1 (17), 11.3 (17), 17.1 (4b), 13.1 (122), 16.1 (116), 22.1 (9), 23.1 (89), 26.1 (8), 33.2 (95), 37.2 (27), 37.2 (30), 38.1 (44), 40.3 (31), 44.2 (70), 48.1 (81), 48.2 (84), 49.1 (110), 53.3 (109), 56.2 (58), 56.3 (64), 59.1 (107), 60.2 (60) and 65.2 (104).

NPhr. corpus: θαλαμειδη 18.1 (4), αδιθρερακ 40.3 (31) and ϱ̣ιτ[τ]ετικμενϙ̣[ς] 45.1 (65). The first word, θαλαμειδη, is a borrowing from Greek θαλαμίς, -ίδος and justifies the use of this letter; however, ϱ̣ιτ[τ]ετικμενϙ̣[ς] must be a hypercorrection of the common τιττετικμενος (*passim*). The PN αδιθρερακ does not have a clear origin because of the lack of parallels and cannot be analysed. The letter phi (⟨φ⟩, /pʰ/ > /φ/) is only found in the Persian PN μιτραφατα 1.1 (48)[38] < **Miθra-pāta-* 'protected by Mithra'. Here, the use of phi is unexpected and is very likely a common hypercorrection. Indeed, the lack of these kinds of stops in Phrygian affected the Greek spoken in Phrygia, since misspellings related to chi, phi and theta are common in Phrygian (Brixhe 1987a, 110–111): θ|υγαθρί (*MAMA* IV 198) for θυγατρί, φ[ι]|λέρειτος (*MAMA* VII 263) for φιλέριθος, ἔνεχεν (*MAMA* I 197) for ἕνεκεν, κάριν (*MAMA* IV 263) for χάριν, φοθινοτάτοις (*MAMA* I 281) for ποθεινοτάτοις and ἀδελπῶ (*MAMA* VII 284) for ἀδελφῷ.

On the other hand, the Phrygian consonantism has two approximants that are lost in contemporary Greek: the velar [w] and the palatal [j]. Because there were no specific letters for these sounds, other Greek letters and digraphs were reused to represent the Phrygian consonants. In the case of [j], it was commonly spelled with a simple iota ⟨ι⟩: ιος (*passim*, OPhr. *yos*, *ios*), κνουμανει (*passim*), τεμρογειος (1.1 = 48), etc. The digraph ⟨ει⟩ is once attested with this function as consequence of Greek itacism: ειος (40.1 = 12) ιος (*passim*). It is also common to find ⟨ι⟩ for /jo/, also explained by the Greek simplification /jo/ > /i/ in final position (and sometimes in the middle of the word, according to Brixhe 1987a, 49–50 and 1999, 299–300): the clearest example in Phrygia ις (17.1 = 4 b, 12.1 = 121, 15.1 = 120, 16.1 = 116 and 18.2 = 5) for ιος (*passim*). The form τετιο|κμενος (22.2 = 118) for τετικμενος is a hypercorrection arising from this shift. The velar approximant [w] is commonly represented by the digraph ⟨ου⟩: ουα (4.1 = 2, 62.2 = 33 and 62.5 = 36)-ουαν (60.1 = 59, OPhr. *va* and *vay* B-05), ουανακταν (6.1 = 88, OPhr. *vanaktei* M-01a), οουιτετου (4.1 = 2), etc. In NPhr. 16.1 (116) omicron is used for this purpose: in οαν (OPhr. *va*, NPhr. ουαν), οεαυται (OPhr. *venavtun* W-01b), and, perhaps, σερ̣οα 19.2 (129, perhaps related to OPhr. *servas* G-130).

The letter *sigma* ⟨σ⟩ ordinarily represents a consonant /s/. It appears in many positions, including consonant clusters: at the beginning of a word followed by a vowel (σεμουν *passim*) and consonant (σκελεδριαι 44.3 = 67), between vowels (εγεσιτ 56.2 = 58), between a vowel and a consonant (εσταες 40.3 = 31), and at the end of a word after a vowel (τιττετικμενος *passim*). A double sigma ⟨σσ⟩ is

38 As will be seen in *s.u.* § 5, Lubotsky (1997, 122) preferred to segment Μιτρα Φατα and suggested that here the Iranian god *Miθra* is qualified with an (unparalleled) ethnic Φατα, in the light of the other two DNs that follow this sequence in NPhr. 48.

found in two verbal forms, δεδασσιννι (2.2 = 130) and τοτοσσειτι (7.1 = 99). It is unknown if ⟨σσ⟩ denotes a sound other than /s/.[39] In both occurrences of -σσ- it is preceded by an etymological long vowel. In OPhr. a single ⟨s⟩ represents the same form, as evident in *dedasitiy* (B-05, also *ịsini* in G-289), although the OPhr. alphabet avoids the repetition of a letter and ⟨s⟩ can stand for /ss/. Finally, a sigma is thrice attached to *zeta* ⟨ζ⟩ in σζεμελως (6.1 = 131, 10.2 = 113 and 30.1 = 39), a variant of the common ζεμελως (*passim*). This spelling, considered redundant, is well attested in Greek inscriptions elsewhere (mainly from Hellenistic times) and in Phrygia (*MAMA* IV 219 ἐλπίσζοντι for ἐλπίζοντι, Brixhe 1987a, 46 and 1999, 297).

The remaining letters β, δ, γ, π, τ and κ represent the voiced and voiceless stops /b/, /d/, /g/, /p/, /t/ and /k/, respectively. Although Greek stops become fricative in the inner position (except following a nasal), there is no reason to consider this shift in Phrygian (Brixhe 1999, 297–298). It is possible that γ represents an allophone [ŋ] before a consonant (as in Greek before κ, γ, χ and ξ), but the only possible example is εγδαες (11.2 = 18, if εγ- < εν-), a word that remains unclear, although it appears to be a verb.[40]

3.2.2.2 The Representation of Vowels

The representation of the Phrygian vowels is more strongly influenced by Greek phonetic shifts than consonantism. This said, the formulaic character of the NPhr. curses tends to show a conservative spelling, although shifts are attested elsewhere. In such a scenario, the NPhr. inscriptions show many hesitations and hypercorrections in the notation of the vowels. There are two significant changes: the itacism (also known as iotacism) and the loss of the vowel-length contrast (see § 4.1.1).

As a result of the first shift, there are many hesitations between ι, ει, η and even υ: γεγριμενον (56.2 = 58) for γεγρειμενον (59.4 = 106), δυως 10.2 (113) for διως, a variant of δεως in 12.1 (121), 18.1 (4), 18.2 (5) and 22.2 (118), ειτου (*passim*) - ιτου

39 The Mother-Goddess epithet Ἀγδίστις (Paus. 7.17.12), a parallel formation to *areyastin* (W-01a), is derived from the oronym *Agdus* (Arn., *Adversus Nationes* 5.5.1). In Greek inscriptions contemporary to the NPhr. ones (mainly from Midas City) it appears with different spellings: Ανγδισι (*MAMA* 6.390), Ανδισσι (*MAMA* 6.391), Ανδξι (*MAMA* 6.395), etc. In light of these spellings Gusmani (1959a, 205) considered that *-st-* before /i/ was pronounced /stz/ (sic.) or /š/. Indeed, we cannot ignore that ⟨σσ⟩ is used in other Anatolian areas to represent a sound other than /s/. This is the case of Carian PNs *arliš* and *uśol*, found in Greek inscriptions as Αρλισσις and Υσσωλλος respectively (see Adiego 2007, 355 and 431).

40 Even less clear is αργμενα[.?] 16.1 (116).

(6.1 = 8) - ητου (18.2 = 5) for the OPhr. *ituv* (B-05), μανεις (43.1 = 69) for OPhr. *manes* (B-07, in Greek texts as Μάνης), τειττετικμενος (55.1 = 56) for τιττετικμενος (*passim*). It is especially common in the athem. sg. dat. ending (PIE **-ei̯*): compare κνουμανει (*passim*), κνουμανε (*passim*), κνουμανι (6.1 = 88, 8.1 = 86, etc.) and κνουμανη (29.1 = 114) or τιε (*passim*), τι (9.1 = 87, 38.1 = 44, 39.1 = 11, etc.) and τιη (8.1 = 86, 18.3 = 6, 20.3 = 62). The hesitation occurs even in the same text: αινι ουεβαν δεδασσινι πατρε|ς σεμουν κορο[υ]μανη σως κη | γουμειε, καρπυς ειλικρινη εγο|υννου (2.2 = 130). According to Lubotsky (1997, 126, fn. 23), the GN τιε-τι-τιη shows a tendency toward the following distribution: "Τιη only occurs before consonants (6, 39, 62, 65, 86, 114),[41] Τι only occurs before vowels (αδειτου 11, 54, 57, 72, 76, 77, 80, 85, 87, 101, 106; ατιτικμενος 103),[42] Τιε is found in both positions, but the instances before a vowel are rare (only 5× out of 15: 12, 45, 56, 61, 100).[43] We may conclude that there was a strong tendency to drop the final -ε of Τιε in the position before a vowel." However, this distribution does not occur in κνουμανει, κνουμανε, κνουμανι and κνουμανη. Brixhe (2008, 75, see also Brixhe 1990, 78–79) considers the final -ε "an inverse spelling related to the interchangeability, in final position, of *e* and *i*."

The letter eta ⟨η⟩ has special status (see Brixhe 1999, 301–303) because it represents three different sounds: /e/, /i/ and [j]. However, the possible personal name in sg. nom. αδενπ|ᾳ̣τ̣ης (69), which seems to be Iranian in origin but adapted to Greek,[44] is the only occurrence that provides a possible example of eta used for the Greek classical sound /ɛː/.

In any case, it clearly represents /e/ in many occurrences: e.g., πατερης 'parents' (1.2 = 98, PIE pl. nom. ending **-es*), also spelled πατρες (130), κακην (130) for κακε 'ill' (21, 88, 99 and 124), or κη 'and' (130) for κε (*passim*, OPhr. *ke*(*y*)). This use already appears in MPhr-01 (W-11), where κη and παντης '?' (very likely an athematic pl. nom.) occur. For this last text, Brixhe (2004a, 17) suggests that the Macedonians introduced the Greek alphabet in Phrygia and these spellings are a result of the "même aperture pour **ε:* et pour **e*" in Macedonian.[45] Nevertheless, this hypothesis must be refuted for a number of reasons. In view of the bilingual inscription from Vezirhan (B-05), the Greek alphabet was introduced in Phrygian before the arrival of the Macedonians, which invalidates the first assumption of Brixhe's proposal. Worse still, if the Dodona oracular tablet

41 18.3, 30.1, 20.3, 45.1, 8.1 and 29.1, respectively.

42 39.1, 50.1, 56.1, 56.1, 58.1, 53.1, 53.2, 51.1, 49.3, 9.1, 59.4 and 66.1, respectively.

43 40.1, 2.1, 41.1, 55.1, 44.1 and 31.1 respectively. After Lubotsky's paper it also appeared in 15.1 (120), 25.1 (115), 25.2 (126), 33.1 (127), 63.1 (123).

44 See the element *-pātā*, e.g., in the name Ἀρτα-πάτης, borne by Cirus's son in X.*An*.1.6.11.

45 See also Brixhe 1999, 302.

No. 2493A is indeed written in Macedonian,[46] it contains a good example of η representing /ɛː/ and not /eː/ in a Macedonian context (Méndez Dosuna 2012, 144).

When analysing the use of eta for /e/ in Greek inscriptions from Anatolia, Brixhe (1987, 49) considers it to be the result of hypercorrections that occurred at school, where the ancient sound of this letter was still taught. This explanation is possible, although when this spelling occurs in Pontus it is thought to be evidence of the preservation of the sound /e/ from /ɛː/, as also occurs in the new Greek dialect from that region (Brixhe 1987a, 110). Although schooling may have resulted in such spelling, the diffusion of education in rural Phrygia is "enormously controversial" (de Hoz 2006, 139, with references) and is not the only possible explanation. In Phrygian, PIE **ē* and **eh$_1$* > **ē* merged with /aː/. As a result, it is likely that there was no phoneme /eː/ in this language (Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 183 and 2018, 1819). In such a scenario, the lack of a Phrygian counterpart for the Greek sound traditionally represented by eta may have given rise to such spelling, not only in Phrygian but also in Greek inscriptions from Phrygia.

In any case, the letter eta also represents [j] after or before the vowel (if not also in the athematic sg. dat. ending, see § 4.2.1.1.3): αυταη (30, OPhr. *avtay* W-01b), μαιμαρηαν (31) and δεκμουταης (31) ~ δεκμουταις (9). This use is clearly a consequence of Greek itacism, since it is not attested in W-12 (fourth century BC).

The second significant issue is the loss of the vowel-length contrast (Brixhe 1987a, 46–47), attested by the hesitation between *omicron* ⟨ο⟩ and *omega* ⟨ω⟩: e.g., ερμω[λ]|ᾳοῳ (16.1 = 116) for Greek Ἑρμόλαος or δεος (17.3 = 7 and 18.3 = 6) for δεως (*passim*).

Commonly, the digraph ου represents /u/: e.g., κνουμανει (*passim*) or ειτου (*passim*). On rare occasions this sound is represented by upsilon ⟨υ⟩: σεμυν and κακυν (20.3 = 62). The hesitation between ου and ο shows the neutralisation between /u/ and /o/ before the nasal /n/ (Brixhe 1999, 306): σεμον (3.1 = 97, 7.1 = 99, 10.1 = 112) and κακον (10.1 = 112, 14.1 = 73, 15.1 = 120, etc.). On the other hand, the hesitation ου ~ ι, found in σεμιν (53.1 = 76, 59.1 = 107 and 61.1 = 100) for σεμουν (*passim*) and τιτετουκμενουν (33.1 = 28) for τιττετικμενος (*passim*),[47] has no phonetic motivation according to Brixhe (1999, 307–308): "on a vu que OY pouvait

46 Ζεῦ καὶ Διώνα, ἦ ἔσσονται παῖ|δες ἐκ τᾶς γυναικὸς Κεβαλίωι | τᾶς νῦν ἔχει κ[α]ὶ ζώσοντι 'Zeus and Diona, shall Kebalios have children from the wife he has now, and shall they survive?' (Méndez Dosuna 2012, 144).

47 Brixhe 1999, 307 also adds τι (22.1 = 9, 30.1 = 39, 35.1 =25, 44.3 = 67 and 66.1 = 103); however, it must be ruled out because it is also found in OPhr. as *ti* (B-05).

être occasionnellement relayé par Y; or Y, dans le système grec, est une des notations de /i/, cf. d'ailleurs δυως (113 [= 10.2]) pour δεως/διως (où, en hiatus, ε/ι vaut [j]); avec la médiation implicite de Y, ΟΥ (en finale, O et ΟΥ) pourra être remplacé par I."

CHAPTER 4

The Phrygian Language

4.1 Phrygian Phonology

4.1.1 *The Vowel System*

Since the Phrygian alphabet does not represent the contrast between short and long vowels, a description of the OPhr. vowel system must consider the PIE origin of the morphemes and the NPhr. subcorpus, even though at this stage the vowels are problematic due to the influence of the coetaneous development of Greek vowel system, as well as the inner Phrygian evolution. Indeed, the loss of the length contrast in Roman times is particularly problematic. The spelling of Phrygian words in Greek sources is useful, especially for PNs. However, if one disregards the onomastic material and the glosses (with unclear filiations), few words remain: βέκος (7.1 = 99, 7.2 = 111, 8.1 = 86, etc.), βεῦδος (*bevdos* B-01), γλούρεα (γλουρεος MPhr-01), etc. Despite these difficulties and the limitations posed by a fragmentary language, OPhr. is considered to have five short vowels contrasting with four (or five) long vowels, while NPhr. seems to have merged both series, as had occurred in Greek by this time (see Table 12, showing the syntheses of Brixhe 1983, 115–117 and Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1818–1819).

/a/ is the result of the outcome of $*h_2$ (PIE $*h_2n\acute{e}r$ > NPhr. αναρ), the vocalisation of $*n̥$ (neuters in $*\text{-}mn̥$ > *-man*) and the development of the sequence $*h_2e$- ($*h_2ed$ > OPhr. ad B-05, NPhr. αδ 7.3 = 99).

/a:/ goes back to PIE $*eh_2$ and $*e:$, either an original PIE $*e:$ or derived from $*eh_1$ (as has been seen): PIE $*méh_2tēr$ > OPhr. *matar* (W-04, W-06 and B-01; also in NPhr. ματαρ 11.2 = 18).

/e/ follows the PIE vowel $*e$, see PIE $*b^her$- > (αβ)βερετ (18.3 = 6, 29.1 = 114, etc.), PIE $*k^we$, OPhr. *ke* (*passim*), *key* (B-05). It is also the result of the vocalisation of PIE $*h_1$-: PIE $*h_1su$- > OPhr. *ev*(*e*)-, PIE $*d^hh_1$-*to*- > MPhr. and NPhr. δετουν (MPhr-01 = W-11 and 40.3 = 31) and NPhr. δετον (16.1 = 116). There are many hesitations between ⟨e⟩ and ⟨i⟩ in Phrygian: see *akenanogavos* (M-01a and W-01a) ~ *ạkinanogavaṇ* (M-04) or δεως (3.1 = 97, 10.1 = 112, 17.6 = 119, etc.) ~ διως (12.1 = 121, 18.1 = 4, 18.2 = 5, etc.). Although it has been unanimously considered a phonetic hesitation between /e/ and /i/, the two given analyses differ signifcantly: Brixhe (2008, 75) identifies neutralisation of the contrast of /e/ and /i/ in hiatus (as in δεως *passim* ~ διως 12.1 = 121, etc.), while

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TABLE 12 The Phrygian vowel system

	Old Phrygian			New Phrygian		
	Front	**Central**	**Back**	**Front**	**Central**	**Back**
Close	/i/ /i:/		/u/ /u:/	/i/		/u/
Mid	/e/		/o/ /o:/	/e/		/o/
Open		/a/ /a:/			/a/	

Ligorio and Lubotsky (2018, 1821) prefer to speak about a pretonic neutralisation. The second explanation is better because it accounts for all occurrences of such a hesitation.[1]

/e:/ is a problematic vowel, since according to the *communis opinio* all PIE **ē* and **eh₁* became /a:/ in Phrygian. Certainly, it is a well attested shift: PIE **méh₂tēr* > OPhr. *matar* (W-04, W-06 and B-01; also in NPhr. ματαρ 11.2 = 18), **pērḱ-* > OPhr. *eneparkes* (G-125 and M-01dI; also NPhr. ενεπαρκες 40.3 = 31) **dʰeh₁-* > *daket* (B-05).[2] It must be said that Brixhe (1990, 70–71, and still in 2008, 75) considered that in Phrygian a secondary /e:/ appeared as a monophthongisation of **eu̯* and this phenomenon resulted in a merging of the inherited /e:/ with /a:/. However, Lubotsky (1998, 415) rejected this possibility, showing the preservation of *-eu̯* in OPhr., and established that only in NPhr. final position was this diphthong "prone to monophthongisation."

/i/ goes back to PIE **i* and **e*: *iman* (M-06, G-136, G-210, etc.), *areyastin* (W-01a), *ạini* (P-101), *ạyniy* (B-05), *kin* (B-01), etc. In NPhr. it remains unchanged: αινι (2.2 = 130, 3.1 = 97, etc.), κιν (61.1 = 100), etc.

/i:/ has not been identified, although it is assumed in light of other pairs of vowels.

/o/ continues the PIE **o*, e.g.: PIE **u̯ios* > OPhr. *yos*, *ios*, NPhr. ιος, the thematic sg. nom. ending *-os*, the middle verbal ending **-toi̯* > *-toy*, etc.

1 αββιρετο 35.1 (25) for αββερετοι (10.2 = 113, 17.5 = 91 and 20.2 = 129) or αββερετορ (14.1 = 73, 52.1 = 75 and 59.3 = 79); [ζ]ιμελως (35.1 = 25) and ζι[μελως] (66.1 = 103) for ζεμελως (*passim*); *kubileya* (W-04) for *kubeleya* (B-01); μιρος (MPhr-01) and μιρου (16.1 = 116) for *meros* (B-07, if the identification is correct); σιμουν (35.1 = 25) for σεμουν (*passim*); τεαμα (15.1 = 120), τεαμας (7.3 = 14, 10.1 = 112, 21.2 = 43 and 25.1 = 115) for ṭịαμα (11.2 = 18) and τιαμας (9.1 = 87). This neutralisation very likely occurs also in *ṇiptiyan* (B-05, < PIE **nept-ih₂-*) and *↑iraẏ* (B-05), ζειρα (40.1 = 12) and ζειραι (59.4 = 106), if it goes back to **ǵʰes-r-* (*NIL* 170–172).

2 On **meh₁* > *me*, με and *kakey*, κακε, κακην see § 4.1.2.2.3.

It is also is the result of the outcome of *h_3 and, very likely, *$r̥$: *dh_3-*ti-* (*NIL* 61) > *totin* (M-01f), PIE *$pr̥$ > *por* (W-05 b), NPhr. πουρ (6.1 = 88). However, the PIE **o* merged with /u/ at least in nasal context; see the thematic acc. sg. ending PIE *-*om* > OPhr. *-un*, *avtun* (W-01b), *bagun* (G-136), etc., although in NPhr. the form -ον is also common, as in γεγρειμενον 59.4 = 106.

/o:/ renders the PIE **ō*; however, this sound very likely became /ū/ because in the 3sg. med. endings the historical spelling ⟨o⟩, ⟨uv⟩ occurs once, and in NPhr. it is always spelled with ου: compare *lakedo* (W-01b) or *si*↑*eto* (W-08, W-09 and W-10, if it is a verb) with *ituv* (B-05) / NPhr. ειτου (*passim*, ιτου 6.1 = 8) and, very likely, *tubnuv* (B-05).[3] As has been seen, the hesitation between /o(:)/ and /u(:)/ is common, and Brixhe (2008, 75) explains it—at least for NPhr.—as "a neutralisation of the contrast […] /o/~/u/ (in favour of the high vowel) in absolute-final position" parallel to /e/~/i/. The presence of a rare digraph in two OPhr. examples seems to support this assumption: the variants of the same *u*-stem PN *vasus* (P-05) ~ *vasous* (P-03, with an unparalleled digraph in the whole OPhr. corpus) and the verb in 3pl. impv. act. *isnou* (NW-101 a) found in NPhr. as ισνου (9.1 = 87). However, the hesitation between /o/~/u/ is also attested in inner position: *kakoioi* (G-02 c) and *kakuioi* (P-04 b).

/u/ is inherited from PIE **u* and is also developed from **o* in some positions: e.g., *vasus* (P-05, *u*-stem sg.nom.), *surgastoy* (Dd-102), or υψοδαν (2.1 = 15 and 16.1 = 116 < PIE **upsod^{h}n̥*).

/u:/ appears as a development of PIE **ō* (as has been seen) and **uH*: e.g., *ituv* (B-05) or κνουμαν (16.1 = 116 and 43.1 = 69, commonly its sg.dat. κνουμανει; < **knuH-mn̥*). See also γλουρεος MPhr-01 < **glō-* < **ǵ^{h}l̥h$_3$-*.

Phrygian also has the following diphthongs:

/aj/ in OPhr. *ạini* (P-101), *ạyniy* (B-01 and B-05), αινι (2.2 = 130, 3.1 = 97, etc.). The PIE origin of this diphthong is the PIE sequence **h$_2$ei̯*. In light of the preservation of the long diphthong /o:j/, /a:j/ very likely occurred at least in OPhr.: *midai* (B-05), *ạtai* (W-10), *avtay* (W-01b), αυταη (37.2 = 30), (οε)αυται (16.1 = 116), μανκαι (4.1 = 2, 17.2 = 3, etc.), etc. It is found

3 Also NPhr. οουιτετου (4.1 = 2) and εγεδου (53.1 = 76, 59.4 = 106, 60.2 = 60, etc.).

in the *a*-stem sg. dat. ending and goes back to PIE *-*eh*$_2$*ei̯*. Very likely in NPhr. /a:j/ merged with /aj/. Its second element in final position commonly drops in NPhr. final position: see σα (17.5 = 91, 21.1 = 42, etc.) for σαι (43.1 = 69, 62.4 = 35, etc.) or μανκα (3.1 = 97, 11.2 = 18, etc.) for μανκαι (4.1 = 2, 17.2 = 3, etc.).

/ej/ in *materey* (M-01e and W-01b), *ibey* (B-01 and B-05), *inmeney* (B-05), ↑*emeney* (B-05), etc. PIE **ei̯* is preserved in Phrygian until NPhr. times, as has been stated above.

/oj/commonly found in the 3sg. med. ending: *ạbretoy* (B-05), αββερετοι (10.2 = 113, 17.5 = 91 and 19.2 = 129), *edạtoy* (B-05), *tedatoy* (W-01a), etc. It follows the PIE *oi̯. Note that in OPhr. it is spelled in the same way as the thematic sg. dat. ending *-oi̯* < PIE *-*ōi*.

/o:j/ is inherited from PIE **ōi̯*, and is commonly found in the OPhr. thematic sg. dat. *-oy*, *-oi* in *tadoy* (G-136), *surgastoy* (Dd-102), *davoi* (M-06 and B-05), etc. Despite the lack of omega, MPhr-01 seems to show the same situation: ϰ̣λευμαχοι and σοροι MPh-01. In NPhr. this diphthong resulted in /o:/ and finally merged with /u:/ in absolute final position: σορου (65.3 = 21 and 65.4 =124) and ϰορου (27.1 = 92), but αυτω (37.2 = 30) and λευκιωι (11.2 = 18). However, **ōi̯* in the thematic pl. dat. ending *-*ōi̯s* lost its second element in NPhr. and remained as /o:/ before merging with /o/: compare, e.g., ζεμελως (3.1 = 97, 14.1 = 73, etc.) with ζεμελος (20.2 = 128) or δεως (3.1 = 97, 10.1 = 112, etc.) with δεος (17.3 = 7 and 18.3 = 6; διος 30.1 = 39).

/aw/ is the outcome of the PIE sequence **h*$_2$*eu̯* and is preserved in all stages of the Phrygian language: PIE **h*$_2$*eu̯-to-*, OPhr. *avtay* (W-01b), *avtoi* (T-03b), NPhr. αυταη and αυτω (37.2 = 30), αυτον (2.2 = 130) and αυτος (58.1 = 72, 62.2 = 33 and 62.5 = 35).

/a:w/ is inferred to go back to **ēi̯* from the comparison between *-ogavos* (in *akenanogavos* M-01, M-04 and W-01a) and Greek ὀχεύς (Epic gn. ὀχῆος< **soǵ*^{h}*ēu̯-os*).

/ew/ is inherited from PIE **eu̯* and the drop of intervocalic *-*s*-: PIE **b*^{h}*eu̯d*^{h}*-os-* OPhr. *bevdos* (B-01) and **h*$_1$*su-* > *ev*(*e*)- (B-01). The form *apelev* (B-07) remains unclear.

*/e:w/ is inferred to become /a:w/ in *-ogavos* (in *akenanogavos* M-01, M-04 and W-01a) because of the comparison with Gr. ὀχεύς (Epic gn. ὀχῆος< **soǵ*^{h}*ēu̯-os*).

/ow/?, the existence of this diphthong in Phrygian is unknown since the only possible occurrence is the obscure sequence [-?-].*eivanou̯s*[-?-] (G-250); however, it rather shows the neutralisation between /o/ ~ /u/, as in *vasous* (P-03). Less probable occurrences are *otekonov* (B-01) and

TABLE 13 The Phrygian consonant system

			Labial	Dental or Alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Obstruent	**Stop**	**Voiceless**	*p* ⟨p, π⟩	*t* ⟨t, τ⟩		*k* ⟨k, ϰ⟩
		Voiced	*b* ⟨b, β⟩	*d* ⟨d, δ⟩		*g* ⟨g, γ⟩
	Fricative	**Voiceless**		*s* ⟨s, σ⟩		
		Voiced		*z ?* ⟨↑, ζ⟩		
Sonorant	**Nasal**		*m* ⟨m, μ⟩	*n* ⟨n, ν⟩		
	Approximant		*w* ⟨v, υ, ου, ο⟩	*l* ⟨l, λ⟩	*j* ⟨i, y, ι⟩	
	Vibrant			*r* ⟨r, ρ⟩		

isnou (NW-101), where ⟨ov⟩ perhaps represents /o:/ or /u:/ in a similar way to ⟨uv⟩ in *ituv* (B-05).

Also, in two instances an epenthetic vowel *i* arises between two contiguous consonants: ϰινο[υ]||μα (22.1 = 9) for ϰνουμαν (16.1 = 116 and 43.1 =69) and in its gen. ϰ⟨ν⟩ουμινος (18.2 = 5). On the other hand, in two instances syncope worked: πα|τερης (1.2 = 48) > πατρες (2.2 = 130) and in *ạbretoy* B-05, if it is accepted to be the same verbal form found in NPhr. as αββερετοι (10.2 = 113, 17.5 = 91 and 19.2 =129, see Brixhe 2004a, 62). Moreover, apocopated forms of the conj. *ke*(*y*) / ϰε and twice of αινι before a vowel are not uncommon: *ke devụṇ k umnotan* (B-07), ϰ̣νọ̣υμαν ϰ αϰροδμαν ϰε λọ̣|δ̣ιμον (16.1 = 116), γεγρειμεναν | ϰ' ε|γεδου | τιος | ου|τα|ν (53.1 = 76), αδδακετ αιν ατεαμα (15.1 = 120), αδα|κετ αιν' αδ ατεαμ̣α|ς (7.3 = 14), etc. Also, ϰνουμαν in ας σεμουν ϰνουμαν αδιθεραϰ (40.3 = 31) stands for ϰνουμανει. Finally, there is a possible example of apheresis: ναδροτος (1.1 = 48), if this word is a borrowing from Greek ἀνάνδρωτος, -ον 'impotent, husbandless' (see Lubotsky 1997, 122).

4.1.2 *The Consonant System*

Although not all sounds are clear, details of which are discussed below, the Phrygian consonant system can be classified as follows (see Table 13).

4.1.2.1 Sonorants

4.1.2.1.1 *Nasals*

Phrygian /m/ goes back to PIE **m*: **méh*$_2$*tēr* > *matar* (W-04, W-06, B-01) / ματαρ (11.2 = 18), **-mh*$_1$*no-* > τιττετιϰμενος (*passim*), **d*^{h}*ǵ*$^{(h)}$*em-* > ζεμ-ελως (*passim*),

etc. The PIE C-stem sg.acc. ending **-m̥* shows that it is vocalised as **-am*, although after the final **-m* became *-n* in Phr. (as occurs in Gr.): **méh₂term̥* > *materan* (M-01dI and W-01a), **dh₃-ti-m* (*NIL* 61) > *totin* (M-01f), **h₂eu̯-to-m* > *venavtun* (W-01b) / αυτον (2.2 = 130), etc.

Phrygian preserved the PIE **n* in most positions: see, e.g., **népot-* > *nevos* (B-05), **kenh₁-m̥* > *keneman* (M-01b), or **knuH-m̥* > κνουμαν. As can be seen in the last two examples, the vocalisation of **m̥*—at least in final position—is *-an*. There is a position in which it seems to disappear: **-Vns* > *-V̨s*. It was suggested by Brixhe[4] for the sg. nom. *ḳanutieivạis* (P-03) and *memevais* (M-02) in light of the sg.gen. *kanutii²evanoṣ²* (P-02). On the basis of this last form, he considered the shift sg. nom **-ans* > *ais* and assumed that this also occurred in the pl. acc. ending **-ns* / -C-*n̥s*, as in *ḅṛạterạis* (B-04) < **braterans* < PIE **bʰréh₂tern̥s*. Although this analysis is accepted here, the contexts of the possible pl. acc. remain obscure: B-01 *yos tivo* [*t*]*ạ speretạ ayni kin te*[*l*]*ẹmi* | [..]*toyo*[.]*is* [.]*erktẹvoys ekey dạ*[*b*]*ati*..., B-04 [*e²*]*lạkẹṣ² ḅṛạterạis pạtriyio²is² k*(*e*)... B-05 *nidus ạd ḳạliyay ḳạrạtu̯ pạnạto ạndo popostois kl̥ạniv kelmis ke umniṣet evrạduṣ dạḳerạiṣ key iverais*..., B-06 *ḍẹṣ*[---]: *ẹvent noktoy* : *ẹmetẹtariyois* |[---]*y*..., G-145 *voineio*s *uriienois ḳu*[---], G-239 *mekaiṣ*[-?-], 16.1 (116) ϙμϙυσασαι ποσεκανες ακα[.²]|ϑεο ποκ γονιον τευτωσι ιε[.]|ϙυταις εδαες πινκε τας ϑ[α²]|ϗερης ονομανιαις μιρου ικ[.]|ϗναικαν εδαες, and 22.1 (9) υς δουμε²τυου πασε δεκμουταις κινο[υ]μα ϛτι μ⟨α⟩νκαν οπεσταμϛϙ̣ϙ̣ δαδιτι Νεν[υε]ρια παρτυς ουβρα and 40.3 (31) [... ξ]ευναν αι δμως βροκειω | [.....] δεκμουταης ιου | [.....] προ τοσου.[5]

In addition, the shift **-ons* > *-ois* does not fit Brixhe's and Lejeune's (*CIPPh* I, 231) interpretation of P-02, a complete text on a stone block: *sest bugnos va*|*sos kanutii²evanoṣ²*. The form *ses≠t* can be the pl. acc. of the demonstrative pron. with the pcl. *t* in agreement with *bugnos*, an *o*-stem pl. acc. The other two words are considered the sg. gen. of a PN and a title (here a patronymic, see § 4.2.1.1.5.2) found in another text from the P epigraphic area. Then, we have a sequence in sg. acc. followed by a sequence in sg. gen, which does not make clear sense, and it is unknown why both cases are used here. Orel (1997a, 291–292) analysed *sest*

4 First in Brixhe 1990, 65–67, but still in 2004a, 41–42. He is followed by Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 187. In Lesbian Greek a secondary diphthong appears after the simplification of **-ns-* in word-medial and final position: see, e.g., δικάσταις κάλοις καὶ ἀγά|θοις (pl. acc. < **-o**ns** / *-**ans***; *IG* XII Suppl. 137) = Ion. δικαστὰς καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθούς (Priene 17) 'exellent judges', φαῖσι (< **pʰansi* < **bʰh₂énti*; Sapph. 16;) = Att.-Ion. φασί(ν) 'they say', or μοῖσα (Sapph. 84) = Att. μοῦσα 'muse'.

5 In any case, note that the preposition ας (7.1 = 99, 7.3 = 14, etc.) does not fit this analysis if it goes back to **h₁n̥s* (expected to yield **ais*) or **h₁ens* (**eis?*), as Lubotsky (1988, 24 fn. 13, also 1989a, 84) and Brixhe (1997, 50–53) suggested. Thus, ας must be analysed as the outcome of **ad-s*.

as *s≠est*, a sequence of the pcl. + the 3sg. ind. pres. of the copulative verb **$h_1$es-* 'to be' (*LIV*^{2} 241–242, *IEW* 340–341, with secondary ending) and *bugnos* "nom. sg. Masc. *o*-stem. A proper name of unknown origin." Consequently, he translated P-02 as 'this is Bugnos, keeper of the cultic object'. Leaving aside his interpretation of *kanutiievanos* (as he reads this title), his interpretation is attractive, since the presence of similar enunciates is also found on other blocks: P-03 *vasous iman mekas ḳanutieiva̧is deyọs ke meḳạs*, 'Vasus Iman the great son of Kanutî and the great god' and P-05 *vasus kanutie̯*[---] 'Vasus the son of Kanutî'.[6]

Nevertheless, this verbal form seems to be attested in Phr. as *is* according to Brixhe (2004a, 82), although the context of this last form remains unclear. Moreover, the considered PN *bugnos* remains unparalleled. Perhaps it is to be interpreted in the light of the Persian name *Baga-* (in the patronymic *Bagāna-*) found in Aramaic texts as *bgn* (according to Naveh's 1979, 186 interpretation of the Ber-sheva ostraca no. 34, 43 and 46; see also Tavernier 2007, 136), but *baga-* 'god' was very likely borrowed in Phrygian as *bagun* (G-136).

A third possibility for P-02 is to consider *ses* the sg. nom. masc. of the demonstrative pron. in agreement with *bugnos* (an o-stem sg. nom.): *ses≠t bugnos va|sos kanutii?evanoṣ?* 'this (is) Bugnos, the son of Vasos the *kanutievais*'. This would imply that in *ses≠t* a hesitation occurs between e and *i* (see also its sg.dat. ⟨*s*⟩*imun* / σεμουν) and the pcl. *≠t* appears attached (see *esai≠t* W-01b). In that case, it shows a levelling of the vowel from the oblique cases.

The shift **-Vns* > *-Vi̯s* in Phr. is a fact in light of the suffix *-evais*, *-evanos* (see § 4.2.1.1.5.2). However, most of the possible occurrences of this shift are obscure, as are their contexts.

Finally, geminantes /nn/ are identified to go back to the cluster **nt* in the 3pl. ending *-nuv* / -ννου and in the suffix *-(e)vanos* < **-u̯antos* < **-u̯n̥t-os* < **-u̯n̥t-os* (see Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1822).

4.1.2.1.2 *The Semiconsonants /w/ and /j/*

The semivowel /w/, represented by ⟨v⟩ (in a few examples ⟨u⟩) and υ, ου and ο, follows PIE **u̯*: **su̯e-* + **$h_2$eu̯-to-* > *venavtun* (W-01b, sg.acc.) /οεαυταιι (16.1 = 116, sg.dat.), **u̯id-* > (ο)ουιτετου (4.1), **b^{h}eu̯d^h-os-* > *bevdos* (B-01), etc. In Phrygian, this semivowel persists in all periods and positions with the sole exception of **u̯o* > *o*: **diu̯-os* > τιος (53.1 = 76, 54.1 = 108, etc.). In two OPhr. words, *-v-* appears as a hiatus-filling glide (Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 186 and 2018, 1822): **toso* > **toho* > *tovo* (P-01) and **d^{h}h$_1$sos* > **dehos* > *devos* (P-03, also in *devun* B-07, not in NPhr. δεως, pl.dat.).

6 In that case, these blocks could be used as pedestals for reliefs or statues.

/j/, represented by ⟨i⟩ or ⟨y⟩, ι and ⟨η⟩, goes back to PIE *$i̯$ and is preserved in most positions: *$H_1i̯os$ > *yos*, *ios* / ιος (*passim*), *-$ei̯o$- > *kuryaneyon* (W-01c), *-$ei̯$ > *materey* (M-01e and W-01b), etc. However, in NPhr. it drops when following long vowels: *-$ōi̯$ > OPhr. /o:j/ in *dav-oi* (M-07 and B-05), *surgast-oy* (Dd-102) > MPhr. /o:j/ in σορ-οι (MPhr-01) > NPhr. /o/ ~ /u/ in αυτ-ω (37.2 = 30), σορ-ου (65.3 = 21 and 65.4 =124), *-$eh_2ei̯$ > OPhr. /a:j/ *mid-ai* M-01 / *avt-ay* (W-01b) > MPhr. ϙᾳ (MPhr-01, sg. dat.) > NPhr. /a/ in σα (17.5 = 91, 21.1 = 42, etc.), μανκα (3.1 = 97, 11.2 = 18, etc.). Nevertheless, etymological spellings are commonly found: λευκιωι (11.2 = 18), -*$ai̯$* > σαι (43.1 = 69 and 62.4 = 35), μανκαι (4.1 = 2, 17.2 = 3, etc.), ζειραι (59.4 = 106), etc. For /j/ dropped in non-absolute final position, see *-$ōi̯s$ > δεως (*passim*) and ζεμελως (*passim*). In OPhr., it appears in hiatus after the vowel *-i-*: Greek Καλλίας > OPhr. *kaliyạ* (B-05).

4.1.2.1.3 *The Approximant /l/*

The approximant /l/ renders the PIE **l*: see *$sleh_2g^{u̯}$- > *lakedo* (W-01b) and *-*elo*- > ζεμελως (*passim*). There are no clear examples of *$l̥$, leaving aside γλουρεος (MPhr-01), where its development is influenced by laryngeal *$ǵ^hl̥h_3$- (Greek χλωρός).

4.1.2.1.4 *The Vibrant /r/*

The Phrygian vibrant /r/ goes back to PIE **r*: *b^her- > αββερετ (18.3 = 6, 29.1 =114, etc.), *ph_2tr- > πα|τερης (1.2 = 48) / πατρες 2.2 (130), etc. As in PIE, this sound is extremely unusual at the beginning of a word: *rig$^?$aru* (G-222), ρε|ϰτεοι (47.1 = 51), ριδιτι (16.1 = 116), etc. (see Table 33). PIE *$r̥$ seems to be vocalised as /ro/ according to μροτις (MPhr-01) and μροτιη (56.2 = 58), but as /or/ in final position in light of *por* (W-05 b)? / πουρ (6.1 = 88), if both forms go back to PIE *$pr̥$. There are two examples of the simplification (-)C*r*- > (-)*r*-: *$u̯reǵ$- ? > *vrekun* (W-01a) > *$r̥$ekun* (M-06) and *$d^hreg^{u̯h}$-*ro*- > τιδρεγρουν (62.2 = 33) > τιδρερουν (53.1 = 76). There is also a hesitation between /r/ and /l/: σκελεδριαι (44.3 = 67) ~ σκερεδριας (55.1 = 56).

4.1.2.2 Obstruents

4.1.2.2.1 *Aspirant /s/*

PIE **s* disappears in initial position before a vowel: e.g., PIE *$seǵ^h$- > OPhr. *ege-seti* (P-04a), NPhr. εγεδου (53.1 = 76, 59.4 = 106, etc.) and εγεσιτ (56.2 = 58). The pron. σα(ι), σεμουν (*passim*) can be considered an exception to this rule if it goes back to PIE *se/o-; however, it is better explained as inherited from *$ḱi$ (see § 4.2.1.2.1). PIE *s- also disappears before *$u̯$-: PIE *$su̯$-eh_2 > OPhr. *va*- (B-07 and B-05), NPhr. ουα- (4.1 = 2, 16.1 = 116, etc.) and PIE *$su̯e$- > *ve*- OPhr. *venavtun* (W-01b) and NPhr. οεαυται (16.1). There are a few examples of *sC*- in initial position,

but all of them are suggested to be borrowings: *sperետa* (B-01), *sṭaḷ'a* (B-06) and σκελεδριαι (44.3 = 67) / σκερεδριας (55.1 = 56). However, because of the possible PIE etymology **sleh$_2$g$^{\mu}$-* (*LIV*^{2} 566, *IEW* 958, Greek λαμβάνω) of OPhr. *lakedo* (W-01b), it can be tentatively assumed that PIE **s-* also dropped before a consonant other than /w/.[7]

In intervocalic position PIE **-s-* also disappears, as can be seen in the well-attested word for 'god': PIE **d^{h}h$_1$so-* > NPhr. δεως (pl. dat., *passim*, Greek θεός). However, it is preserved in contact with a consonant at least in mid-word position: PIE **steh$_1$-* (*LIV*^{2} 590–592, *IEW* 1004–1008) > NPhr. εσταες 40.3 (31). An exception to this is considered by Lubotsky (1993a, 130 fn. 3, still in Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 183, 185 and 2018, 1819, 1823) in **-sd^h-* because of the 3sg .med. ending *-do* /-δου, which he equated to Greek -σθω. Lejeune (1969b, 296) also considered for the form σεμουν (sg. dat.) a simplification of **se-sm-* (here analysed as **ḱe-*).

As in Greek, **-s* remains in final position: **h$_2$eu̯tós* > αυτος (58.1 = 72, 62.2 = 33 and 62.5 = 35), **(h$_1$)e-d^{h}eh$_1$-es* > *edaes* (M-01a, M-01b, etc.), **népots* > *nevos* (B-05). However, there is one example in which **-s* drops in final position after *-k-*: compare *-vanak* < **-k-s* (in *modrovanak*, M-04) with Greek (ϝ)άναξ.

4.1.2.2.2 *Stops*

The Phrygian language has two series of stops: three voiced stops, /b/, /d/ and /g/, contrast with the voiceless ones, /p/, /t/ and /k/. Phrygian, then, greatly simplified the system of stops commonly reconstructed for the PIE (Table 14).

First of all, Phrygian, as *centum* language,[8] merged the PIE palatovelar series with the plain velars, PIE **ḱ, *ǵ, *ǵ^h* > **k, *g, *g^h*. Indeed, the Phr. outcome of this series is the same as the plain velars (see Table 15, on some *satəm*-like results see below). Second, it is widely known that the PIE aspirated stops became

7 With regard to *sC-* in Greek inscriptions from Anatolia (mainly from Roman Imperial times), Phrygia is notable for providing the most occurrences of vocalic prosthesis according to Brixhe (1987a, 115–116). Thumb (1901, 145) suggested that this feature could be attributed to the Phrygian substrate. Bubenik (1989, 242, 279), partially following Thumb's proposal, considered it "a feature of the provincial substandard of the Hellenistic Koine as spoken by the middle and low classes in several regions of Asia Minor (most notably Phrygia)." However, as he admits, there are few inscriptions related to this issue containing information about the social scale of their promoters.

8 This is a classical discussion in the history of Phrygian studies. Many scholars, especially in the period prior to the publication of Lejeune's works, considered that Phrygian belongs to the *satəm* group of PIE languages (on this, see Morante Mediavilla 2007, 543–559). Recently, while Brixhe considered that there was no clear information from which to conclude that Phrygian was a *centum* or *satəm* (Brixhe 1983, 131), Lubotsky (1989b, 148–149; 1998, 416) assumed that Phrygian shows *centum* developments.

TABLE 14 Proto-Indo-European stops

	Voiceless	Voiced	Aspirated
Dentals	*t	*d	*d^h
Labials	*p	(*b)	*b^h
Velars	*k	*g	*g^h
Palatovelars	*$\acute{k}$	*$\acute{g}$	*$\acute{g}^h$
Labialised velars	*$k^{\underline{u}}$	*$g^{\underline{u}}$	*$g^{\underline{u}h}$

voiced: *b^h, *d^h, g^h > /b/, /d/, /g/. See, e.g., PIE *b^h*er-* > αββερετοι (10.2 = 113, 17.5 = 91 and 19.2 = 129), PIE *$d^h eh_1$- > *dạket* B-05, (αδ)δακετ (*passim*), *$g^h re\underset{\cdot}{i}(H)$- > γεγρειμεναν (53.1 = 76, 60.1 = 59, etc.). Although some scholars play with the idea that the Grassmann Law worked in Phrygian (e.g., Brixhe 2004a, 52 and Gorbachov 2008, 94–95), the noun *$b^h e\underset{\cdot}{u}d^h$-os- > *bevdos* clearly shows that it did not affect Phrygian (B-01, identified by Lubotsky 2008). Then, following Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 187, 191 and 2018, 1826, 1829) *tedatoy* (W-01a; *tedạt*[---] B-05), the only example suggested to show this dissimilation, is more easily interpreted as bearing a preverb *t-* before the common form *edạtoy* (B-05; act. counterpart *edaes* M-01a, M-01b, etc.). Despite Brixhe's reticence (still in 2008, 74),[9] Lubotsky (2004) showed that in parallel with this shift the PIE voiced stops became voiceless in Phrygian and postulated the Phrygian *Lautverschiebung* in light of developments such as the following: *$d\underset{\cdot}{i}\bar{e}m$, *$di\underset{\cdot}{u}os$, *$di\underset{\cdot}{u}e\underset{\cdot}{i}$ > τιαν, τιος, τιε ~ τι ~ τιη 'Zeus' (*passim*), *$deik$- > τιττετιχμενος (*passim*), *$b^h h_1 \acute{g}$-os- > βεκος, *$\acute{g}enh_1 es$-h_2 > κενα, etc. Even more examples that confirm his proposal have been identified since the publication of his paper: *$doru$- > *torvetun* (B-05; Hämmig 2013, 150, fn. 52, also in Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 185), *ped- > *petes* (G-02, Kloekhorst, 2015), *$m\acute{e}\acute{g}$-h_2 > *mekas* (M-05, G-111, etc., Obrador-Cursach

9 It is also the case of Matzinger (2005, 379 and 2006), who suggested a shift $C_{[+voiced]} > C_{[-voiced]}$ /_nasal, and Woodhouse (2006), who suggested many contexts where the PIE voiced stops become voiceless in Phrygian. Nevertheless, although some of Woodhouse's new etymologies are possible, his general theory—that the shift occurred because of the presence of /n/, /m/, /w/, */b^h/, */d^h/ and perhaps /l/ in the same word—is not a satisfactory alternative to Lubotsky's more straightforward explanation. This is likely why his proposal remains unconsidered by other scholars. The aspirates and sonorants suggested by Woodhouse to be the cause of the shift do not constitute a natural class as regards this effect, it has no parallels and words identified after his paper was published do not fit his view: PIE *ped- > *petes* (G-02, Kloekhorst, 2015) and *dh_3-ti- (*NIL* 61) > *totin* (M-01f, Ligorio 2016).

TABLE 15 Phrygian developments of the PIE velars

PIE	OPhr.	OPhr. examples	NPhr.	NPhr. examples
**ǵ*	*k*	*mekas* (< **méǵ-h_2*)	κ	μεκαν (< **méǵ-h_2n*) βεκος (< **b^hh_1ǵ-os-*) κενα (< **ǵenh$_1$es-h_2*)
**ǵ^h*	*g*	*egeseti* (<**seǵ^h-*) *agariṭoi* (< **ǵ^{h}er(H)-*)	γ	εγεδου, εγεσιτ (<**seǵ^h-*) γεγαριτμενος (< **ǵ^{h}er(H)-*)
	↑	↑*iray* (< **ǵ^{h}es-r-*)	ζ	ζειραι (< **ǵ^{h}es-r-*)
**g*	-	-	-	-
**g^h*	-	-	γ	γεγρειμεναν (< **g^{h}reḭ(H)-*)
**g^u*	*k*	*knays* (< **g^{w}neh$_2$-*) *lakedo* (<**sleh$_2$g^u-*)	κ	κναικαν (< **g^{w}neh$_2$-*)
**g^{uh}*	-	-	γ	τιδρεγρουν (<**d^{h}reg^{uh}-ro-*)
**ḱ*	-	-	κ	τετικμενος (< **diḱ-*)
**k*	*k*	*daket* (< **d^{h}eh$_1$-k-*)	κ	(αδ)δακετ (< **d^{h}eh$_1$-k-*)
**k^u*	*k*	*ke, key* (< **k^{u}e*) *kos, kin* (**k^{u}o-* / **k^{u}i-*)	κ	κε, κη (< **k^{u}e*) κος, κιν (**k^{u}o-* / **k^{u}i-*)

2016), **deh$_3$-* τοτοσσειτι (7.1 = 99, Hämmig fthc. a and b) and **dh$_3$-ti-* (*NIL* 61) > *totin* (M-01f, Ligorio 2016).

The plain voiceless stops seem to remain unchanged in most instances: **méh$_2$tēr* > *matar* (W-04, W-06, etc.), **to-* > τος (17.2 = 3, 18.3 = 6, etc.), **ph$_2$ter-* > πα|τερης (1.2 = 48) / πατρες (2.2 = 130), **knuH-* > κνουμανει (*passim*), **d^{h}eh$_1$-k-* > *daket* (B-05) / (αδ)δακετ (*passim*), etc. However, Hämmig (2013) has identified an example of intervocalic **p* > *-v-*: **népot-* > *nevos*, *neṿoṭan* (B-05). As she noticed, this shift occurs only in this context, since in the same inscription she also identified its derived noun **nept-ih$_2$-* > *ṇiptiyan*, *niptiyạy* (B-05). The only clear example of *-V*p*V- preservation in Phr. is > *eneparkes* (G-125 and M-01dI) / ενεπαρκες (40.3 = 31), whose root goes back to **perḱ-* (as suggested Lejeune 1969b, 291–294). Consequently, it is unknown whether in Phrygian the shift *-*VpV-* > *-VvV-* was a general phenomenon and the preservation in *eneparkes* due to paradigmatic levelling from forms without augment or whether *-*VpV-* > *-VvV-* was in fact a local shift, since it is only identified in a Vezirhan stele (B-05).

As can be seen, in Phr. there is no *Lautverschiebung* in the way that this concept is used in IE studies. Voiceless stops remained as such in all positions, excluding the invervocalic example of *nevos* (B-05). *Stricto sensu* it would be preferable to refer to a Phrygian devoicing and deaspiration.

Lastly, Phrygian merged the PIE labialised velars, *k^{u}, *g^{u}, *g^{uh}, with the plain ones: *$k^{u}e$ > *ke* (B-04, B-05, etc.), κε (*passim*), *$k^{u}o$- / *$k^{u}i$- > *kos* (B-07) / κος (2.2 = 130, 11.2 = 18, etc.), *kin* (B-01) / κιν (61.1 = 100), *$g^{u}(e)n$-h_2- > *knays* (HP-114), *ḳnais* (B-07), etc. Although this shift confers a *satəm*-look to the Phrygian language, it can only be explained as a secondary shift in light of the previous confusion of palatovelars with regard to Latin and in Tocharian under some contexts (Pinault 2008, 445–447). In such a scenario, three forms show *satəm*-like developments in Phrygian, which can also be considered secondary:

1. ζεμελως 'men' (*passim*) < PIE *$d^{h}ǵ^{(h)}e$-*m*- 'earth'. The presence of *zeta* (ζ) seems to follow the PIE palatal *$ǵ^{h}$, but it is more easily explained as representing a secondary palatalisation before the front vowel *e*: *$d^{h}ǵ^{(h)}e$-*m*- > *$^{*}(d)ge$-*m*- > *$^{*}(d)ǵe$-*m*- > ζεμ-.
2. ↑*iray* (B-05) and ζειρα- 'hand' (40.1 =12 and 59.4 =106) < *$ǵ^{h}es$-*r*- ? (Hämmig 2013, 150–151). If the etymology and the equation of the OPhr. and NPhr. forms are accepted, we also have a similar context of ζεμελως: *$ǵ^{h}e$- > *ge- > ↑*i*-/ ζει-.
3. The pron. σεμουν / σα. Lejeune (1969b, 296) preferred to classify it as inherited from PIE **so*- / *to*- (with split paradigm in Phrygian, see τος 17.2 = 3, 18.3 = 6, etc.); however, an etymology *$ḱi$- is not ruled out by Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 185, see also Hämmig 2013, 140 fn. 31). If this second possibility is preferred (as it is here), the front vowel can again be considered as causing the shift (subsequently spreading to the whole paradigm).

As can be seen, these examples of possible *satəm* treatment occur before front vowels[10] and can easily be considered secondary in the light of examples such as *$méǵ$-h_2 > *mekas*. On the basis of the above considerations, the Phrygian system of stops can be defined as follows:

/b/ is inherited from PIE *b^{h}: *$b^{h}e\underset{\cdot}{u}d^{h}$-*os*- > *bevdos* (B-01), *$b^{h}er$- > αββερετ (18.3 = 6, 29.1 = 114, etc.).

/d/ is the outcome of PIE *d^{h}: *$d^{h}eh_1$- > *edaes* (M-01a, M-01b, etc.) / εδαες (16.1 = 116), *$d^{h}\underset{\cdot}{h}_1$-*s*-*o*- > δεως (*passim*), *$upsod^{h}\underset{\cdot}{n}$ > υψοδαν (2.1 = 15), etc.

/g/ renders PIE *g^{h}, *$ǵ^{h}$ and g^{uh}-: *$g^{h}re\underset{\cdot}{i}(H)$- > γεγρειμεναν (53.1 = 76, 60.1 = 59, etc.), *$seǵ^{h}$- > *egeseti* (P-04 a) / εγεδου (53.1 = 76, 59.4 = 106, etc.), εγεσιτ (56.2 = 58), *$d^{h}reg^{uh}$-*ro*- > τιδρεγρουν (62.2 = 33),[11] etc.

10 Brixhe 1982, Brixhe 1994, 172 and Matzinger 2005, 380.

11 According to Jokl 1927, 143 (followed by Neumann 1979, 824, Matzinger 2005, 384 and *EDG* 542), the Phrygian shift PIE *g^{uh} > *g* can also be found in the toponym Γέρμα (Galatia), Γέρμη (Mysia), *Germe* (Mysia), Γέρμι||α|| (Galatia, see *KON* 138–139 § 204), if it goes back to

/p/ follows the PIE **p*, with remains in Phrygian (with the sole exception of **népots* > *nevos* B-05): **pērḱ-* > *eneparkes* (G-125 and M-01dI) and ενε-παρκες (40.3 = 31), **ph₂ter-* > πα|τερης (1.2 = 48), πατρες (2.2 = 130). The discussed PIE stop **b* is expected to become **p* in Phr., but we have no evidence for the development of **b*.

/t/ is the result of PIE **d* and **t*: **diu̯-os* > τιος (53.1 = 76, 54.1 = 108, etc.), **deiḱ-* > τιττετικμενος (*passim*), **méh₂tēr* > *matar* (W-04, W-06, B-01) / ματαρ (11.2 = 18), πατρες (2.2 = 130), **nept-ih₂-* > *ṇiptiyan* (B-05), etc.

/k/ goes back to PIE **ǵ*, **gᵘ̯*, **ḱ*, **k* and **kᵘ̯*: **mégh₂* > *mekas* (M-05, G-111, etc., sg. nom.) / μεκας (MPhr-01, sg.nom.) / μεκ|αν (2.2 = 130, sg.acc.), **sleh₂gᵘ̯-* > *lakedo* (W-01b), **gʷneh₂-* > *knais* (B-07), *knays* (HP-114) / ϰναικαν (16.1 = 116), **deiḱ-* > τιττετικμενος (*passim*), **dʰeh₁k-* > *daket* (B-05) / (αδ)δακετ (*passim*), **kᵘ̯e* > *ke* (B-04, B-05, etc.), *key* (B-05) / κη (MPh-01) / κε (*passim*), κη (2.2 = 130), **kᵘ̯o-*, **kᵘ̯i-* > *kos* (B-07), *kin* (B-01) / κος (2.2 = 130, 11.2 = 18, etc.), κιν (61.1 = 100). PIE **g* is expected to become /k/ in Phrygian (as well as **ǵ*), but evidence for **g* in Phrygian is lacking.

Finally, stops drop in some clusters. This is the case of PIE **-t-s* > **-s*: see **népot*s > *nevos* (B-05) and βας (1.1 = 48, 7.1 = 99, etc.), in the light of its sg.acc. *batan* (T-02) / βαταν (20.2 = 128, 62.2 = 33, 62.5 = 35). Also **-d-s* > **-s* can be considered in light of ας (7.1 = 99, 7.3 = 14) < **h₂ed-s*.

4.1.2.2.3 *Reflexes of the Proto-Indo-European Laryngeals*

The three commonly reconstructed laryngeals for PIE disappeared in Phrygian. However, their presence is known through their reflexes and the comparison between other PIE languages. Moreover, as happens in Greek, Phrygian has different reflexes for each laryngeal, which they vocalise and "colour" in three different ways:

**h₁* yields /e/ in **h₁C-* and **-Ch₁C-*: **h₁su-* > *ev-* 'well' (in *eveteksetę̄ʔy* W-01b?), Gr. εὐ- 'id.', **dʰh₁-s-ó-* > δεως (*passim*), **bʰh₁ǵ-ós-* > βεκος 'bread' (7.1 = 99, 7.2 = 111, etc., if not from **bʰeg-* 'to break', *LIV*² 66–67, *IEW* 114–115). Phrygian merged **-Vh₁-* with **ē*, and it became /aː/: e.g., **dʰeh₁-* > *dạket* (B-05), (αδ)δακετ (*passim*). There are two examples of **-eh₁#*

PIE **gʷʰer-mo-* 'warm', as Greek θερμός 'warm', Arm. *jerm* 'id.', and Alb. *zjarm*, *zjarr* 'heat' (see also de Lamberterie 2013, 19–20).

> *-e* / ε: the prohibitive pcl. **meh$_1$* > *me* (B-05 and B-07) / με and the adverb *kạkey* (B-05) / κακε (6.1 = 88, 7.1 =99, etc.). There are two hypothetical explanations for this unexpected result: in an early prehistoric stage of the language the laryngeal dropped in final position (**-eh$_1$#* > **-ĕ#*) or the shift **ē* > *ā* only worked on stressed position. However, neither is conclusive: more examples of such dropping are lacking and our knowledge of the nature and position of the Phrygian stress is insufficient. In any case, before **e* the laryngeal **h$_1$-* disappears without any reflex in Phrygian: **(h$_1$)e-* (the verbal augment) > *e-* in, e.g., *edaes* (M-01a, M-02, etc.) and **h$_1$i-* > *ituv* (B-05).

- **h$_2$* became /a/ in **h$_2$C-* and **-Ch$_2$C-*: **h$_2$nḗr* > αναρ (2.1 = 15), Greek ἀνήρ, **ph$_2$téres* > πα|τερης (1.2 = 48), πατρες (2.2 = 130), **meǵ-h$_2$-(s)* > *mekas* (M-05, G-111, etc.) / μεκαν (2.2 = 130, sg.acc.), etc. Phrygian renders PIE **eh$_2$* as /a:/: **méh$_2$tēr* > *matar* (W-04, W-06, B-01) / ματαρ (11.2 = 18), **steh$_2$-* > *ẹṣtạẹṣ* (M-11) / εσταες (40.3 = 31), etc. Before vowel **e* the laryngeal **h$_2$-* disappears after colouring it /a/: **h$_2$eu̯-to-* > *avtoi* (T-03b) / αυτος (58.1 = 72, 62.2 = 33 and 62.5 = 35) and **h$_2$ed* > *ad* (B-05) / αδ (7.3 = 99), ατ (*passim*). The sg. dat. ending provides the occurrence of this laryngeal in intervocalic position: *-eh$_2$ei̯* > /aj/ *-ai*, *-ay* / -α(ι).
- **h$_3$* yields /o/ in **h$_3$C-* and **-Ch$_3$C-*: **h$_3$nh$_3$-mn* > *onoman* (W-01) / ονομα[-?-] (37.2 = 30) and **dh$_3$-ti-* (*NIL* 61) > *totin* (M-01f). The PIE sequence **-eh$_3$-* is expected to become /ō/. Nevertheless, the only possible occurrence is spelled with omicron: **de-deh$_3$-* > τοτοσσειτι (7.1 = 99, with secondary /o/ in the reduplication). This spelling is ambiguous since Phrygian and Greek had merged /o:/ with /o/ by the times of the NPhr. inscriptions (see δεως ~ δεος < **-ōis*). There is one example of **CRh$_3$C*: **ǵ^{h}l̥h$_3$-r-* > γλουρεος (MPhr-01, parallel to Greek *(C)R̥H$_x$C*> *(C)RV̄$_x$C*, cf. Gr. χλωρός). Here the outcome is expected to be /o:/, but this vowel commonly shifts to /u:/ in Phrygian.

In addition, there are two Phrygian words with unspecified laryngeals. The first is γεγαριτμενος, the equivalent of Greek κεχαρισμένος (a perfect middle participle of χαρίζω), a verbal form derived from **ǵ^{h}r̥(H)-* (via the noun χάρις, -τος; see *EDG* 1606–1607). The second unspecific laryngeal is found in **knuH-mn̥* > κνουμανει (*passim*). Although its root is also found in Greek κνύω 'to dig', there is no evidence suggesting that laryngeal should be preferred in its reconstruction. Then, the laryngeal is only known for the Greek form, which suggests that the Phrygian form also had a long /u:/, at least before merging of /u:/with /u/.

In the light of the above, the PIE laryngeals result in Phrygian as follows:

TABLE 16 The Phrygian treatment of PIE laryngeals

	**HC-*	**-CHC-*	**-He-*	**-eHe-*	**-eH-*	**-uH-*	**CRHC*
***h*$_1$**	*eC-*	*-CeC-*	*-e-*	-	*-ā-* (*-ē-*)	-	-
***h*$_2$**	*aC-*	*-CaC-*	*-a-*	*-ā-*	*-ā-*	-	-
***h*$_3$**	*oC-*	*-CoC-*	-	-	*-ō-* ?	-	**CRōC*
H	-	-	-	-	-	*-ū-*	-

4.2 Morphology

4.2.1 *Nominal and Pronominal Morphology*

Phrygian nouns, adjectives and pronouns have three genders (masculine, feminine and neuter), two numbers (singular and plural) and four cases (nominative, accusative, genitive and dative).[12] These categories are expressed by the inflection of the words, although the gender of a word is often unclear because no specific endings are used and the agreement with an adjective or pron. is lacking in the preserved texts. In the case of nouns (and adjectives, although their inflection is even less documented), three basic types of nominal inflection are commonly established on the basis of the endings used for each type (although these are not the only distinguishing features): *a*-stem, *o*-stem and consonant stems (*C*-stems, including *i*- and *u*-stems).

4.2.1.1 Nouns and Adjectives

4.2.1.1.1 *The* a*-stems*

In most instances the Phrygian *ā*-stem inflection goes back to PIE **-eh$_2$* and is followed by fem. and masc. nouns (especially personal names), fem. adj. and pronouns. The attested endings are shown in table 16.

The sg.nom. ending *-a* / -α renders the PIE **-eh$_2$*. It is found in fem. nouns and adj.: *kubeleya* (B-01), *kubileya* (W-04), λαπτα (MPhr-01), μανκα (MPhr-01), etc. It is also found in masculine personal names: *ata* (G-107, G-118, etc.), *baba* (M-01b and G-121), *ḳaliyạ* (B-05), μιτραφατα (1.1 = 48), μιδακας (11.2 = 18), etc. There is an alternative ending *-as* for masculine PN, but even in those cases *-a-ø* occurs: compare *atas* (G-128 and Dd-101), *atatas* (M-01c and HP-01), *midas*

12 It remains unknown whether Phrygian had a vocative case because of the nature of the texts.

TABLE 17 *A*-stem endings

	Singular			Plural		
	OPhr.	**MPhr.**	**NPhr.**	**OPhr.**	**MPhr.**	**NPhr.**
Nominative	*-a* / *-as*	-α / -	-α / -ας	-	-	-α / -ας ?
Accusative	*-an*	-αν?	-αν	-	-	-αις, -αης ?
Genitive	*-as*	-	-ας	-	-	-
Dative	*-ai*, *-ay*	-α	-αι / -α	-	-	-ας

(M-01d I, G-137 and HP-102) with *baba* (M-01b and G-121). Brixhe (1983, 128; 1993, 340 and 2004a, 51) explains this hesitation between forms with and without *-s* (also found in the other vowel stems, with the sole exception of the *o*-stem) as the result of Anatolian substratum/adstratum, since the Anatolian language does not have the contrast between masc. and fem.

The PIE ending **-eh$_2$m* yields the sg. acc. *-an* / -a(ν): *ạkinanogavaṇ* (M-04), *ṇiptiyan* (B-05), μανκαν (2.1 = 15, 11.2 = 18, etc.), γεγρειμεναν (53.1 = 76, 60.1 = 59, etc.). Also in MPhr-01 βιλατα-δε|ναν, if it is a sg.acc.fem. of **-dh$_1$-no-* 'made of'.

The only clear noun in sg. gen. is ουεναουιας (6.1 = 88), a fem. personal name. On masc. names in *-as*, Brixhe argued that there is a sg. gen. in *-avo*. However, the only example, *leravo* or *lelavo* (W-10), remains obscure (even its sg. nom. is unknown) and this assumption is made in the light of the *o*-stem *-vo* and the *e*-stem *atevo* (W-10), the possible gen. of the masculine PN *ates* (M-01a, W-08, etc.).

The sg. dat. *-ai*, *-ay* / -α / -αι, -α is the result of PIE **-eh$_2$ei̯*: *ạtai* (W-10), *midai* (M-01a), *niptiyạy* (B-05), μανκαι (4.1 = 2, 17.2 = 3, etc.), etc. It is common in NPhr. that the second element of the diphthong drops: μανκα (3.1 = 97, 11.2 = 18, etc.). This simplification seems to have happened already in MPhr. in light of ϝạ σοροι (instead of σαι σοροι). Often, this phenomenon leads to confusion with other cases: compare ιος | σα τι σκελεδριαι | κακουν δακετ (44.3 = 67) with [ι]ος σας του σκερεδ̣ριας κακουν δακετ (55.1 = 56) or ιος νι σεμουν κ[νου]μανι κακουν αδδ[α]κετ αινι μανκης (8.1 = 86) with αινι κος σεμουν κνουμανει κακουν αδδακετ αινι μανκα (11.2 = 18). The spellings μ̣[ανκ]ε (17.5 = 91) and μανκης are likely to have been influenced by Greek monophthongation αι > ε.

The plural forms remain unclear. The pl. nom. ending appears in ουελας (9.1 = 87 and 15.1 = 120) according to Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 189 = 2018, 1826), who think it goes back to **su̯el-eh$_2$-es*. Nevertheless, Hämmig (fthc. a and b) has recently suggested another segmentation for both ocurrences (considered

verbs) that, if accepted, invalidates this analysis: ουελασκετου (9.1 = 87) and ουελασκοννου (15.1 = 120). More likely, in NPhr. 40.1 (12) the forms ζειρα and τιττετικμενα are in pl. nom. Perhaps the simplification -αι > -α occurred here, as in the sg. dat. If this is the case, the plural is an innovation shared with Greek, which built a pl. nom. -αι after the *o*-stem counterpart -οι. The pl. acc. ending -αις, -αης, which goes back to PIE *-*eh*$_2$*ns*, is only found in an obscure word with no clear context: δεκμουταις (22.1 = 9) and δεκμουταης (40.3 = 31, where *eta* stands for /i/). Finally, the pl. dat. is found in ονομανιας 16.1 (116), a form governed by the preposition με.

There are at least two secondary *a*-stems in Phrygian. The noun *vrekun* (W-01a) appears once as a feminine *vrekạn* (B-05). In both instances, it can designate a relief of the goddess and perhaps it is the reason of the stem and gender shift (see Matzinger 2005, 389). The PIE word for 'hand' was originally a C-stem PIE **ǵ^{h}es-r-* 'id.' (*NIL* 170–172, preserved in Hitt. *keššar* 'id.', Gr. χείρ, χειρός 'hand', Arm. *jeṙn* 'id.', etc.), but in Phrygian it is inflected as an *a*-stem according to its sg. dat. ↑*irạy* (B-05) / ζειραι (59.4 = 106). A parallel process occurred in the Alb. cognate *dorë* 'id.' (**dēr-ā* < **dēr-* < PIE **ǵ^{h}es-r-*), but this is a general phenomenon in this language (Demiraj 1997, 140 with references).

The fem. forms of the adj. and pronouns follows this inflection. See, e.g., the fem. poss., sg. nom. *va* (B-07) / ουα (4.1 = 2, 62.2 = 33 and 62.5 = 36), sg. acc. οαν (16.1 = 116)-ουαν (60.1 = 59) and sg. dat. *vay* (B-05). In addition, the form *krạniyạs* (B-05, read before as *krạniyạp*) is considered here a fem. sg. gen. adj. in agreement with the goddess *artimitoṣ*. Also, the forms *t|ias* (G-249) and πουντας (1.1 = 48) can be considered ethnics in sg. nom. masc.: *se⅄el t|ias* '*Tian* weight' and πουντας βας 'Pontan Bas'.

Finally, the adj. *mekas* 'big, great' < PIE **meǵ-h$_2$* was inflected in a similar way to *ā*-stems, although it has some peculiarities. Its sg. nom. *mekas* (M-05, G-111, etc.) / μεκας (MPhr-01) has an ending *-as* (as in the Greek masc. μέγᾰς), and it is used for both masc. and fem. (Obrador-Cursach 2016, 183–184): compare *deỵọs ke meḳạs* 'and the great god' (sg. nom. masc., P-03) and *apelan mekas* 'the great Apelan' (sg. nom. masc., M-05) with μανκα μεκας σας 'this big stele' (sg. nom. masc., MPhr-01). Other cases are sg. acc. μεκ|αν (2.2 = 130) and sg. dat. μεκα (35.1 = 25). The forms *mekaịṣ* (G-239, perhaps pl. acc., although a pl. dat. cannot be ruled out) and *meḳạ*[---] (B-05) remain unclear.

4.2.1.1.2 *The* o*-stems*

The Phrygian thematic inflection, the *o*-stems, is inherited from its PIE equivalent. This inflection is followed by masculine and neuter nouns, adj. and pronouns, although there is at least one *o*-stem fem. noun (σοροι / σορου). Their endings are as follows:

TABLE 18 *O*-stem endings

	Singular						Plural					
	OPhr.		MPhr.		NPhr.		OPhr.		MPhr.		NPhr.	
	M-F	Neut.	M-F	Neut.	M-F	Neut.	M-F	Neut.	M-F	Neut.	M-F	Neut.
Nom.	*-os*	*-un*	-ος	-	-ος	-ουν	*-oi*	*-a*	-	-	-οι	-α
Acc.	*-un*		-ουν		-ουν -ον		*-oys*?		-		-	
Gen.	*-o*?		-ου		-ου, -ω		-		-		-ουν	
Dat.	*-oi*, *-oy*		-οι		-ου, -ω, -ωι		-		-		-ως	

The PIE masc.sg.nom. ending **-o-s* yields the Phrygian *-os* / -ος / -ος: *akenanogavos* (M-01a and W-01a), *benagonos* (G-116), *deyo̰s* (P-03), νικοστρατο̰ς (MPhr-01), τιττετικμενος (*passim* in NPhr.), etc.

The masc.sg.nom. ending *-un* / -ουν / -ουν, -ον goes back to PIE **-o-m*: *akaragayun* (M-02), *bagun* (G-136), δετου̰ (MPhr-01) / δετουν (40.3 = 31), δετον (16.1 = 116), γεγρειμενον 59.4 (106), etc. The same ending is used for the neut. sg. nom.-acc. of nouns and adjectives (but not in the pronominal inflection): *vrekun* (W-01a) and τιδρεγρουν (62.2 = 33), τιδρερουν (53.1 = 76).

The OPhr. sg. gen. has not been identified. Perhaps, I can be found in some forms in *-o* such as *ka̰yarmo̰yo* (B-01, B-05), a clear *o*-stem, as its sg.acc. *kavarmo̰yun* (B-01) shows. In any case, this ending appears in MPhr. and NPhr. as -ου: αιδομενου (MPhr-01), δαδου (11.2 = 18), αργου (1.2 = 98 and 37.2 =30), etc. The adj. fem. αωρω (6.1 = 88), borrowed from Greek ἄωρος, shows a spelling variant of the *o*-stem sg. gen. since it agrees with ουεναουιας (6.1 = 88). The Phrygian thematic sg. gen. ending seems to go back to **-oso* (just as Greek -ου). In MPhr. and NPhr., this ending **o.o* > (*)-ō > -ου merged with the sg. dat. -ου. The thematic sg. gen. ending **-osyo* has not been identified in Phrygian. This absence can be considered surprising, since it is found in Skt. *-asya*, Gr. -οιο and Arm. *-oy* (also in Faliscan *-osio*, Lat. *Lapis Satricanus -osio* and Lepontic *-oiso*).[13] However, if it is an archaism and not an innovation, it could simply have been lost in Phrygian.

13 On the Luwian outcome of *-osyo* see Yakubovich 2008.

The sg. dat. ending, *-oi*, *-oy* / -οι, -ο? / -ου, -ω, follows the PIE **-ōi̯*. This diphthong is preserved in OPhr.: *adoikavoi* (G-02a), *davoi* (M-06 and B-05), *imroy* (B-01), etc. However, in NPhr. its second element dropped and the resulting /o:/ merged with /u/: σορου (65.3 = 21 and 65.4 = 124) and ϰορου (27.1 = 92). There are also few spellings with omega, e.g., αυτω (37.2 = 30), and one example of the old form, λευκιωι (11.2 = 18). In MPhr. the forms ϰλ̣ευμαχοι and σοροι (MPhr-01) show the same situation as the OPhr.

Phrygian has the thematic masc. pl. nom. ending *-oi* / -οι: *agariṭoi* (G-02, Kloekhorst 2015, 110 and 116) and τιττετιϰμενοι (28.1 = 71). This ending, parallel, e.g., to Greek -οι or Lat. *-ī* (< *-ē̯* < *-ei̯* < *-oi̯*), is borrowed from the pronominal inflection.

The possible masc. pl. acc. ending *-oys* is the result of PIE **-ons* and is suggested to occur in *kṭevoys* 'properties (?)' (B-01) and *paṭriyiọis* 'relatives or paternal (?)' (B-04, see Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 189 and 2018, 1826). Note, however, that the contexts of both occurrences remain unclear. The PIE ending **-h_2* yields the Phr. neut. pl. nom.-acc. *-a* / *-ā*: *kakạ* (B-05) / ϰαϰα (17.3 = 7), τιττετιϰμενα (40.1 = 12) and μμυρα (35.1 = 25). Recently, the pl. gen. ending -ουν has been identified by Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 190) in τιτετουϰμενουν (33.1 = 28). It goes back to PIE **-o-om* > **-ōm*. Finally, the PIE pl.dat. ending **-ōis* is clearly attested in NPhr. as -ως: δεως (3.1 = 97, 10.1 = 112, etc.), ζεμελως (3.1 = 97, 14.1 = 73, etc.).

Finally, in Phrygian at least one old fem. *a*-stem become a masc. *o*-stem: ουταν (53.1 = 76, 54.1 = 108, etc.) and ουτον (59.4 = 106). Both forms share the same context: γεγρειμεναν εγεδου τιος ουταν (53.1 = 76, 54.1 = 108, etc.) 'let him have the written punishment of Zeus' with γεγρειμενον ϰ' εγεδου ορουενος ουτον 'and let him have the written curse of the Keeper' (59.4 = 106).

4.2.1.1.3 *The C-stems*

The C-stem encompasses the consonant stems, *t-*, *d-*, *k-*, *n-*, *m-* *r-*, *l-* and *s*-stems, as well as the *i*-stems and *u*-stems. They share the same endings (see Table 19).

The masc. and fem. sg. nom. ending is *-s*, inherited from PIE **-s*: *ṭuvatis* (G-133), *alus* (W-09), **népot-* > *nevos* (B-05), **-t-s* > βας (1.1 = 48, 7.1 = 99, etc.), μροτις (MPhr-01), etc. In light of *moḍroẏanak* (M-04), it seems that after *-k*, the ending dropped. On the other hand, in the *r-*, *l-* and *n*-stems this ending does not occur. Instead, the nominative almost always shows a lengthened grade of the suffix (with the sifht **ē* > *a*): *matar* (W-04, W-06 and B-01) / ματαρ (11.2 = 18), *se⅄el* (G-249, a borrowing), *iman* (M-06, G-136, etc.), *kuryaneyon* (W-01c), ορουαν (1.1 = 48), αναρ (2.1 = 15), etc.

PIE *-m*/*-m̥* yields the masc.-fem. sg. acc. ending *-n* (after vowel) / *-an* (after consonant): *areyastin* (W-01a), *imenan* (B-05), *materan* (M-01dI and W-01a),

TABLE 19 *C*-stem endings

	Singular						Plural					
	OPhr.		MPhr.		NPhr.		OPhr.		MPhr.		NPhr.	
	M-F	Neut.	M-F	Neut.	M-F	Neut.	M-F	Neut.	M-F	Neut.	M-F	Neut.
Nom.	*-s*/-ø	-ø	-ς	-	-ς	-ø	*-es*	*-a*	-ης	-	-ες -ης	-α
Acc.	*-n* *-an*		-ν -		-ν -αν		*-ais*?		-		-	
Gen.	*-os*		-		-ος		-		-		-	
Dat.	*-ei, -ey*		-		-ει, -ε, -ι, -η		-		-		-	

neẏotạn (B-05), *Batan* (T-02b) / Βαταν (20.2 = 128, 62.2 = 33 and 62.5 = 35), κιυιν (MPhr-01), **dị̄ēm* > Τιαν (2.2 = 130), 7.1 = 99, etc.), ορουεναν (20.2 = 128), ⸢κ⸣ναικαν (16.1 = 116), ευκιν (1.2 = 98 and 37.2 = 30), etc.

Neuters do not bear any ending in the sg. nom.-acc.: **bʰeu̯dʰ-os-* > *bevdos* (B-01, *s*-tem), **bʰh₁ǵ-ós-* > βεκος (7.1 = 99, 7.2 = 111, etc., *s*-tem), **-mn̥* (a very productive suffix, even in NPhr. period) > *keneman* (M-01b), κνουμαν (16.1 = 116 and 43.1 = 69), etc.

Phrygian generalised the PIE ending **-os* for the *C*-stem sg.gen.: *vasos* (< **u̯asu̯os*; P-02), *kanutii*ʔ*evanoṣ*ʔ (P-02), *urgitos* (K-01 VI–VII a2), τιος (53.1 = 76, 54.1 = 108, etc.), ορουενος 59.4 (106), κ⟨ν⟩ουμινος (18.2 = 5), etc. In view of *aṛtimitos* (B-05), Brixhe (2004a, 55–56) considered that the *i*-stems have a *t*-stem sg. gen. parallel to Greek Ἄρτεμις, -ῐ̆δος, although the Phrygian nom. of this DN in Phr. is not attested. The same can be said of the PN *urgitos* (K-01 VI–VII a2), if it goes back to Hurrian *Urḫi-*.

Sg. dat. *-ei, -ey* / -ει, -ε, -ι, -η preserves the PIE ending **-ei̯*, although in NPhr. it shows a simplification of this diphthong: *materey* (M-01e and W-01b), *inmeney* (B-05), ↑*emeney* (B-05), κνουμανει (*passim*), κνουμανε (3.1 = 97, 10.1 = 112, etc.), κνουμανι (6.1 = 88, 8.1 = 86, etc.), κνουμανη (29.1 = 114), *tiei* (NW-101 A II), τιε (*passim*), τι (9.1 = 87, 38.1 = 44, etc.), τιη (8.1 = 86, 18.3 = 6, etc.), βρατερε (40.3 = 31), etc.

PIE pl. nom. ending **-es* is preserved in Phrygian. Note that in NPhr. ⟨η⟩ represents /e/ (and /i/) instead of the classical /eː/: *petes* (G-02) / πετ̣ες (40.1 = 12)?,

TABLE 20 Possible inflection of the personal name Manes

Nom.	*manes* (B-07)
Acc.	*maniṇ* (B-07)
Gen.	*manitos* (B-07)
Dat.	-

m²akeṛes (HP-114), παντης (MPhr-01), πατρες (2.2 = 130), πατερης (1.2 = 48), etc. The pl. acc. is not well attested, but it seems to go back to *-*n̥s*: *ḅṛateṛais* (B-04), *dạḳeṛaiṣ* (B-05) ?, Finally, the neut. pl. nom.-acc. *-a* / -α goes back to PIE *-*h₂*: *dabpula* P-101 and κενα (62.4 = 35).

4.2.1.1.4 *Personal Names in* -es

In the Phrygian corpus there are some PN with the nom. ending *-es*: *manes* (B-07; NPhr. μανεις 43.1 = 69, due to Greek itacism?), *ates* (M-01a, W-08, etc.),[14] *voines* (G-129 and G-286), *tates* (G-122; [*t*]*²ạtes* G-148?), *tiyes* (M-04), *eies* (G-108) and the more obscure *ge̯ies* or *ṭ²eies* (G-125), *p²erbastidages* (HP-101), *bateles* (W-08), *garies* or *pa̯ries* (G-224 b), αδενπ|ạṭης (43.1 = 69). Two instances show a variant without *-s*, a hesitation found in all vowel stems PN: *mane* (Dd-103) and *manes* (B-07). Some of these PNs are found in Greek inscriptions from Roman Phrygia: e.g., Αττης (*KNP* 107 § 119–110, also attested in literary sources as Ἄττης) and Μανης and Μανις / Μανεις, Μανιτους (*KNP* 290–291 § 858–4, in literary sources as Μάνης).

Their origin, as that of most PN attested in Phrygian and Greek texts from Phrygia, may be sought in the Anatolian languages, since some of them are PNs (including typical Lallnamen) that occur in Anatolian corpora: e.g., *manes* occurs in Lyd. as *manes* (see Gusmani 1964, 163) and in Carian as *mane* (see Adiego 2007, 381) and *ates* appears in the Lyd. poss. adj. *ateliš* 'of Ates' (Gusmani 1964, 69). Exceptions are αδενπ|ạṭης and *p²erbastidages* (HP-101).[15] Despite their abundance, they appear mostly in nom. and their inflection is not well attested. Leaving aside the forms *atevo* and αδε|ν⟨π⟩ατω (43.1 = 69), only *Manes* seems to have more than this case (see Table 20).

14 HP-103, HP-104, HP-105, HP-106, HP-107, HP-108. Perhaps also in [-?-]*ates* (G-123); [-?-]*ateṣ²*[-?-] (G-124) and [-?-]*ạtes* (G-148).

15 On it see Brixhe 2004a, 105.

TABLE 21 PIE and Phrygian inflection of the suffix *-*mn̥* in sg.

	PIE	Phrygian		
Nom.-Acc.	*-*mn̥*	*onoman*	*keneman*	κνουμαν
Gen.	*-*mén-s*	-	-	κ⟨ν⟩ουμινος
Dat.	*-*mén-ei̯*	-	-	κνουμανει

In light of Table 20, it seems that the PN in *-es* follow the *i*-stem inflection (with the inclusion of a *-t-* in the *i*-stem sg. gen., as Brixhe 2004, 44 suggested). However, *atevo* (W-10) has been interpreted as the gen. of *ates* by Brixhe (1983, 124), with the same ending *-vo* found in the possible *a*-stem *leravo* or *lelavo* (W-10) and the pron. [*t*]*ovo* (G-02 c). Also, contradictory to the suggested inflection of *manes* is the *o*-stem dat. αδε|ν⟨π⟩ατω (43.1 = 69), if indeed it is the dat. of αδενπ|ᾳ̣τ̣ης (43.1 = 69). Perhaps this hesitant inflection is due to the foreign origin of such PNs.

4.2.1.1.5 *Nominal and Adjectival Suffixes*

4.2.1.1.5.1 *-man, -μινος*

The suffix *-man*, inherited from PIE *-*mn̥*, is well attested in the Phrygian corpus. As in PIE, it derives neuter action nouns or result nouns from verbs: see **kenh*$_1$- 'to dig' > *keneman* 'niche' (M-01b, Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 189, 192–193) or **knuH*- 'scratch, dig' > κνου-μαν. However, it is found in other constructions: PIE **h*$_3$*nh*$_3$*-mn̥* 'name' > *onoman* (W-01b, Greek ὄνομα). Secondary formations are also found, since this suffix spread to other nouns, even borrowings in NPhr. times: **g*^{w}*ol*(*H*)*-teh*$_2$- > κολταμανει (11.2 = 18, if the etymology is right) and κορο[υ]μανη (2.2 = 130) built by the addition of *-man* to κορο- (κορου 27.1 = 92), a borrowing from Greek χώρος, -ου. All of these nouns occur only in singular.

The PIE proterodynamic inflection of the nouns derived by this suffix seems to be preserved in Phrygian, as the inflection of κνουμαν indicates (see Table 21). However, it shows some particularities: the sg. gen. κ⟨ν⟩ου-μιν-ος has the common rising *e* > *i* in the suffix and the sg. dat. forms κνου-μαν-ει, κολτα-μαν-ει and κορο[υ]-μαν-η has a levelling in the suffix vowel from the sg. nom (instead of the expected *-μεν-ει).

4.2.1.1.5.2 *-evais, -evanos*

The suffix *-evais* /*-evanos* appears in adj. which occur in onomastic sequences and its origin may be found in the ø-grade of PIE poss. suffix *-u̯ent- (see Anatolian place names in *-wanda*). While the sg. nom. is clear, *-u̯n̥t-s (> *-vants*

TABLE 22 PIE and Phrygian inflection of the suffix *-u̯(e)nt-

	PIE	Phrygian		
Nom.	*-u̯n̥t-s	ḳanutieivạis	*arkiaevais*	*memevais*
Gen.	*-u̯n̥t-os	*kanutii²evanoṣ²*	-	-

> *-*vans* > *-vais*), the sg. gen., which occurs in *kanutii²evanoṣ²* (P-02), is less straightforward. Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 186 = 2018, 1820) considered its evolution as follows: *-*u̯n̥t-os* > *-*u̯n̥t-os* > *-*u̯antos* > *-vanos*, where /n/ represents IPA [n̪ː] (they adduce the similar evolution of the 3pl. impv. ending *-*ntō* > -ννου). However, a mere assimilation is an easier explanation. The vowel *-e-* found before this suffix in all Phrygian instances may be due to resegmentation in names with this vowel. The suffix *-evais* /*-evanos* has been considered to form titles (Lubotsky 1988a, 175) or ethnics (Brixhe 2004a, 77–78). However, they are most easily explained as patronymics because two of the three occurrences can be analysed as derived from PNs: *arkia-* in *arkiaevais* (M-01a) is very likely the Greek PN Ἀρχίας and *mem*(*e*)- in *memevais* (M-01b and M-02) looks like a common Anatolian Lallname (see, e.g., *KPN* 309 § 895 Μεμμας, from Pisidia).[16] Thus, *ḳanutieivạis* (P-03) and *kanutii²evanoṣ²* (P-02)[17] can also be considered patronymic. Although *kanuti-* does not occur elsewhere in Anatolia, a man called *Kanutî* appears as witness in a Neo-Assyrian judicial ruling dated after 626 BC (Fales and Jakob-Rost 1991, 132–133 no. 66) and the area where Phrygian P-inscriptions were found was once under Neo-Assyrian control. Consequently, this name is very likely to have an Assyrian origin.

4.2.1.1.5.3 *-eyo/a-*

The suffix *-eyo/a-*, which goes back to PIE *-e̯i̯o-* (fem. *-e̯i̯eh₂-*), derives adjectives from nouns and creates fem. PNs from masc. These adjectives follow the *o*-stem inflection for the masc. and neuter and the *a*-stem inflection for the femi-

16 The sg. nom. *memeuis* (T-02) is a clear variant of *memevais* that shows the common Luw. contraction **wa* > *u* (on this, see Rieken 2001). Since the loss of *-a-* in such position remains unexplained an engraver's mistake is highly possible. Note also the historical consequences of this interpretation. If M-01a *ates arkiaevais* is to be understood as 'Attes the son of Arkias', its identification with the Lydian Atys the son of Croesus (as suggested by Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 130) is no longer possible.

17 A third occurrence is found in *kanutię*[---] (P-05), but its ending is lost. Note that all occurrences of *kanuti-* come from the same area.

nine. The list of instances is as follows: *mireyun* (sg.acc., B-05, very likely derived from *meros* B-07 / μιρος MPhr-01), *imeneia* (G-183b, fem. PN derived from *iman*, *imen-os* M-06, G-136, etc.), *kubeleya* (B-01) ~ *kubileya* (W-04, DN), *k↑ianaveyos* (M-01b and M-02, title), *lagineios* (G-110, PN) and perhaps [*l*ʔ]*ạgineiạ* (G-276, its fem.?), *voineios* (G-145, PN derived from *voines* G-129, G-286), [-?-]*agipeia* (G-135, if derived from the PN Ἄγιππος) and, finally, τεμρογε|ιος (1.1 = 48, derived from the name of the river Thymbris).

4.2.1.1.5.4 *-yo/a-*

As *-eyo/a-*, the suffix *-yo/a-* (< PIE **-i̯o-*) creates thematic adjectives from nouns. It seems to be attested in *pạtriyiọʔisʔ* 'relatives' (B-04) and, perhaps, in *porniyoy* (B-07).

4.2.1.1.5.5 *-iya*

The Phrygian suffix *-iya-*, inherited from PIE **-ih₂*, occurs twice in the Phrygian corpus: in the noun *niptiya* 'daughter' (B-05) < **nept-ih₂* (identified by Hämmig 2013, *pace* Simon 2014) and in the adj. *kraniyas* 'of the source' (sg. gen., B-05, formerly read as *kraniyap*). Note that the syllabicity of this suffix in Phrygian is explained by Siever's Law, since *-ih₂* > *-iyh₂* occurs following heavy syllables: **nept-ih₂* > **nept-iyh₂* > *niptiyă*. Very likely, the adj. *kraniyas* is formed on the Aeol. borrowing κράννα 'well, spring, fountain' (Att.-Ion. κρήνη) and should be read as /kranniyas/.[18]

4.2.1.1.5.6 *-elo-*

The suffix *-elo-*, which goes back to PIE **-elo-*, is found in ζεμελως 'men' (pl. dat., 3.1 = 97, 14.1 = 73, etc.): **dʰǵ⁽ʰ⁾em-elo-* > **ǵʰem-elo-* > *ζεμ-ελο-.

4.2.1.1.5.7 *-ρο-*

At least the word τιδρεγρουν (62.2 =33, also [τιδρ]ε̣γρο|υν 54.1 = 108 and τιδρε-ρουν 53.1 = 76), derived from PIE **dʰregu̯ʰ-* 'to fee',[19] shows the survival of the PIE suffix *-ró-s* in Phr. It derives adjectives.

4.2.1.1.5.8 *-tar*

The PIE suffix **-tr-* is commonly found in kinship terms: **méh₂tēr* > *matar* 'mother' (W-04, W-06 and B-01; sg. acc. *materan* M-01d I and W-01a and sg. dat.

18 See in the same inscription Greek Καλλίας rendered as *kạliyạ* /kalliya/.

19 It is compared to Greek τρέφω 'to make fat, feed, bring up, care for' by Haas 1966, 69 and 84 and Lubotsky 2004, 235–236.

TABLE 23 *-tēr inflection in PIE and Phrygian

	PIE		Phrygian			
Sg.nom.	**-tēr*	*matar*	-	-	-	*dạker* / δακαρ?
Sg.acc.	**-ter-m̥*	*materan*	-	-	-	*dạkeṛạn*
Sg.dat.	**-tr-eḭ*	*materey*	-	βρατερε	-	-
Pl.nom.	**-ter-es*	-	πατερης πατρες	-	*m²akeṛes*	δ̣[α]|ϰερης
Pl.acc.	**-ter-n̥s*	-		*ḅṛạteṛạis*	-	*dạkeṛạiṣ*

materey M-01e, W-01b), **ph₂téres* > πατερης (pl.nom., 1.2 = 48; also πατρες 2.2 = 130) and **bʰréh₂trey* > βρατερε (sg. dat. with levelling in the suffix, 40.3 = 31, pl. acc. *ḅṛạteṛạis* B-04).

In addition, since PIE **-tēr* is known to create agent nouns from verbal roots, one is tempted to consider that *m²akeṛes* 'kind of worker (?)' (pl.nom., HP-114) and *dạkeṛạn* (?) (sg. acc., B-05, other forms sg. nom. pl. acc. *dạkeṛạiṣ* B-05, pl. nom. δ̣[α]|ϰερης 16.1 = 116, its sg. nom. can be *dạker* B-05 and/or δακαρ 11.2 = 18) contain this suffix: **meh₂ǵ-ter-es* > **makteres* > *m²akeṛes* (perhaps /makkeres/) and **dʰeh₁-k-ter-m̥* > **dakteram* > *dạkeṛạn*. As can be seen, this analysis assumes an assimilation **-kt-* > *-kk-*. Although this analysis is preferable to accepting an unparalleled suffix ***-ēr/-er-*, both examples are unclear words and this working hypothesis remains open.

4.2.1.1.5.9 *-av-os*?

Two words show a Phrygian suffix *-avos*: *akenanogavos* (M-01a, W-01a) and *proitavos* (M-01b and M-02).[20] The first word is attested by the forms *akenanogavos* (M-01a, W-01a) and *ạkinanogavaṇ* (M-04).[21] Both forms are considered to contain a suffix **-av-os* or **-eus* / *-avos*, a cognate of Greek -εύς / -ῆος (Epic, which yields the more common -εύς / -έως).[22] Indeed, *akenanogavos* is assumed by some scholars to be a kind of patronymic form in gen. (compare

20 Despite the identical ending, the form *oskạvos* (B-05 l. 8) cannot be related to them because of the imprecative context of this word.

21 A fourth form is found in M-09, *ạkeṇ²ano*[---].

22 Hajnal 2005, 200 suggested a link between the two suffixes and considered them patronymics in sg. gen. The origin of the Greek suffix is still discussed, and some scholars consider it a borrowing from an unknown language. This is the case of Meissner (2016), who also provides an interesting approach to the history of the analysis of this suffix. Unfortunately, Phrygian does not provide information relevant to its origin.

with Greek -έως, Epic -ῆος).[23] Following this assumption, *ates arkiaevais akenanogavos* may be translated as 'Attes (the son) of Arkias (the grandson) of *akenanog-*'[24] and *bonok akenanogavọṣ* (M-01a) as 'Bonok the son of Akenanog-'. Even the form *ạkinanogavaṇ* (M-04) can be explained as the sg. acc. of *akenanogavos*: **-m̥* > **-an* (compare with Greek -έᾱ, Epic -ῆᾰ / -έᾰ). However, the context is less clear than that one of the gen. forms and this analysis implies a levelling **-av-* from the sg. gen. Moreover, there is not an independent source for a PN *akenanog-* in Phr. Likewise, since the first element of this word is a clear Phrygian noun and PN names derived from Phr. nouns are unknown, it is hardly defensible to classify *akenanogavos* as a genuine Phr. PN.

Lubotsky (1988, 12, see also Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1824, 1829), Janda (1997), Orel (1997a, 10–11, 412), and other scholars considered *akenanogavos* a title of *ates* and *bonok*, a thematic sg. nom., referring to a kind of priest. In this case, *ates arkiaevais akenanogavos* may be translated 'Attes the son of Arkias the *akenanogavos*' (M-01a, W-01a). Then, as Lubotsky suggested (1988, 12), *ạkinanogavaṇ* (M-04) can only be the fem. form in sg. acc. (said of the mother goddess, to whom the monument is devoted). The interpretation of *akenanogavos* as a title is favoured by the context: these words (including *proitavos*) are found on great cultic monuments very likely promoted by the rulers or administrators of the area. Thus, the promoter's official titles can be expected to appear on this kind of public monument.

However, a problem remains: what is the origin of *-ogav-*? Indeed, *akenan* is found as a noun in P-04a, so *akenanogavos* is clearly a compound. The sole attempt to interpret *-ogav-* was given by Orel 1997a, 10–11 and 412 (= 1997b, 42), who considered a form *-anog-* (compared to Greek ἄνωγα 'command, order') with a suffix *-avo-*. Since this Greek noun derives from PIE **h₁eǵ-* 'to say' (see *EDG* 110–111), the equation can no longer be defended because of the *Lautverschiebung*. In my opinion, *-ogav-* can be equated to Greek ὀχεύς 'anything used for holding or fastening', which derived from **soǵʰ-*, the *o*-grade variant of the root **seǵʰ-* 'to hold' (*LIV*² 515–516, *IEW* 888–889).[25] Then, it is easy to consider that from **soǵʰ-ēu̯-*, as found in sg. gen. **soǵʰ-ēu̯-os* (Epic Gr. ὀχῆος), this word was secondarily thematised in Phrygian as *akenanogavos*. Note that both occurences of the title *akenanogavos* very likely appear in agreement in sg.

23 This is suggested and defended in Gusmani and Polat 1999b, 156 fn. 61, Innocente 1997, 40, especially, Brixhe 2004a, 60, 78 and Hajnal 2005, 200.

24 A strong parallel for such a genealogical sequence is B-07 *manes iyungidas manitos* 'Manes (the son) of Iyungida (the grandson) of Manes'.

25 Greek ἔχω 'have, hold', Sanskrit *sáhate* 'overwhelm, defeat', also found in Phrygian *egeseti* (P-04a, εγεσιτ 56.2 = 58 and εγεδου 53.1 = 76, 59.4 = 106, etc.).

nom. with *ates* (M-01a) and *bonok* (W-01a). The result of this analysis is a title related to the cultic monuments with the meaning 'the holder/keeper of the *akenan, vel. sim.*' (cf. P-04a *ios ni ạkenan egeseti*, previously, Lubotsky 1988, 14–13).

The second word containing *-av-os* is less clear because *proitavos* (M-01b and M-02) does not have a clear etymological analysis and its interpretation depends on the meaning assigned to *akenanogavos*. In any case, its position is the same as *akenanogavos*, after a PN followed by a patronymic: *baba memevais proitavos kΦiyanaveyos*… 'Baba the son of Meme, the *proitavos*, the *kΦiyanaveyos*' (M-01b).[26]

4.2.1.2 Pronouns

The pronouns follow, with some peculiarities, the *o*-stem inflections for the masc. and neuter and *a*-stems for the fem. However, some pronouns have endings with *-i-* in the masc. and neuter sg. nom. and sg. acc.

4.2.1.2.1 *Demonstrative Pronouns*

This demonstrative has generally been considered the result of the split of the PIE **so-* / *to-* (see Lejeune 1969b, 296–297) attested in Gr. ὁ, ἡ, τό (demonstrative and article). However, Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 185 = 2018, 1824, 1826) have recently suggested the possibility of tracing it back to PIE **ḱi-* 'this', a demonstrative found in Hitt. *kāš*, *kī*, CLuw. *zās*, *zā* (HLuw. *za*(*-a*)*-sa*, *za*(*-a*)), OCS *s*, Lith. *šìs* and *šį̃*, Go. *hina*, etc. It is also found as deictic pcl. in Lat. *cĕ-do*, *hi-c*, *ci-s* and Gr. ἐ-κεῖ and τ-ήμερον (*Il.* and Att.), σ-ήμερον (Epic Ion.), σ-άμερον (Dor.) and, parallel to the Phrygian forms, σά < **ḱi-h*$_2$ (Megarian, Ar.*Ach.* 757, 784, pl. nom.-acc. neut.). Here, the latter possibility is preferred because it avoids the irregularity implied by the preservation of PIE **s-* in this position and shows a consistent inflection with *-i-* in the masc. and neut., inherited from PIE **ḱí*(*d*).[27]

The OPhr. sg. acc. masc. form *sin* (B-05) appears in agreement with a masc. noun in its sole occurrence: *sin=t imeṇạn* (B-05). Morphologically, it can be traced back to PIE **ḱi-m*. On the other hand, in NPhr. the masc.-neut. sg. dat. form is used as sg. acc., since it agrees with a neuter noun in acc. (Brixhe 1999,

26 M-02 contains the same titulature: *bba memevais proitavos kΦiyanaveyos*…

27 On the inflection of these pronouns in the Anatolian branch and their repercussion on the reconstruction of their PIE ancestors, see Kloekhorst 2012, whom I follow here. Kloekhorst also analyses the forms with **ḱó-*, which seems to have coexisted with **ḱí-* already in PIE, and suggests a substantival value for PIE **ḱí-* and adjectival value for **ḱó-*, a parallel differentiation sometimes suggested for **kʷi-* and **kʷo-* (e.g., Beekes 1995, 203 and Meier-Brügger 2002, 231).

TABLE 24 Inflection of the Phrygian demonstrative pronoun si-, σα-

	Singular			Plural		
	Masculine	**Neuter**	**Feminine**	**Masculine**	**Neuter**	**Feminine**
Nom.	*ses*?	*si*	σας!	-	-	-
Acc.	*sin* σεμουν!		εσ$^{?}$αν?	*ses*?		-
Gen.	-		σας!	-		-
Dat.	⟨*s*⟩*imun*, σεμουν, σεμον, σεμυν, σεμιν, σεμου, σιμουν		*esai*, σαι, σα, σαν!, σας!	-		-
Particle	=*s*					

306): ας σεμουν κνουμαν 'in/to this tomb' (40.3 = 31, note that the case is governed by the preposition).

The OPhr. sg. nom.-acc. *si* goes back to PIE **ḱi* and occurs twice in agreement with neuter nouns: *si bevdos* 'this statue' (B-01) and *si keneman* 'this niche' (M-01b). Perhaps it is also found in G-11 b (with not clear agreement); however, this text remains obscure: *sit kraroy̯ veao* | *dis*.

The NPhr. masc.-neut. sg. dat. σεμουν is well attested (with many spelling variants σεμον, σεμυν, σεμιν, σεμου), although its origins are not at all clear. It is commonly found in the protasis of the imprecative formulae σεμουν κνουμανει 'to this tomb' (*passim*). Lejeune (1969b, 296) considered an element suffix *-sm-* added to the pron. (he reconstructed **se-sm-*), while Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 190 = 2018, 1826) preferred a sg. dat. form **-smōi̯* followed by an unclear *-n* (compared with Greek *ny ephelkystikon*). Although the spelling is aberrant in this part of the inscription, the OPhr. form ⟨*s*⟩*imun* (B-05) was identified by Hämmig (2013, 149) as the precedent of the NPhr. σεμουν and it agrees with a neuter noun in sg. dat.: †*iv*† ⟨*s*⟩*imun inmeney ąsenąn dąket*... (instead of the expected *yos *simun*...). In any case, if indeed σεμουν and ⟨*s*⟩*imun* go back to **-smōi*, the change **-ōi̯* > /u/ must have occurred in OPhr. times, although no clear examples have been found at this stage. It is easier to consider it as coming from **-smō-* followed by a postposition **-n*, as happens in Sabellic languages

(see Untermann 2000, 223–225). In this case, we are dealing with a frozen abl. In addition, ⟨*s*⟩*imun* shows that the NPhr. vowel in σε- very likely goes back to an original **si-*.[28]

The fem. forms have more occurrences, although they are never found in OPhr. The pron. in this gender is inflected following the *a*-stem nouns. However, the sole occurrence of its sg. nom. σας (MPhr-01 = W-11) is problematic since the ending *-s* is not expected. For this oddity, I suggest a levelling of the *-s* from the masculine forms such as τος, κος, ιος, etc., or, in the light of the sequence where it is read, μανκα μεκας σας 'this big stele', a mere dittography (Obrador-Cursach 2016, 183–184).

The expected sg. acc. form is σαν, but its sole occurrence is used as sg. dat. in agreement with μανκαι: ιος νι σαν | κακουν αδ[δα]κε μανκαι (60.2 = 60, compare with ιος σαι κα|κον αδδα|κετ μανκ|αι 43.1 = 69). This usage is explained as a misspelling because both the final *-n* and *-i̯* (after long vowel) dropped in NPhr. times; as a consequence, the spelling of both cases was confused. There is a possible occurrence of the fem. sg. acc.: ε-σ$^{?}$αν (40.3 = 31). Its identification was a suggestion by Neumann (1986, 81a, instead of ειαν read in Calder's copy of this text) also considered by Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 190 and 2018, 1826) and makes the sequence understandable: εσ$^{?}$αν | μανκαν ιαν εσταες βρατερε | μαιμαρηαν 'this stele which [(s)he] put for the brother as monument'.

The two clear occurrences of the sg. gen. fem. form σας (< PIE *-eh$_2$es*) are used as sg. dat.: ιος νι σεμον κνουμανι κακον αββερετορ αιι̯ι σας μδ̣ει... (14.1 = 73, in agreement with μδ̣ει) and [ι]ος σας του σκερεδ̣|ρ̣ιας κακουν δακετ... (55.1 = 56, parallel to ιος | σα τι σκελεδριαι | κακουν δακετ 44.3 = 67). There is a possible occurrence of σας in agreement with a sg. gen. noun, though the sequence is obscure: ιος νι [σ]εμον κν[ου]μανη κακον αβ̣β̣ε̣|ρετ ατ νουκτ|ον μρος σας (29.1 = 114).

The sg. dat. fem. occurs in *e-sai* (W-01b) and σαι (43.1 = 69 and 62.4 = 35 < PIE **-eh$_2$ei̯*): *esai⸗t materey eveteksetę̣$^{?}$y* 'to this mother' (W-01b), ιος σαι κα|κον αδδα|κετ μανκ|αι (43.1 = 69) and ιος νι σαι κακο|υν αδδακεμ μανκαι (62.4 = 35) 'who does harm to this stele'. In NPhr. it is more commonly found as σα (17.5 = 91, 21.1 = 42, etc.), σαν (60.2 = 60), or σας (14.1 = 73 and 55.1 = 56) because of the drop of the final *-i* and the confusion with other cases: e.g., ιος νι σα του μανκα κακουν αδ|δακετ 'whoever does harm to this stele' (64.1 = 81).

There are two unclear forms, *sest* (P-02) and σως (2.2 = 130). As has been seen before, the interpretation of *sest bugnos* (P-02) as a sequence in pl. nom. or pl.

28 The form σιμουν (35.1 = 25) cannot be used as valid evidence here because the text has non-etymological spellings parallel to this one: αβ|βιρετο for αββερετοι (10.2 = 113, 17.5 = 91 and 20.2 = 129) and [ζ]ιμ̣ελως for ζεμελως (3.1 = 97, 14.1 = 73, etc.).

acc. contradicts the other occurrences of the *o*-stem pl. nom. ending. A possible alternative is to consider the pron. *ses* as sg. nom. with hesitation between e and *i* (see sg. dat. ⟨*s*⟩*imun* / σεμουν) and the pcl. =*t* attached. In that case, *ses=t bugnos va|sos kanutiî?evanoṣ?* could mean 'this (is) Bugnos, the son of Vasos the grandson of Kanutî'. The NPhr. form σως (2.2 = 130) was suggested to be a pl. dat. by Avram (2016b, 210–211), but the context is not clear: αινι ουεβαν δεδασσιννι πατρε|ς σεμουν κορο[υ]μανη σως κη | γουμειε καρπυς ειλικρινη εγο|υννου.

Two forms are compounds bearing the demonstrative element **h_1e/o-* > *e-*: *esai* (W-01b) and perhaps εσ?αν (40.3 = 31). Also, the clitic form *t* is attached to some forms of this pronoun: *esai=t* (W-01b) and *sin=t* (B-05).[29] This reinforces the demonstrative, according to Brixhe (1978b, 21).

Finally, there is a clitic pcl. derived from this pronoun: *s=*. It occurs attached to proper names: *s=materan* (M-01dI) and *s=manes* (B-07). Perhaps the enclitic =s attached to verbs has the same origin: ομνισιτου=ς (MPhr-01 = W-11) and τευτου=s (62.2 = 33 and 62.5 = 36).

4.2.1.2.2 *Anaphoric Pronouns*

4.2.1.2.2.1 The Anaphoric Pronoun τος

The Phrygian anaphoric pron. goes back to PIE **so-* / *to-* 'this one' (Gr. ὁ, ἡ, τό, Skt. *sáḥ*, *sā́*, *tát*, Go. *sa*, *sō*, *þata*, etc.) and shows the generalisation of the forms with *t-* to the whole paradigm in the light of the sg. nom. masc. τος (17.2 = 3, 18.3 = 6, etc.). This form is always used at the beginning of the imprecative apodosis: ιος νι… τος νι… ('whoever…, this one…'). The masculine is inflected as the *o*-stem nouns and the fem. as *a*-stem nouns.

According to Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 190 = 2018, 1827), the sg. gen. form *tovo* (G-02 c) goes back to PIE **toso* > *to.o* (see o-stem sg.gen.), with antihiatic *-v-*. The neut. pl. acc. *ta* is not clear since its only occurs in an obscure text and its *t-* is a restitution by Lubotsky (1993b, 94): B-01 *yos tivo* [*t*]*ạ speretạ ayni kin te*[*l*]*ẹmi…*

The fem. sg. acc. *tan* (W-01c) / ταν (2.1 = 15, 11.2 = 18, etc.) shows the expected ending PIE **-eh$_2$m* > *-am*. As happens in NPhr. a-stem inflection, the sg. dat. (< PIE **-eh$_2$ei̯*) appears with and, perhaps, without the original final *-i*: ται (11.2 = 18 and 16.1 = 116), τα (11.2 = 18).

The remaining forms are variants of a clitic pcl. The basic form *t* is attached to the demonstrative pron. in *esai=t* (W-01b) and *sin=t* (B-05). The forms with vowel seem to be frozen cases. Indeed, *ti* (B-05) / τι (30.1 = 39, 35.1 =25, etc.) looks like the sg. nom.-acc.neuter (see *si*), while του (9.1 = 87, 25.1 = 115, etc.;

29 Unclear remains *sit*, perhaps *si=t* (G-11 b).

TABLE 25 Inflection of the anaphoric pronoun τος

	Singular			Plural		
	Masculine	**Neuter**	**Feminine**	**Masculine**	**Neuter**	**Feminine**
Nom.	τος	-	-	-	[*t*]*ạ* ?	-
Acc.	-		*tan*, ταν	-		-
Gen.	*tovo*		-	-		-
Dat.	του		ται, τα	-		-
Particle	*≠t, ti*, τι, του, το					

with the spelling variant το, 15.1 = 120, 17.6 = 119 and 37.2 = 27) the sg. dat. masc.-neut. (< **-ōi̯*, sg. gen.). Both variants of this pcl. commonly appear between demonstrative and noun (as well as *≠t*): e.g., ιος νι σεμουν του κνου|μανει κακουν αδδακετ (37.1 = 10) and ιος | σα τι σκελεδριαι | κακουν δακετ (44.3 = 67). Lejeune (1969b, 296) and Brixhe (1978b, 7) considered that sequences such as σεμουν του κνουμανει were influenced by the Greek article: see, e.g., τούτῳ τῷ μνημείῳ (e.g., Waelkens 1986, no. 493) or ταῦ|τα τὰ ὀστέα (Mendel 1909, no. 102 = *SEG* 6.343 and 30.1494). It is true that του in 37.1 (10) could be considered to occur in agreement of σεμουν and κνου|μανει (sg.dat.neut.), but examples like ιος νι σα του μανκα κακουν αδ|δακετ 64.1 (81) show that του is not inflected, since here a fem. τα(ι) would be expected. Then, it is more likely that sequences of σεμουν του / σα του + noun are genuine Phrygian structures in the light of OPhr. *esai≠t materey* (W-01b) and *sin≠t imenạn* (B-05).

Finally, while *s≠* is found with proper names, τι is found with a DN: τος |νι δ̣[ιως ζ]ιμε̣λως τι μεκα | τ[ιε] τιττετικμενος ειτου (35.1 = 25).

4.2.1.2.2.2 The Anaphoric Pronoun *io-* / *o-*

This anaphoric pronoun (mostly read in imprecative apodoses) appears in two variants: οι (1.1 = 48, 7.1 = 99, 17.3 = 7, 18.1 = 4, 40.1 = 12, 50.2 = 55, 53.1 = 76, 62.2 = 33 and 62.4 = 35) and ιοι (2.1 = 15, 7.2 = 111, 8.1 = 86 and 11.2 = 18). See, e.g., ιος νι ϝεμον κνουμανει κα̣|κε̣ αδακετ, τιτετικμενος | ας τιαν ε̣ιτου, με κε οι | τοτοσσειτι βας βεκος 'who does harm to this tomb let become accursed by Zeus and let Bas not give bread to him' (7.1 = 99) and ιος αδακετ, βας ιοι β[ε]κος με βερετ [---]

'who does [harm to this monument], let Bas not produce bread to him' (7.2 = 111). At least in one case it seems to have a poss. use: ιοι αναρ δορυκα|[νος] 'her husband Doryka[nos]' (2.1 = 15).

The existence of these variants has been explained in two different ways. Brixhe (1997, 66) and Hämmig (fthc. a and b) considered that ιοι was the stressed variant of this pronoun, while οι the clitic one. This interpretation compares them to Greek ἑοῖ (Homer) / οἱ and considers that their origin is the PIE form **seu̯-oi̯*. On the other hand, Lubotsky (1997, 126 and Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 190 = 2018, 1826) showed that ιοι ~ οι are contextual variants: ιοι appears after a consonant and οι after a vowel. According to him, the original form was ιοι which may go back to the PIE pron. **h₁e(i̯)-* / **h₁i-*, also attested in Lat. *is, ea, id*. It seems to appear in OPhr. text, always as *oy* (B-01 l. 6, B-05 l. 9, l. 11 and l. 12); however, its contexts remain obscure: B-01 … [..]*toyo*[.]*is* [.]*erktẹvoys ekey dạ*[*b*]*ati* | *opito* [*k*]*ey oy evẹmẹmesmeneya anato* (.[?])… B-05 l. 9 *yos niy ạrt sin=t imenạn kạkạ oskạvos kạkey* | *kạn dedạsitiy tubetiv oy ḳevos derạliv mekạṣ key* | *koyis ạbretoy*…, B-05 l. 11–12 †*iv*† *imun inmeney ạsenạn dạket torvetun* ↑*irạy ạyniy oy* | *tubnuv nevos, me deritoy kovis ke ạbretoy nun oy nev*⟨*otan*⟩…

4.2.1.2.3 *The Emphatic Adjective and Anaphorical Pronoun αυτος and Its Derived Reflexives*

Like Greek αὐτός, the pronoun αυτος derives from PIE **h₂eu̯* 'again' attached to the anaphoric pron. **to-* 'that' (see *EDG* 173 on the Greek form). Since this pron. is found in the first Phrygian texts (T-03b) and has a regular phonetic development, there is no reason to consider it a Greek borrowing. The masculine form inflects like the *o*-stems, while the fem. like the *a*-stems.

The sg. nom. masc. (58.1 = 72, 62.2 = 33 and 62.5 = 35), which goes back to PIE **h₂eu̯-tó-s*, appears in the NPhr. apodoses referring to the sanctioned action of protases: ιος νι σεμουν κνουμανει κακον αδδακετ […] αυτος κε ουα κο⁝ροκα γεγαριτμενος ας βαταν τευτου=ς 'and let him, cursed by Bas, lack any children' (62.2 = 33).

The sg. acc. masc. form αυτον (2.2 = 130) is found as emphatic adj.: τιττετι|[κ]μενος ειτου εικαδ αυτον μεκ|αν τιαν 'let him become accursed by the same great Zeus'.

The NPhr. sg. dat. masc. αυτω (< **-ōi̯*) is found in a damaged context: [……] ουεβαν εγερετοι αυτω αυταη κε ταν ειṿṇọṇ (37.2 = 30). The OPhr. form *avtoi* (T-03b) can be interpreted as sg. dat., though a pl. nom. masc. (< **-oi̯*) cannot be ruled out since the context is not clear: [---]*ọi* ⁝ *avtoi* ⁝ *eptuve*[---] | [---]*itan mẹ*|[---]*ṗ*[?]*is* ⁝ [---].

The sg. dat. fem. form is *avtay* (W-01b) / αυταη (37.2 = 30), which goes back to **h₂eu̯-t-eh₂-ei̯*. The OPhr. form is found as an emphatic adjective: *yos esai=t*

TABLE 26 Inflection of αυτος and venavtun

	Singular			Plural		
	Masculine	**Neuter**	**Feminine**	**Masculine**	**Neuter**	**Feminine**
Nom.	αυτος	-	-	*avtoi* ?	-	-
Acc.	*ven-avtun*, αυτον		-	-		-
Gen.	-		-	-		-
Dat.	*avtoi* ?, αυτω		*avtay*, αυταη, οε-αυται	-		-

materey eveteksetę̓y ovevin onoman daϒet, *lakedo key venavtun avtay materey* 'who puts his own name in this Matar *Eveteksetey*, let him be taken by the same Matar' (W-01b). The NPhr. αυταη (37.2 = 30) is found in the same obscure context as αυτω.

The reflexive pron. is derived from αυτος and is parallel to Greek ἑαυτοῦ, ῆς, οῦ 'of himself, herself, itself'. Both the Greek and the Phrygian forms are built with the PIE reflexive pron. **sṷe* attested in Lat. *se*, Greek ἕ (Lesb. ϝε), Sanskrit *sva-*, etc. (see *EDG* 365; it is also found in the poss. pronoun). The sg. acc. masc. *venavtun* (W-01b) shows an acc. *-n* added to **sṷe* > *ve* (Greek ἑαυτόν). On the other hand, the sg. dat. fem. οεαυται (16.1 = 116, on its spelling, see § 3.2.2.1) is a regular form identical to Greek ἑαυτῇ.

4.2.1.2.4 *The Relative Pronoun* Yos

The Phrygian relative pronoun is found elsewhere in the Phrygian corpus, but few forms are attested, mainly the masc. sg. nom (with many spelling variants) at the beginning of curses. The origin of this pron. must be found in PIE **Hi̯-o-*; it is a cognate of Greek ὅς, ἥ, ὅ and Skt. *yás*, *yā́*, *yád* (**h₂i̯ó-* in *LIPP* II, 312–315). The masculine forms are inflected following the *o*-stem nouns. The masc. sg .nom. is /jos/, commonly spelled as *ios* (G-02b, P-04a, P-04b, P-06), *yos* (B-01, B-05, B-06, B-07, W-01a, W-01b) and ιος (MPhr-01, *passim* in NPhr.). Less frequent spelling variants are †*iv*† (B-05, an engraver's mistake for *yos* according to Hämmig 2013, 149), ειος (40.1 = 12, influenced by Greek itacism) and ις (17.1 =

TABLE 27 The Phrygian relative pronoun

	Singular	
	Masculine	**Feminine**
Nom.	*ios*, *yos*, ιος, ις	-
Acc.	ιον?	ιαν

4 b, 12.1 = 121, 15.1 = 120, 16.1 = 116, 18.2 = 5, explained by the simplification of -ιο- > -ι- in Greek inscriptions from Roman Phrygia).[30] Similarly to the Lat. indefinite pron. *quisquis*, *quaequae*, *quidquis* 'whoever, whatever, everyone who', there is one occurrence of the reduplication of this Phrygian pronoun: *yosyos* (B-03). The text in which it is read remains too obscure to know whether it is an indefinite pron. like the Lat. parallel. Perhaps ισος (34.1 = 37), found in the common position of ιος (νι) (at the begining of the curses), goes back to this reduplication with a consonant simplification *-sy-* > -σ-.

The masc. sg. acc. ιον (56.2 = 58) has one likely attestation: μοναν μροτιη ιον εγεσι|τ γε|γρι|με|νο|ν, literally '(This is) only for the dead whom it carries engraved' (i.e., 'only for the dead whose names are engraved'). However, my interpretation of this text is not at all conclusive. I prefer it to other possible interpretations because the noun μροτιη can be taken as the sg.dat. of μροτις (MPhr-01) and avoids unparelleld noun τιηιον derived from *ti-* 'Zeus'. Nevertheless, it is not easy to explain the incongruence in the agreement of the fem.s g. μοναν μροτιη (suggested to mean 'only for the dead') and the masc. sg. ιον ('whom').

Finally, the fem. sg. acc. form ιαν is only attested once: εσ$^{?}$αν | μανκαν ιαν εσταες βρατερε | μαιμαρηαν 'this stele which [(s)he] put for the brother as memorial' (40.3 = 31).

4.2.1.2.5 *Indefinite Pronouns*

4.2.1.2.5.1 The Indefinite Pronoun *Kos, Kin*

Phrygian inherited from PIE *$k^{u}o$- / *$k^{u}i$- the indefinite pronoun *kos*, *kin*, found in other languages as Greek τις, τι, Lat. *quis*, *quid* and Hitt. *kuiš*, *kuit*. The masc.

30 On this phenomenon, see Brixhe 1987a, 50–51.

TABLE 28 The Phrygian indefinite pronoun *kos, kin*

	Singular	
	Masculine	**Neuter**
Nom.	*kos*, κος	*kin*, κιν
Acc.	-	

sg. nom. *kos* (B-07), κος (2.2 = 130, 11.2 = 18, 56.3 = 64 and 58.1 = 72) shows an *o*-stem inflection, while the neuter nom.-acc. has a common form in *-i-* with the ending **-m*, instead of **-d* (Lat. *quid*) or *-ø* (as the demonstrative *si*). Then, *kin* / κιν is a parallel form to Sanskrit *kím* < PIE **$k^{u}i$-m* (see Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 183 = 2018, 1827).

Following a first proposal by Hämmig (2013, 143 fn. 36), the OPhr. form *kos* B-07 is found with the prohibitive pcl. *me* (< PIE **meh$_1$*), and the resultant form *mekos* may mean 'nobody, no one', in contrast to the basic *kos* 'anyone' (a similar formation to Greek μηδείς or Lat. *nequis*): *mekos anivaγeti s=maniṇ* 'let nobody harm Manes' (B-07). In NPhr. κος also appears in the begining of curses after αινι (αινι κος... 'if someone...') instead of the most common ιος (νι) 'whoever': e.g., αινι κος κακην αδδακετ κορο| [υ]μανη σως κη γουμειε... (2.2 =130) and 11.2 αινι κος σεμουν κνουμανει κ|ακουν αδδακετ αινι μανκα... (11.2 = 18).

Finally, the neuter form appears as an adj. in a NPhr. curse: ιος σεμιν κνουμανε μουρου[ν δα]|[κετ αι]νι κακουν κιν 'who does a stupid act to this tomb or any harm...' (61.1 = 100). The OPhr. occurrence is in an obscure context: *yos tivo* [*t*]*ạ speretạ ayni kin te*[*l*]*ẹmi*... (B-01).

4.2.1.2.5.2 The Indefinite Pronoun τις, τι, a Greek Borrowing

In its sole occurrence, τι (30.1 = 39), the sg .acc. neut. in agreement with κακουν, it appears as an indefinite adj. instead of *kin* / κιν: compare ιος νι σ[εμ]ον τ[ου] κνου|μαν[ε] κακουν τι ạ̣δ[δ]α|κετ (30.1 = 39) with ιος σεμιν κνουμανε μουρου[ν δα]|[κετ αι]νι κακουν κιν (61.1 = 100) and, in Greek, τις ἂν ἕτερος τῷ μνη|μείῳ κακόν τι ποιήσει (*IGR* 3.340, from Pisidia).[31]

31 An equivalent structure is found in Synnada, a Phrygian city where NPhr. occurs: ὃς ἂν | δὲ αὐτῷ κ̣ạ̣κ[όν] | δι ποιή|σι (*MAMA* IV 91, δι = τι).

TABLE 29 Comparison of Phrygian and Greek τις, τι

	Phrygian		Greek	
	Masculine	**Neuter**	**Masc.-Fem.**	**Neuter**
Nom.	τις ?	τι	τις	τι
Acc.	-		τινά	

The form τις (28.1 = 71) occurs once, introducing the protasis of a curse, as is commonly found in Gr. inscriptions from Anatolia: τις κ εγερε[τ], | τιττε-τικμ̣[ε]|νοι ιννου 'and whoever εγερε[τ], let them become accursed'.[32] In Greek curses from Anatolia τις often occurs as a relative pronoun instead of the classical relatives (Brixhe 1987a, 84).[33] Compare, e.g., two inscriptions from Appia containing the north Phrygian curse formula 'whoever lays a hand with heavy envy (on this tomb)…': Ὅς ἂν ποσοίσι χῖρα τὴν βαρύφθονον… (Strubbe 1997, no. 176) and Τίς ἂν̣ ποσοίσει χεῖρα τὴν βαρύφθονον… (Strubbe 1997, no. 179).

Since in both occurences this pron. appears in the same position as its Gr. counterparts and phonetically PIE *$k^{u}i$- became *ki*- in Phr., the forms τις, τι must be considered a Gr. borrowing.

4.2.1.2.6 *The Possessive Pronoun*

PIE *$s\underline{u}$-*e/o*- yields the Phrygian possessive pronoun (parallel to Greek ὅς, ἥ, ὅν 'his, her, its'), which only occurs in singular. The fem. forms follow the *a*-stem inflection: sg.nom.fem. *$s\underline{u}$-eh_2 > *va* (B-07) / ουα (4.1 = 2, 62.2 = 33 and 62.5 = 36), sg. acc. fem. ουαν (60.1 = 59, spelling variant οαν 16.1 = 116), *$s\underline{u}$-$eh_2e\underline{i}$ > *vay* (B-05). E.g., *va knais manuka* 'his wife Manukka' (B-07). The neuter form is only found in the compound *ove-vin* (W-01b). Although *ove*- is unclear, Lubotsky (1988, 20, also in Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 193 = 2018, 1827) suggested convincingly that *-vin* is the poss. in sg. acc.: *ovevin onoman* 'his own name' (W-01b).

32 The restitution of the verb in singular is suggested because of the agreement with τις, despite the fact that the apodosis has a verb in plural. If τις is considered pl., the verb must be εγερε[ν].

33 The first occurrence of Gr. τις as a relative is commonly said to be s.*oc* 48, although this phenomenon is found elsewhere in postclassical Greek. See more classical occurrences in Probert 2015, 49 fn. 65. See Muraoka 2015, 92–93 for this use in the *Septuagint*. On this use in other IE languages, see Luján 2009.

TABLE 30 Inflection of the Phrygian possessive pronoun

	Singular		
	Masculine	**Neuter**	**Feminine**
Nom.	-	*ove-vin*	*va*, ουα
Acc.	-		ουαν, οαν
Gen.	-		-
Dat.	-		*vay*

Consequently, *-vin* is easily explained as inherited from PIE **su̯-* with the same neuter ending found, e.g., in the indefinite pron. *kin*, κιν.

4.2.2 *Verbal Morphology*

Due to the nature of the Phrygian texts, which are mainly monumental inscriptions and short graffiti, most of the Phrygian forms are inflected in 3sg. and 3pl. It seems likely that other persons are attested in Phrygian, but such forms remain obscure. Even the analysis of the clearer verbs is difficult, and many conflicting details have yet to be explained. Therefore, our knowledge of the Phrygian verb is precarious and fragmentary. An illustrative problem is the strange use of the primary and secondary set of endings. Despite the difficulties, as far as we know the Phrygian verb had at least three tenses (present, aor. and perfect), two voices (active and middle-passive) and four moods (indicative, subjunctive, optative and imperative).[34]

34 A similar verbal system was considered by Haas 1966, 226–228. The most comprehensive study on this aspect of the Phrygian language is that of Sowa 2007a (= 2008, 87–117). His analysis provides a useful compilation of the Phr. verbs and illustrates the main problems with the current analysis of the Phr. verbal system. More recently, Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 191–192 have offered an updated overview of the most important forms.

4.2.2.1 Present

4.2.2.1.1 *Indicative*

Verbal forms in present indicative are not common and most are obscure, as are the contexts in which they appear. However, they are recognisable because they have the expected primary ending. OPhr. *de⅄eti* (NW-101) is claimed to be the 3sg. act. ind. act. inherited from PIE **d^heh_1-k-*. If this is the case, it shows a ø-grade in the root (**d^hh_1-k-e-ti*), while *e*-grade is expected here. Note that OPhr. *ạndạti* (B-05), also thought to go back to **d^heh_1-ti* (without **-k-*), shows this vocalisation (if this etymology is accepted). The form [α]βερετι 'brings' (66.1 = 103) seems a clear 3sg. ind. pres. act. It may go back to PIE **b^her-e-ti*, although it occurs in an imprecative protasis[35] where αδδακετ or αββερετ is expected. Other claimed 3sg. act. forms are *dabati* (B-01 and B-08), δαδιτι (22.1 = 9, verb?), *poreti* (T-03aI) and ριδιτι (16.1 = 116), and OPhr. *tubetiv* (B-05) must be added to this list despite the spelling of the ending (see Hämmig 2013, 143, who suggested a subjuntive form).

Neumann (1997, 22) and Brixhe (2004, 59) suggested that *atikraiu* (Brixhe) / *atikvaiu* (Neumann) is a verb in 1 sg. ind. pres. act. ('I say'), where PIE **-ō* raised to *-ū*. However, the etymology of this word is unknown. On the other hand, verbs in the 1 sg. ind. pres. pass. are claimed to be attested in *dakor* (K-01, Brixhe 2004, 52, who found it to be inherited from **d^heh_1-k-*) and *akor* (G-105).[36] Nevertheless, the context of *dakor* is extremely fragmentary and G-105 is too short to corroborate it.

4.2.2.1.2 *Subjuntive*

4.2.2.1.1.1 (Αδ)δακετ *and* (Αβ)βερετ, *Subjunctives?*

The verb (αδ)δακετ (< PIE **d^heh_1-k-* 'to do, put', with many spelling variants) is generally found in the NPhr. imprecative protasis: e.g., ιος νι σεμουν κνου|μανε κακουν αδδα|κετ 'whoever does harm to this tomb' (20.2 = 128). It also appears in two OPhr. protases: *yos esai≀t materey eveteksetę́y ovevin onoman da⅄et* 'who puts his own name to this Mother E.' (W-01b) and †*iv*† ⟨s⟩*imun inmeney ạsenạn dạket* 'whoever puts/does *asenan* in/to this monument' (B-05). In some inscriptions (18.3 = 6, 29.1 = 114, 39.1 = 11? and 40.2 = 12) it is replaced by the verb αββερετ (< PIE **bher-e-* 'bear, carry, bring'): e.g., [ιο]ς νι σεμουν κνουμανε ϰ[ακον] | αββερετ '[whoeve]r brings harm to this tomb' (18.3 = 6). Even the passive forms of both verbs are used in the same position with the same meaning: αδδακετορ (24.1 = 40 and 12.1 = 121, spelling variants in 20.1 = 63 and 58.1 = 72) and αββερετοι (10.2

35 [ιος] σεμον τι κνουμανι κ[ακ]|[ον α]βερετι 'whoever brings harm to this tomb'.

36 Wrongly segmented as *si↟ido sakor* before the graffiti on a beam of MM-Tumulus (G-346) were found and *si↟idos* was read among other PNs.

= 113, 17.5 = 91 and 19.2 = 129) ~ αββερετορ (14.1 = 73, 52.1 = 75 and 59.3 = 79) ~ αββιρετο (35.1 = 25). On the other hand, the form βερετ is found twice after the prohibitive pcl. με (7.2 = 111 and 8.1 = 86): βας ιοι βˈεˈκος με βερετ (7.2 = 111) and βα[ς] | ιοι βεκος με βερε[τ] (8.1 = 86). Also, the OPhr. *ạbretoy* (B-05), which looks like a syncopated form of NPhr. αββερετοι, it is found in an imprecative apodosis introduced by the prohibitive pcl.: *me deritoy kovis ke ạbretoy nun oy nev⟨otan⟩*. The verb *deritoy* is obscure (Hämmig 2013, 143); however, it can be considered a passive form of an unknown verb in light of *abretoy*. Finally, the obscure NPhr. verb βρειτ (29.1 = 114) can be added to the list of this kind of verbal form, since it has the secondary ending *-t* and occurs in an imprecative protasis: ιος κε βρειτ περβεδαν 'and whoever βρειτ the *sepulture*'.

Although a conclusive explanation is lacking (Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 191), these verbs are considered subjunctive in some papers (see Brixhe 1979a and 2004, 52).[37] While this hypothesis may be defensible in their contexts, the lack of *-ē-* > *-a-* in the suffix of the thematic verb (αβ)βερετ (***berat* is never found) shows that they are not subjuntive forms or that they are an inner-Phrygian formation. By contrast, (αδ)δακετ and (αβ)βερετ are considered injunctive forms by Haas (1966, 227) and Orel (1997a, 399–400, who preferred the term "imperfect", see also Sowa 2007a, 82–84) because of the lack of augment, the present stem and the use of the secondary ending *-t*. However, a past form is not expected in the position where (αδ)δακετ and (αβ)βερετ occur. In any case, each possibility requires better explanation.

Another unsolved problem is the co-occurrence of the middle endings -τορ with *-toy* / -τοι (Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 191). It is very likely that *-toy* is the oldest ending, since -τορ is not found in OPhr. Perhaps the form with *-r* spread from the 1 sg. mid. ending, but it remains unclear. Recently, Kortlandt (2016, 253) has suggested that Phrygian preserved the PIE original set of middle voice personal endings like Armenian.

4.2.2.1.1.2 Reduplicated Subjunctives with *-se-* ~ *-si-*

During the International Conference 'The Phrygian Lands over Time' in 2015, Hämmig (fthc. a and b) identified some verbal forms as containing a suffix *-se(t)-* > *-si(t)-* and considered them a "sort of 'subjunctive' (called 'Subjunctive II' in comparison with the other subjunctive αδδακετ and αββερετ)" with primary (11a) or secondary endings (11b): *eveteksetiy* (W-01b, sic), *egeseti* (P-04a), *dedasitiy* (B-05), *aniva*ϒ*eti* (B-07), τοτοσσειτι (7.1 = 99, 11.2 = 18?, perhaps also in 56.3 = 64), *isini* (P-101, 3pl.), δεδασσιννι (2.2 = 130, 3pl.), *da*ϒ*et* (W-01b),

37 *LIV*^{2} 76 considered it a present without further information.

umnịset (B-05), ομνισιτ (MPhr-01 = W-11) and εγεσιτ (56.2 = 58). As can been seen, she considered that the letter ⟨𐤚⟩ in *anivaϒeti* (B-07) and *daϒet* (W-01b) represents a sibilant sound (follow Lejeune's analysis), and these verbs also have the suffix *-se(t)-* > *-si(t)-*. However, since I ruled out this interpretation for ⟨ϒ⟩, these forms can be omitted from this list: *daϒet* (W-01b) is a graphic variant of *daket* (B-05 = NPhr. (αδ)δακετ) and 𐤚 in *anivaϒeti* may also represent /k/ (the last root consonant of this verb). Another form I omit is *eveteksetiy* (W-01b), read as *eveteksetẹy* and considered an epithet of *Matar* (not a verb) by most scholars (also here). Moreover, ομνισιτ (MPhr-01 = W-11) is segmented here as ομαστα ομνισιτου≠ς (impv.). On the other hand, *kesiti* (B-01) and *ot.*[....]*seti* could be added to this list, although they are even more obscure words.

Leaving aside the omitted and unclear forms, the remaining verbs have the spelling hesitation between *-se-* and *-si-* / -σι- (MPhr.) / -σσι- ~ -σσει- (NPhr.) and, according to Hämmig, all these forms contain the PIE sufix **-sḱé/ó-*. Consequently, the spelling with *-se-* (also spelled as *-ϒe-*, according to Hämmig) represents an older stage, since forms with *-si-* show a raising of the vowel /e/. From a phonetic point of view, the assibilation of **-sḱi-* is defensible in the light of **ḱi-* > *si*, *sin* (the demonstrative pronoun). However, it is not expected before **e* and the suffix **-sḱi-* seems to have been preserved in *podaskai*? (G-02, see Kloekhorst 2015, 117). Therefore, the origin of this suffix remains unclear, and the comparison with the sigmatic fut. tense given by prior papers cannot be ruled out.[38] What seems clear from Hämmig's assumption is the subjective nature of these forms, since they are mainly used where this mood is expected:

1. After the prohibitive pcl. *me* / με: *me kos anivaϒeti s≠maniṇ* (B-07), με κε οι | τοτοσσειτι βας βεκος (7.1 = 99), βας ιοι β⌜ε⌝κος με βερετ (7.2 = 111), βα[ς] | ιοι βεκος με βερε[τ] (8.1 = 86) and βε⟨κ⟩ο|ς ιοι με τοτοσειτι σαρναν (11.2 = 18, according to Hämmig fthc. a and b).
2. In clauses introduced by the conj. *aini* / αινι: *ạini* | *dabp*ʔ*ula ịsini* (P-101) and αινι ουεβαν δεδασσιννι πατρε|ς σεμουν κορο[υ]μανη... (2.2 = 130).
3. In imprecative protases where forms such as *daket* are commonly used: *ios ni ạḳenan egeseti* (P-04) and *yos niy ạrt sin≠t imenạn kạkạ oskạvos kạkey* | *kạn dedạsitiy* (B-05).

As happens elsewhere in Phrygian, the distribution of the primary and secondary sets of endings remains unclear. Some forms with primary ending show a reduplication, but it is not known whether these forms have reduplicated the first consonant in *e*-grade or the whole root. Indeed, *dedasitiy* (B-05) and δεδασ-

38 Even Sowa 2007, 84–85 considered them verbs in future.

TABLE 31 3 sg. and 3 pl. imperative endings

	Singular		Plural
	Active	**Middle**	**Active**
PIE	**-tu* **-tōd*	**-sd^{h}ō*	**-ntu* **-ntōd*
OPhr.	*-to* *-tuv*	*-do*	*-nou* *-nuv*
NPhr.	-του -τυ	-δου	-νου -νυου

σιννι (2.2 = 130), which must go back to **deh$_1$-* 'to put, to do' (see *daket* / δακετ), can be analysed as **de-deh$_1$-* and τοτοσσειτι (7.1 = 99, 11.2 = 18? and perhaps 56.3 = 64), which derives from PIE **deh$_3$-* 'to give' (see Hämmig fthc. a and b), as **do-deh$_3$-* (cf. Lat. *momordi*, perf. of *mordeo* 'to bite'). In any case, such reduplications seem to be a Phrygian inner formation, since they do not fit any kind of reduplicated present reconstructed for the PIE.

4.2.2.1.3 *Optative*

There is only one form clearly identified as optative: *kakoioi* (G-02c), with a phonetic variant *kakuioi* (P-04 b). This verb is a denominative verb in **-oi̯o* derived from κακουν (equivalent to Greek κακόω 'maltreat, distress'). The Phrygian 3sg. ending *-oi̯* is the same found in Greek -οι. Both *kakoioi* and *kakuioi* are used in imprecative protasis: *ios oporokitis.*[?] | *kakoioi tovo* (G-02c) and *ios ervotsati kakuioi…* (P-04b).

4.2.2.1.4 *Imperative*

The 3sg. and 3pl. imperative is well attested in imprecative apodoses. As expected, the ipv. has its own set of endings inherited from PIE (see Table 31).

PIE **-tō* yields the 3sg. act. ending, parallel to Greek -τω. It occurs in some verbs, although it is more commonly attested in the verb *i-* 'to come, become' (< PIE **h$_1$ei̯-*) by far: OPhr. *ituv* (B-05) / NPhr. ειτου (1.1 = 48, 2.2 = 130, etc.), with the spellling variants ιτου (6.1 = 8), ειτυ (15.1 = 120) and ητου (18.2 = 5), even with secondary voicing ειδο[υ] (54.1 = 108), and with preverb αδειτου (9.1 = 87, 38.1

= 44, etc.). The other occurrences of this form are *si↑eto* (W-08, W-09 and W-10, unclear meaning and etymology) and οουιτετου (4.1 = 2, inherited from PIE **u̯id-*).

Its passive counterpart is *-do* / -δου, which goes back to PIE **-sd^{h}ō*, also found in Greek -σθω (according to Lubotsky). It is found in the common NPhr. verb **seǵ^{h}-* > εγεδου (53.1 = 76, 59.4 = 106, etc., Greek ἐχέσθω) and in OPhr. *lakedo* (W-01b, very likely inherited from PIE **sleh$_2$g$^{u̯}$-*).

The 3pl. is only attested in active. Its ending shows the assimilation **-ntō* > *-nnou*. As well as the singular form, it is mainly attested in the verb *i-* (< PIE **h$_1$eḭ-*): ειν̣ο̣ν̣ (37.2 = 30 and very likely in 17.3 = 7), its variant ινν̣ου (28.1 = 71), ⟨ι⟩ννου 62.4 (35) and, with preverb, αδειννου (40.1 = 12). Other forms are the verb εγουννου (2.2= 130) < **seǵ^{h}-o-ntō*, *isnou* (NW-101 a), also in NPhr. as ισνου (9.1 = 87, with the unusual variant ισνιο[υ] 21.1 = 42), and *tubnuv* (B-05).

4.2.2.2 Aorist

Leaving aside its ending, the 3sg. aor. ind. act. *edaes* (M-01b, M-02, etc.) / εδαες (16.1 = 116) shows the common features of this tense. The Phr. aor. attach the so-called augment **(h$_1$)e-* > *e-* / ε- to the verbs in aor., this feature is shared with Greek, Armenian and the IIr. branch. The root shows the *e*-grade or the lengthened grade: **(h$_1$)e-d^{h}eh$_1$-* > **edē-* > *eda-* (Greek ἔ-θη-κε). The same can be said of εσταες (40.3 = 31, perhaps also in *e̯s̯ta̯e̯s̯* M-11), which goes back to **(h$_1$e)-steh$_2$-* (Greek ἔστη 'stood' / ἔστησε(ν) 'made to stand, set up'). The verb (*en-*)*e-park-es* / (εν-)ε-παρκ-ες (40.3 = 31) has been considered to have lengthened grade, **(h$_1$)e-pērḱ-*, to explain the vowel *a* in the root (see Lejeune 1969b, 291–194).[39] The lengthened grade also seems to occur in (ποσ)εκανες 'to dig' (?) (16.1 = 116): **(h$_1$)e-kēnh$_1$-* > ε-κανε-. In light of these verbs, one cannot rule out a possible lengthened grade in *edaes* and εσταες (**(h$_1$)e-d^{h}ēh$_1$-* and **(h$_1$)e-stēh$_2$-*?). The form *e̯ʔlakes* (B-04) may be added to this list if it is related to *lakedo* (W-01, perhaps also in B-03) and inherited from PIE **sleh$_2$g$^{u̯}$-* (*LIV*^{2} 566, *IEW* 958): **(h$_1$)e-leh$_2$g$^{u̯}$-* or **(h$_1$)e-lēh$_2$g$^{u̯}$-*?

The form εγδαες (11.2 = 18) is even less clear (Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 191). Although it looks like an aor. ε-γδα-ες (11.2 = 18), it occurs in an imprecative apodosis where a verb in pres. is expected. The only attempt to explain this verb is made by Gorbachov (2005, 201), who equated it to Greek φθί(ν)ω 'to decline, decay, perish' (also casual 'cause to decay or pine away, consume, destroy') and,

39 On the other hand, Gorbachov (2005, who made the first attempt to explain the Phrygian aor. in *-aes*) operated with a ø-grade **(h$_1$)e-pṛḱ-* for this form. However, this assumption is phonetically impossible since PIE **ṛ* yields -ρο- / (**-or* >) -ουρ in Phrygian: see **mṛ-ti-s* > μροτις and **pṛ* > πουρ.

consequently, considered that it goes back to PIE *$d^hg^{\underline{u}h}e\underline{i}$- 'to disappear' (*LIV*^{2} 150–151). As he argued (Gorbachov 2005, 191), ιος νι ουκρα|ον λατομειǫν εγ̣δαες μουρσα̣... may mean 'whosoever ... has destroyed? [the] Stone?'. If he is right, ε-γδα-ες is to be analysed as *$(h_1)e$-$d^hg^{\underline{u}h}\bar{e}\underline{i}$- > *$edg\bar{a}\underline{i}$- > εγδα- (with the loss of -$\underline{i}$ after long vowel, see δεως).

The remaining forms lack clear context and a grounded explanation. The form εναρκε (16.1 = 116) may perhaps be read as εναρκε⟨ς⟩ (with engraver's mistakes, see κναικο⟨ς⟩ in the same inscription). Brixhe and Neumann (1985, 173–174) interpreted it as ε-ναρκ-ε(⟨ς⟩). The alternative they suggested, εν-αρκ-ε(⟨ς⟩) (with a preverb), is less likely because of the lack of the augment. NPhr. ουρνουσαεν (43.1 = 69) seems to be another aor. act., but in 3pl. Nevertheless, the lack of augment and the obscure text (even its segmentation remains unclear) render ουρνουσαεν an unclear word.

The origin of the forms in *-es* is problematic, as Gorbachov showed (2005, 193–195). According to Gorbachov (2005, 208–212), *-es* is the outcome of the attachment of the suffix *-s-* (with a transitive value, see Jasanoff 2003, 43–44, 194) to the thematic aor. (*-*e/o*-, analysing ενεπαρκες as (εν-)ε-παρκ-ε-ς) and the aorist-stem wih *h_1 as the last consonant, like *$(h_1)e$-$k\bar{e}nh_1$- > ε-κανε-ς. Both kinds of aor. yield a form *-*es-t* > *es* that spread to other verbs such as *edaes* and εσταες. He considered this process parallel to the Slavic aor. suffix *-ox-*. In addition, he took the OPhr. *esta̧t* (B-05) to be the inherited asigmatic aor. *$(h_1)e$-$steh_2$-*t*, in contrast with the new formation εσταες.[40] Lubotsky (1988, 17–18) and Sowa (2007a, 78–79) have suggested a sequence *-*s-e-s-t* with an intervocalic loss of the first *-*s*-: *$(h_1)e$-$d^h\acute{e}h_1$-*s-e-s-t* > **e-da-h-es* > *edaes*. However, this suggestion renders the form redundant and does not explain the origin of the second *-s-*. More recently, Kortlandt (2016, 252) has considered that *edaes* and εσταες are *s*-aorists with the addition of "an enclitic subject pronoun **es*" (*$d^h\bar{e}s$-*es* and **stā-es*, respectively). According to him, the same pronoun occours in the root aorists *eneparkes* / ενεπαρκες (< **pērk-es*) and εκανες (**kēn-es*).

40 Moreover, he suggested that NPhr. αστατ (17.5 = 91) was a variant of *estat* (B-05), with the same spelling of the augment found in αχανες. However, αστατ is here read as α̣σ̣τ̣αι̣ because it is in a clear imprecative protasis where this verb and this form are not expected and it is very likely the fem. of the possible adj. αστοι (9.1 = 87): compare κε ισνου αστοι παρτης (9.1 = 87, where αστοι agrees with παρτης) with [ιος νι σε]μ̣ον [κνουμανει] | [κ]α̣κουϙ[ν α]ββερετοι α⟨ι⟩νι | α̣σ̣τ̣αι̣ σα μ̣[ανκ]ε . . . (9.1 = 87, where α̣σ̣τ̣αι̣ seems to agree with σα μ̣[ανκ]ε). Finally, Gorbachov (2005) ignored Brixhe's "Prolégomènes au corpus néo-phrygien" (1999) and considered as a Phrygian verb the word αχανες, which is the Greek adj. ἀχᾰ́νής, ές 'yawning, unoccupied' here 'non-built' (the whole inscription was read as Greek by Brixhe and was excluded from the Phrygian corpus).

With regard to the middle aor., the 3sg. form adds the ending *-toy* to the root: *edạtoy* (B-05 l. 2, act. *edaes*), *tedatoy* (W-01a with preverb) and *estatoi* (G-144, act. εσταες). As we have seen, these verbs are ambiguous in terms of the grade of the root (lengthened or *e*-grade?); however, there is not a general grade for all passive aor., and they very likely follow one of the active forms. Indeed, *ektetoy* (B-01) is considered to be inherited from PIE **tkeh$_1$-* 'rule, gain, acquire' (*LIV*^{2} 618–619, *IEW* 1057–1058, see Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 191), with the metathesis in the root found in Greek κτάομαι 'to acquire, win' (in perfect 'possess'). Consequently, the form *ektetoy* can only go back to the root in ø-grade. Another possible 3sg. ind. aor. med. is *epaktoy* (B-01), although its meaning and etymology remain unknown. Finally, the form *egertoy* in W-01c is another aor. form, as yet unexplained. It is unclear whether it is related to NPhr. εγερετοι (37.2 = 30) and (ε)ʔγερε[ν] (28.1 = 71).

4.2.2.3 Perfect

The only clear personal form of the perfect tense is δακαρεν (1.2 = 98), 3pl. ind. act of *daket* < **d^{h}eh$_1$-k-*: δακαρεν πα|τερης ευκιν | αργου 'the parents made (the funerary monument) *as a vow*'.[41] In any case, δακαρεν is a particular form since it does not show the syllable reduplication (attested in non-personal ptc.s of other verbs) and the ø-grade expected in this plural form has been replaced by an *e*-grade, perhaps as a levelling from the present and aor. forms. Even the ending presents problematic features. It seems that the old ending *-ēr-* was recharacterised by the addition of the 3pl. ending -εν < **-e-nt*. As can be seen, the perfect δακαρεν is a Phrygian new formation, as occurs with the equivalent forms in other languages such as Greek τεθήκᾱσι(ν) or Lat. *fecēre* ~ *fecērunt*.

Orel (1997a, 400) and Sowa (2007a, 85) see the form δακαρ (11.2 = 18) as the singular form of δακαρεν. According to them, it implies that this form levelled its ending from the plural *-ēr* or, less likely, **-r̥* > -αρ (see **pr̥* > πουρ). On the other hand, δακαρ could be the sg. nom. of the *r*-stem noun *dạkeręn* (sg. acc., B-05 l. 2), δ[α]|ϗερης (pl.nom., 16.1 =116 l. 9–10), *dạkeręịs* (pl.acc., B-05 l. 7). Although *dạker* (B-05 l. 5) has been suggested to be its sg. nom., a form with *-ēr* > *-ār* is expected in light of other *r*-stem nouns (see, e.g., *matar*). The context is ambiguous. It is possible that μιδακας δαδου λευκιωι δακαρ means 'Midakas the son of Dad- made (it) for Leukios'. However, δακαρ is followed by a sg. nom. PN and is not

41 Note that the aor. *edaes* / εδαες is commonly used for this purpose. Sowa (2007, 86) suggested that Phrygian shows the same process as Greek, where the aor. gradually took the function of the act. perfect. Here, I follow his analysis of δακαρεν; see also Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 192 and 2018, 1828.

far from the noun ματαρ, in sg. nom.: μιδακας δαδου λευκιωι δακαρ | λευκις μιμογας κε ματαρ ευγεξα|ρναι̯ κ' οτ ατι̯αμα κνουμεν ταν ε|[.]τας[42] ταικολταμανει...

Lubotsky (1988, 17–18 and in Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 192 = 2018, 1828) thought that *aey* (W-01a, B-01 l. 8) was a perfect form of the copulative verb *h_1es- 'to be' (*LIV*^{2} 241–242, *IEW* 340–341): *$(h_1)e$-h_1s-e- > *$\bar{e}se$- > *$\bar{a}he$- > *aey* (with a secondary -*i̯*). It is built similarly to the Vedic *ā́sa* 'has been'. According to Lubotsky, who considered the rel. clause in W-01a where this form is read to be an imprecative protasis, *yos tutut ... a.m.noy akenanogavos aey* (W-01a) could mean 'whoever ... may become an *akenanogavos* (later, here or *vel. sim.*)'. Nevertheless, there is no apodosis, if we consider the inscription complete,[43] and the preferred interpretation is that of a non-imprecative rel. clause: 'Bonok the *akenanogavos*, who was? *akenanogavos* ...'. The context of *aey* in B-01 remains unclear and does not provide useful information to corroborate or refute Lubotsky's analysis. However, since *key* is a graphic variant of *ke*, *aey* cannot be ruled out as a variant of the pcl. *ae*., although the verb 'to be' is expected here.

The remaining verbs thought to be perfect forms are even more obscure. Lubotsky (1997, 123–124) also considered the form εν-σταρνα̯ (1.1 = 48) to be the perfect of *estatoi* and εσταες 'he put' (3sg. aor. ind. mid. and act., respectively), which goes to *$steh_2$- 'to stand (up)' (*LIV*^{2} 590–592, *IEW* 1004–1008). Regarding its ending, he considered the presence of *-*r* (as in δακαρεν) followed by the 3pl. mid. ending -*ntai̯*, with the assimilation *-*nt*- > *-*nn*- simplified in -*n*- and the loss of the final -*i̯*. Although ενσταρνα̯ fits the context as a verb,[44] the details are not clear. Note, e.g., that the 3sg. mid. ending occurs as -*toi̯* and -*tor*, but never as -*tai̯* (see Sowa 2007a, 77 and 2008, 97).

Finally, Brixhe (2004a, 41) considered that *a̯ṇernevey* (B-04) can be a verb in 3sg. perf. ind. act. (if not an athem. noun, as he also suggested), as well as (*etit*)*evtevey* (B-01). However, both forms occur in texts that have not been clearly read or interpreted.

Leaving aside the above forms, the perfect is commonly attested in perfect middle participles (see § 4.2.2.4.). Since most cases show the expected syllable reduplication, we can conclude that it was a common feature of the Phr. perfect.

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42 I suggest reading ε|[.]τας as ε|[σ]τα⟨ε⟩ς 'he put' (the lacking epsilon is explained by the rectangular shape of this letter and the following one, see § 3.2.2).

43 Summers 2018, 70 has been observed, however, that the monument may be unfinished.

44 In light of the Greek text of this inscription, τοῖς προ|γεγραμμένοις θε|οῖς 'the inscribed gods', Phrygian μιτραφατα | κε μας τεμρογε|ιος κε πουντας | βας κε ενσταρνα̯ can be understood as 'Mitraphata and Mas Tymbrian and the Pontan Bas were assigned'.

4.2.2.4 Non-finite Forms

The only clearly identified non-finite form in Phrygian is the perfect middle participle, which commonly occurs in imprecative curses. They show a reduplication with *e*-grade, ø-grade in the root and the suffix *-mh_1no-* (cognate to Greek -μενο-), so they are inflected like an adj.: masc. and neuter forms follow the *o*-stem inflection while the fem. the *a*-stem. The reduplicated forms are: γεγαριτμενος 'devoted to, cursed' (62.2 = 33, very likely in 59.3 = 79 and 62.5 = 36, with preverb in τιγγεγαριτμενος 6.1 = 88), γεγρειμεναν 'written' (53.1 = 76, 60.1 = 59), etc.; masc. γεγρειμενον 59.4 = 106 and γεγριμενον 56.2 = 58), σ[ε]σταμεναν (2.1 = 15), (οπ)εσταμεναν (22.1 = 9) and, most common by far, (τιτ)τετικμενος (2.2 = 130, 4.1 = 2, with many spelling variants).[45] For instance, this last form goes back to PIE *de-$d̥ik$-mh_1no-s. There are some obscure forms which are suggested to be ptc.s because they have the suffix *-mh_1no-*, but reduplication seems to lack: αιδομενου (MPhr-01), γαμενo̯υ̯ (MPhr-01) and αργμενα[.?] (16.1 = 116). However, Ligorio and Lubotsky (2018, 1828) suggested that αιδομενου may belong "to the system of the thematic present."

Hämmig (2013, 150) has suggested, very convincingly, that *torvetun* (B-05) is a present ptc. in *-*ōn* of a denominative verb derived from the noun **doru*- 'tree, wood' (similar to Greek ξυλίζομαι 'gather wood') in light of δρῦν | ἐκόψαι read in the Greek part of B-05. Another present ptc. seems to be *kuryaneyon* 'ruler' (W-01c), also of a denominative verb derived from **kor-i̯o*- 'war, army'. However, it has been considered a Myc. borrowing by Lubotsky (1988, 23, also in Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 187, 188 and 2018, 1820; see alphabetic Greek κοιρανέων). In addition, NPhr. ζως can be considered a Greek borrowing (very likely from Hellenistic or even Roman times, see § 4.6.1.3) from ζώς 'alive, living' (< PIE *$g^{\mu}ieh_3$-$u̯o$-s, Lat. *ūūus*).

Other forms are less clear. The obscure word *oskạvos* (B-05) was suggested to be a masc.sg.nom. perfect ptc. in *-$u̯o$- and to mean 'to intend' by Hämmig (2013, 147–148). Recently, a similar analysis has been suggested for *isekosos* (B-05) by Simon (2015, 17–18). According to him, this form shows a ptc. in pl.acc. and goes back to *en-sek^{μ}-$u̯ōs$-, and means something like 'contents (of the inscription)'. Nevertheless, both interpretations have some difficulties. For example, *oskạvos* has no etymological explanation and for *isekosos* it is unclear why we have *isekosos* instead of **isekos* and why the pl.acc. ending *-*ons* does not yield *-*ois*, as would be expected. Moreover, the identification suggested by Simon (2015) between the last line of B-05 (where *isekosos* occurs) and the Gr. text from the same stele is hard to corroborate (see *s.u.*).

45 Perhaps [---]ε[..]γεντ̣ουμενος (1.1 = 48) should be added to this list, but that part of the inscription was eroded when it was read by Meliopoulos.

Finally, it should be noted that there are some adjectives derived from verbs by adding the suffix *-*tó*-: see δετοụṇ 'monument' (MPhr-01 and 40.3 = 31, δετον in 16.1 = 116, both sg.acc.) inherited from *$d^{h}h_{1}$-*tó*-, (parallel to Greek θετός, ή, όν 'placed set'). In addition, forms with the fem. of this suffix have been identified (Brixhe 2004, 24 and Sowa 2007a, 91), although the words remain unclear: *bilata* (MPhr-01), *lapta* (MPhr-01) and *omasta* (MPhr-01).

4.2.3 *Prepositions, Preverbs, Conjunctions and Particles*

4.2.3.1 Prepositions and Preverbs

Some prepositions have been identified in the Phrygian corpus. Sometimes they are also used as preverbs. The most frequent preposition is ατ 'to, at, by' (*passim*), with the voiced variant *ad* (B-05) / αδ (7.3 = 99). The first spelling is expected after the *Laurverschiebung*, since it is the outcome of PIE *$h_{2}ed$ (*LIPP*, II 8–9). However, assimilations happened in this form and the resultant geminates are commonly simplified: ατ τι (42.1) > α τι (9.1). The preposition always governs dat., although it has two different functions: it makes the agent object (τιττετικμενος ατ τι 'accursed by Zeus') and, very likely, it has the meaning 'through' in 29.1 (114) ατ νουκτον μρος σας 'through a blow[?] to this *mros*'. In any case, it is commonly found as a preverb in *ad-beret > αββερετ (18.3 = 6, 29.1 = 114, etc.) or αδδακετ (*passim*).[46] It may even occur in the formation of the adj. *a-garitoi* 'devoted' (G-02), according to Kloekhorst (2015, 10).

The preposition ας 'in, at, by' (7.1 = 99, 7.3 = 14, etc.), with the variant a *a* (B-01) / α (62.5 = 36),[47] shares an origin with *ad* / αδ. Indeed, *LIPP* (II, 10 and 226) classifies it as the rendering of a PIE form *$h_{2}ed$-*s*.[48] It also shares at least[49] the agentive function in ας βαταν (20.2 = 128) > *αβ βαταν > α βαταν 'by Bas' (62.5 = 36); however, it governs acc. Only in ας ανανκαι (62.4 = 35) does a dat. occur after it, although orthographic confusion in this *a*-stem cannot be ruled out (see § 4.2.1.1.1).

The third most common preposition is με 'before, in the sight of, among', which renders PIE *me- (*LIPP* II, 494). It is always found governing dat. in the formula με δεως κε ζεμελως κε 'in the sight of gods and men'. Its meaning is assured by Luw. and Gr. parallels (see § 4.6.2.2). Traditionally, it has been considered also a preverb in μεβερετ, but in such position με must be considered the prohibitive pcl. (see § 4.2.3.2).

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46 The resulting geminates are often simplified: αβερετι 66.1 (103) and αδακετ 3.1 (97), 7.1 (99), etc.

47 Here, another assimilation followed by a simplification must have operated.

48 Very likely, this final addition can be equated to -ς in Greek εἰς / ἐς < *en-*s* or Lat. *ab-s*.

49 Other occurrences are still obscure or problematic.

PIE **pr̥* 'before' (*LIPP* II, 633, see El. πάρ) yields Phr. *por* (W-05b) / ποϱ (MPhr-01) / ποϲυϱ 'for' (6.1 = 88). It governs acc. in 6.1 (88) ποϲυϱ ουανα|κταν κε ουρανιον ιστ$^{?}$εικετ διουνσιν 'let him be responsible before the heavenly lord Dionisos'. However, in MPhr-01 it perhaps governs gen., ποϱ κοϱοος̣.[50] The OPhr. occurrence is ambiguous: *por mạtę*[---].

PIE **h$_2$en-* 'on, onto' (*LIPP* II, 50) yields Phr. αν + dat. in 38.1 (44) [ι]ος ᾰ̣ν̣ ϛ̣[εμουν κακου]γ̣ κνοϋμ̣|μανει δοκε[τ] 'whoever does harm on this tomb'. Also, it is considered to occur as a preverb in *aniva*ɣ*eti* (B-07) and, perhaps, in *ạṇern-evey* B-04.

The preposition εν (MPhr-01 and 16.1 = 116) only occurs in two obscure sequences followed by acc. However, this form, inherited from PIE **h$_1$en* 'in' (*LIPP* II, 221–222) clearly appears as a preverb at least in *eneparkes* 'he inscribed' (G-125, M-01dI and G-01c) / ενεπαϱκες 40.3 (31).

The PIE adverb **per* 'before, forth, in front of' seems to yield the possible Phr. preposition *p$^{?}$er* (HP-101) / πεϱ (29.1 = 114). Although the occurrence of this pcl. as a preposition is not assured, it seems to be followed by acc.: *p$^{?}$er bastidages* (HP-101) and πεϱ βεδαν (29.1 = 114). However, the meaning of these two words is unclear and composed forms cannot be ruled out.

The form *p$^{?}$os* (B-05) / ποκ (16.1 = 116, with assimilation) is considered to be the outcome of the PIE adverb **pos* 'after' (*LIPP* II, 628). However, both occurrences happen in obscure texts. In B-05 it appears in a strange position between acc. and the conj. *key*: *pạntạ vebrạṣ ạdun p$^{?}$os key estạt pator.$^{?}$ike*[...]*ę*[..] *ạndạti*... NPhr. ποκγονιον (16.1 = 116) is considered a compound noun by Brixhe and Neumann (1985, 176–177), but one cannot rule out a preposition + acc. ποκ γονιον. In any case, the existence of *pos* in Phrygian is confirmed by its occurrence as a preverb in ποσεκανες 'he dug'? (16.1 = 116).

A preposition *o* seems to occur in the sequence ο τα ţ̣ιαμα (11.2 = 18), where the case of the following noun is ambiguous (acc. *-an* > -α or dat. *-ay* > α?). Although this sequence is not clear, this form appears as a possible preverb in *odeketoy* (B-07), οουιτετου (4.1 = 2) and οττιττετικμενος (65.4 = 124).[51] Its Greek cognate is also found as a preverb: ὀ-τρύνω 'stir up, egg on, encourage'. Phr. *o* may go back to PIE **h$_2$o* (*LIPP* II, 323–324).

Gorbachov (2009, 96–98) identified the Phr. outcome of PIE noun **h$_2$er-t-* used, as well as Lith. *artì* 'about, near, beside', in OPhr. *art* (B-05; see also *LIPP* II, 290). The Greek version of B-05 makes it very likely: compare *sin≀t imenạn*

50 The sequence is discussed. Other suggested segmentations are ποϱκοϱοος̣ ..|ϱ̣ϱ̣ϛ̣ (Brixhe 2004a, 21–22 and Avram 2015, 210) or ποϱ κοϱο ος̣ ..|ϱ̣ϱ̣ϛ̣ (Lubotsky 2017).

51 Perhaps also in P-04a *ot*.[....]*seti* and 36.2(= 27) οδ[δακετ?].

in an imprecative apodosis: *yos niy ạrt sin≠t imenạn kạkạ oskạvos kạkey | kạn dedạsitiy*... 'whoever does harm around this monument...' with Ὅστις περὶ | τὸ ἱερὸν κακουρ⟨γ⟩ετήσαι... In its sole occurrence, *ạrt* is followed by a noun in acc.

There are also some preverbs that never occur as prepositions, such as Phr. **tis-* 'apart'. Lubotsky (2004, 235) equated it to Greek δια- 'in two, apart, through', derived from PIE **dis* 'in two, apart' (*LIPP* II 145–147; see *DEG* 327). The Lat. preverb *dis-* 'away, apart' is another good cognate (de Vaan 2008, 171–172). The last sibilant of **tis-* always appears assimilated to the following consonant: **tis-tetikmenos* > τιτ-τετικμενος 'accursed' (*passim*; Greek δια-δικάζω). Note that the resulting geminates are commonly simplified: τιτ-τετικμενος > τιτετικμενος (*passim*). It also occurs in an adj.: **dis-dregro-* > *τιδδρεγρουν > τιδρεγρουν 'unenjoyable, *innutribile*' (53.1 = 76 and 62.2 = 33).

An interesting preverb is found in οπεσταμεναν (22.1 = 9), where the form οπ- seems to go back to PIE **h₁opi* 'close upon, at, behind' (*LIPP* II 251),[52] as well as Greek ὄπι-σθεν '(from) behind, at the back, after(wards)' and Lat. *ob*. Phr. οπ- is never found as a preposition. Orel (1997a, 315, 428) equated *ep-* in *eptuve*[---] T-03b to Greek ἐπί 'upon', a form that follows the *e*-grade of the same PIE element: **h₁epi*. However, this word remains unexplained.

A marginal preverb is *t-*, found only in *tedatoy* (W-01a; compare with *edạtoy* B-05). The lack of further information and the shortness of this pcl. complicate research into its origin. However, Lubotsky (1988, 14)[53] equated to OIr. *to-* (*do-*, see *LIPP* II 772).

LIPP (II 226) considers that PIE **h₁ens* yields OPhr. *is* (B-07, see Greek εἰς, Cret. ἐνς), a form also found as a preverb in ιστ?ειικετ (6.1 = 88). Nevertheless, the OPhr. form cannot be a preposition, since it is preceded and followed by names in nom. The analysis of the NPhr. preverb still stands, but the form has reading problems that hinder its analysis and it is better to assume a protoform **ek-s* (cf. Greek ἐξ, also ἐς, PIE **h₁éǵʰ-s LIPP* II 205, see also *EDG* 433).

Finally, it must be added that Brixhe (2004a, 58) considered *ạndo* (B-05) to be a preposition followed by an acc. noun in pl.acc.: *popostois*. The origin for such a preposition is found in PIE adverb **h₁(e)ndo(m)* 'inside' (*LIPP* II 159), attested e.g., in Greek ἔνδον 'id.' However, the outcome of the laryngeal in Phr. is unexpected and this part of the inscription remains obscure, so the context is of no assistance.

52 See also Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 192. A second example could be found in *oporokitis.*? However, this word remains unexplained.

53 With reference to Brixhe and Drew-Bear 1982, 72, who identified it in *t-edaes* (W-08).

TABLE 32 Summary of the identified Phrygian prepositions and preverbs (dubious in grey)

PIE	Phr. prep.	Case	Phr. prev.	Cognates (e.g.)
**de, *do*	-	-	*t-edatoy*	OIr. *to-* (*do-*)
**dis*	-	-	τιτ-τετιχμενος	Greek διά, δίς
**$h_1$en*	εν	acc.?	*en-eparkes*	Greek ἐν
**$h_1$opi*	-	-	οπ-εσταμεναν	Greek ὄπι-σθεν
**$h_2$ed*	ατ, αδ, α	dat.	αδ-δακετ	Lat. *ad*
**$h_2$ed-s*	ας, ααs, α	acc. / (dat.)?	-	Lesb. ἄσ-φι
**h_1éǵ^h-s*	-	-	ισ-τ$^?$ειικετ	Greek ἐξ, ἐς
**$h_2$en-*	αν	acc.	*an-iva*ϒ*eti*	Greek ἀν(ά)
**$h_2$er-t-*	*art*	acc.	-	Greek ἄρτ-ι
**h_2o*	*o*	acc. or dat.?	ο-ουιτετου	Greek ὀ-τρύνω
**me-*	με	dat.	-	Greek με-τά
**pos*	*p$^?$os*, ποκ	acc.?	ποσ-εκανες	Arc.-Cypr. πος
**per*	*per*, περ	acc.	-	Greek περί
**p̥r*	*por*, πορ, πουρ	acc. / (gen.)?	-	El. πάρ

4.2.3.2 Adverbs

Few adverbs have been identified and most of them are problematic.[54] Indeed, only υψοδαν 'above, on the top' (2.1 = 15 and 16.1 = 116) has a well explained meaning and etymology. Lubotsky (1993a) equated it to the Greek adverb ὑψό-θεν 'from on high, from above', which goes back to **up-s-* 'above' (*LIPP* II, 833). Regarding the divergence of endings, the Phrygian adverb is the outcome of the PIE pcl. **-d^hn̥* instead of **-d^he*(+*n*) and must be a cognate of Greek -θα (Lejeune 1939, 357), found in adverbs of some Greek dialects such as πρόσθα 'before' (Dor. and Aeol. for πρόσθε-ν) or ὄπισθα 'behind, at the back' (Aeol. and Dor. for ὄπι-σθε), although not in ὑψό-. The comparison between ἔνθα 'there, thither' and ἔνθεν 'thence' shows the different meaning of the two particles (Lejeune 1939, 386 and Lubotsky 1993a, 132): **-d^hn̥* > -δα / -θα has a loc. meaning while **-d^he* > -θε-ν an abl. one.

Phr. *kạkey* (B-05) / κακε (6.1 = 88, 7.1 = 99, etc.) is commonly considered an adverb derived from κακουν 'harm' (*passim* in NPhr.), as Greek κακῶς 'ill, barely' from κακός 'bad, evil, ill'. Since κακουν is clearly an *o*-stem, its derived adverb in *-e* has a good parallel in Latin, where adverbs derived from a thematic form

54 This is only an overview. See § 5, *s.u.* the extensive discussion of each form.

take an ending *-ē* (or *-ĕ* after Iambic shortening): *maximus* 'greatest' > *maximē* 'especially, very much'. Its origin is the PIE sg. instr. ending **-eh$_1$* (perhaps also attested in InIr. sg. inst. *-ā*, if it does not go back to **-oh$_1$*). Phr. *-e(y)* / -ε is unlikely to have another origin. There is, however, a phonetic problem, since **-eh$_1$* is expected to yield *-ā*. As has been seen in § 4.1.2.2.3, the same problem is found in the prohibitive pcl. **meh$_1$* > *me* (B-05 and B-07) / με (7.1 = 99, 7.2 = 111, etc.).

Other possible adverbs are even less clear. Bayun and Orel (1988a, 188; considered likely by Lubotsky 1993b, 97) equated *ekey* (B-01) to Greek ἐκεῖ 'there' inherited from PIE **(h$_1$)e-ḱe(i̯)*. However, the context does not corroborate this possibility. NPhr. ερα (62.5 = 36) is equated to Greek ἄρα 'then' (expressing consequence) and, especially, to its Cyprian variant ἔρα or ἔρ by Brixhe (1997, 62, see also *LIPP* II, 289). The context favours the meaning 'then' for this Phr. word,[55] but the Greek forms are problematic, since they show a hesitation between **h$_2$(e)r* and **h$_1$(e)r* (*EDG* 121, *LIPP* II 289). Hämmig (2013, 148) suggested that *kan* (B-05) / καν (20.3 = 62 and 46.1 = 53) is an adverb derived from the pron. **k$^{\text{u}}$e/o-* (attested in Phrygian as κος) with the meaning 'somehow', parallel to Lat. *quam* 'as, than' and Armenian *k'an* 'id.'.

Recently, Hämmig (fthc. a) and Obrador-Cursach (fthc. a) identified the Phr. outcome of the PIE prohibitive **meh$_1$* 'not' (*LIPP* II 511–512). The context and a comparison of the formulae in which it appears with analogous formulae in Greek inscriptions from Anatolia shows that it is the best explanation for this pcl., previously considered a preverb (since με^1 is a clear preposition). However, there is a phonetic problem in the evolution of **meh$_1$* > *me* / με, since *†mā* would be the expected outcome (see § 4.1.1).

A similar problem is found in υ≠κε 'neither, nor' (4.1 = 2), where υ- is considered the Phrygian equivalent of Greek οὔ(κ) 'no' in the compound οὔτε 'neither, not'. Nevertheless, the Greek form is commonly derived from PIE **h$_2$oi̯u-k$^{\text{u}}$id*, as well as Arm. *oč* 'id.' and Alb. *as* 'id.' (see *EDG* 1123, Martirosyan 2010, 531 and 2013, 91, with references). If the Phrygian form is indeed related to **h$_2$oi̯u-*, one may assume an unexpected phonetic erosion of **i̯*. However, a Greek influence cannot be ruled out here: it is striking that the same loss is found in γλουρεος (MPhr-01) < **ǵ$^{\text{h}}$l̥h$_3$-rei̯o-*. This interpretation also has a syntactical problem, since the prohibitive pcl. με is expected in this context. In any case, NPhr. υ≠κε was previously considered a graphic variant of the dative pron. (ι)οι 'to him' by

55 It appears introducing an imprecative apodosis: ιος κε σεμουν κνουμανι κακουν αδακετ, ερα γεγ|ρειμεν[α]ν εγεδο[υ] τιος ουταν 'whoever does harm to this tomb, then? let him suffer the curse of Zeus'.

Heubeck (1958, 22–23) and Brixhe (1997, 49, 67) and the outcome of PIE *h_2u-k^we 'but also' (*LIPP* II 338), but such interpretations are not at all consistent with the context.

4.2.3.3 Conjunctions

The most attested Phrygian conjunction is the copulative *ke*(*y*) 'and' (B-04, B-05, B-07, etc.) / κε (*passim*), which clearly goes back to PIE *k^we 'id.' (*LIPP* II 690–691). It may appear with some particles. Indeed, αϰϰε 'and' (53.1 = 76 and 62.2 = 33) could be a parallel of Lat. *atque* 'id.' and υ≈ϰε to Greek οὔτε 'neither, not'. It is often attached after the second of two joined elements (sentences or words): δεως ζεμελως ϰε (24.1 = 40). However, it is commonly found after all the joined elements: με δεως ϰε ζεμελως ϰε 'in the sight of gods and men' (3.1 = 97). Prepositions and the pron. (ι)οι are not considered a word in this rule, so the conj. is placed after the first tonic sequence: τιγγεγαριτμενος ιτου, πουρ ουανα-ϰταν **ϰε** ουρανιον ιστ$^?$ειϰετ διουνσιν (joining two apodoses). In 1.1 (48) the ethnic and the DNs are treated as the same element: μιτραφατα ϰε **μας τεμρογειος ϰε πουντας βας** ϰε (1.1 =48).[56] Nevertheless, this conj. appears after the rel. pron. ιος ϰε σεμ⟨ου⟩ν ϰνουμανει… (62.3 = 34). In addition, it appears attached to neg. particles building the neg. conjunctions με≈ϰε (7.2 = 111) and υ≈ϰε (4.1 = 2), perfect parallels of Greek μήτε 'and not' and οὔτε 'and not' respectively.

The NPhr. hapax τε (43.1 = 69) is problematic because, if it is indeed the same copulative conj. τε, it shows the Classical Greek treatment of the labiovelar and may perhaps be considered a borrowing. However, the context is not clear enough to rule out other segmentations. Also unclear is the OPhr. *eti* (B-03) / ετι (11.2 = 18 and ετι 22.1 = 9), perhaps related to PIE *h_1eti (*LIPP* II, 260–261).

Finally, the conj. *ay* (B-03 and G-01a), *ai* (P-06) / αι (40.3 = 31 and 56.3 = 64) 'if, or' is mainly found followed by the pcl. *ni*(*y*) in *ạini* (P-101), *ạyniẏ* (B-01 and B-05) / αινι (*passim*). Brixhe (1978b, 4 and 1997, 57) equated it to the Dor. and Aeol. Greek conj. αἰ 'if' (instead of εἰ) and considered both forms the old loc. of the PIE demonstrative-anaphoric pron. *e/o- (contrary to *EDG* 379), also *LIPP* (II 348), where these forms are considered to be inherited from PIE *$éh_2i$.

56 For more details on these rules, see Brixhe 1978, 1–2; 1997, 59–60, Lubotsky 1989b, 150–151; 1997, 122 and Woodhouse 2007, 189–191.

4.3 Notes on Syntax

4.3.1 *Case Uses*

In the Phrygian corpus four nominal cases are attested: nominative, accusative, genitive and datative. Although it is impossible to compile a list of all the uses of each case in Phrygian because of the contextual limitations, they have the same functions found in the other Indo-European languages.

4.3.1.1 Nominative

The nominative is the case of the subject: ***baba*** *…* *si≀keneman edaes* '**Baba** … made this niche' (M-01b). It is also the case of the predicate noun and the adj. in agreement with it: ***ates arkiaevais akenanogavos*** *…* *edaes* '**Attes the son of Arkia(s), the *akenanogavos***, made (it) …' (M-01), τος νι … τιττετικμενος ε[ι]ṭου '**This one** shall become **accursed**' (18.3 = 6). It is also found independently in inscriptions containing only a PN: *ϒuva*ϒ*aros* (G-115). Finally, in HP-114, a clay tablet from Persepolis, it is used for listing items as a nominative of rubric.[57] The noun *knays* 'woman', for example, occurs once in singular and once in plural, although both are preceded by a number higher than one: 30? *knays* … 40? *knạy̰ḳẹ*?[*s*]? '30 woman [sic], … 40 women'. Even the name of the month dating the same tablet (although the day and the year are lost) seems to be in sg. nom.: *ạṇamakạ*.

4.3.1.2 Accusative

The accusative is the case of the direct object: *midas* ***s≀materan*** *…* *eneparkes*? 'Midas engraved **this *Matar***' (M-01d I), ουεβαν δεδασσιννι πατρες 'the parents put **the tomb**' (2.2 = 130). In addition, Avram (2016, 122–123) considered a directive function of the acc. in *veban ituv* (B-05), interpreted as 'may he go in the grave' (i.e. 'may he die'). Although it is a strong possibility, the protasis of this imprecative apodosis is still problematic and more studies are needed of this line of the Vezirhan stele. Finally, this case is governed by some prepositions (see 4.4.1.): e.g., ας βαταν 'by Bas' (20.2 = 128).

4.3.1.3 Genitive

The genitive is not well attested in Phrygian and often occurs in obscure contexts where it is only identified because of the morphology of the word. This is

57 It is a common feature in this type of text, independent of the language. On a Myc. parallel, see Jiménez Delgado 2013. However, the influence of Achaemenid scribal practices on Aramaic and Elamite cannot be overlooked if one considers the context of this Phrygian text.

the case of *artimitoṣ krạniyạs*, 'of Artemis she-one of the spring', (B-05) and κναικο⟨ς⟩ εκατηας '(his) wife Hekataias' (16.1 = 116). In any case, Phr. ben. is found in the common adnominal function, limiting the meaning of the substantive on which it depends: σεμουν κνουμανει … **αωρω ουεναουιας** 'the tomb **of the untimely (dead) Venavias**' (6.1 = 88), **τιος** ουταν 'the curse **of Zeus**' (53.1 = 76, 54.1 = 108, etc.). Note that in the first example the gen. is found after the governing noun, while in the second the gen. precedes it.

As occurs in Greek and Lat., it is also found to indicate patronymics:[58] *bugnos **vasos kanutii**ʔ**evanoṣ**ʔ* 'Bugnos (the son) **of Vasus** (the grand-son) **of Kanutî**' (P-02), *s≈manes iyungidas **manitos** manitos* 'Manes *Iyungidas* (the son of) **Manes**' (B-07). A very interesting use is attested in NPhr. 33.1 (28), where τιτετουκμενουν has a predicative use of the partitive gen.: compare **τιτετουκμενουν** ειτου 'let him become (one) **of the accursed**' with τιττετικμενος ειτου 'let him become accursed' (*passim*).[59] Finally, it perhaps occurs after the preposition πορ once, if the suggested segmentation is correct (see 4.4.1.): πορ κοροος 'for the boy' (MPhr-01 = W-11).

4.3.1.4 Dative

Commonly, the dative marks the indirect object of a verb: *ates … **midai** … edaes* 'Attes … made (it) **for Midas**…' ιος νι **σεμουν κνουμανει** κακον αδδακετ 'whoever does harm **to this tomb**…' (62.2 = 33). A loc. function seems to be attested in some contexts:[60] *yos **esai≈t materey eveteksetę**ʔ**y** ovevin onoman da*Ƴ*et* 'whoever puts his own name **in this Mother *eveteksetę**ʔ**y***' (W-01b), ουεβαν δεδασσιννι πατρες σεμουν κορο[υ]μανη 'the parents put the monument in this plot' (2.2 = 130). Finally, dative is governed by some prepositions (see 4.4.1.): τιττετικμενος **ατ τι(ε/η)** 'accursed **by Zeus**' (*passim*), με δεως κε ζεμελως κε 'in the sight of gods and men' (*passim*). These formulae have variants without the preposition, which may indicate that the dative has an agentive and locative meaning.

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58 Note, however, that adjectival patronymics also occur in the OPhr. Corpus: e.g., *arkiaevais* (M-01a).

59 The pl. gen. form was identified by Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 190. Regarding this function, compare with Σόλων τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφιστῶν ἐκλήθη 'Solon was called one of the Seven Sages' (*Il.* 15.235, see Smyth 1920 §1304).

60 The syncretism between dat. and loc. is found in Greek. However, the Greek athem. sg.dat. endings (-ι) go back to the PIE loc. ending (**-i*), while Phrygian presererved the genuine PIE ending (**-ey*). So, there is no morphological trace of this syncretism in Phrygian.

4.3.2 *Word Order*

Phrygian is a subject-object-verb (SOV) language: *ataniyen kuryaneyon* (S) *tan* (DO) *egertoy* 'Ataniyen the ruler *egertoy* it' (V; W-01c), ιος (S) σα μανκαι (IO) κακουν (DO) αδδακετ (V) 'whoever does harm to this stele' (4.1 = 2). Nevertheless, the order is not always respected. Sometimes, the DO clearly precedes the subject: ***sin≠t imenạn*** *kạliyạ ti tedạt*[*oy*] '**this shrine**, Kallias made it' (B-05). There are clear examples of VS order in texts without metric: δακαρεν πατερης ευκιν αργου 'the parents *made* (it)…' (1.2 = 98). In NPhr., when a second IO is added to the common protasis, it always appears after the verb: κος σεμουν κνουμανει κακουν αδδακετ αινι μανκα 'that one who does harm to this tomb or **to the stele**' (11.2 = 18).

Phrygian, then, does not present great surprises in its word order.[61] As is expected in this kind of language, Phrygian has prepositions instead of postpositions. Only one possible postposition is found, but its context is not clear (see 4.4.1). The few examples of clear gen. show both positions, before and after the governing noun (see 4.3.3). The adj., however, commonly follows the noun: *apelan* ***mekas*** 'Apelan **the great**' (M-05), *artimitoṣ* ***krạniyạs*** 'Artemis **Kranniya**' (B-05), *vasous iman* ***mekas*** | *ḳanutieivạis* | *deyọs ke* ***meḳạs*** 'Vasus Iman **the great**, the son of Kanutî, and **the great** god' (P-03), *materey eveteksetę*$^{?}$*y* (W-01b), *matar* ***kubeleya*** 'Mother **of the (mountain) Kybelon**' (B-01), μανκα μεκας σας (MPhr-01 = W-11), etc. The counterexamples can be considered emphatic: ***agariṭoi*** *pętes* '**devoted** feet' (G-02, according to Kloekhorst 2015), αωρω ουενα-ουιας '**the untimely (dead)** Venavias' (6.1 = 88), μεκαν τιαν '**the Great** Zeus' (2.2 = 130). In NPhr. 1.1 (48) both positions appear together: μας τεμρογειος κε πουντας βας κε 'Mas **of the Tymbris** and the **Pontan** Bas'. In addition, pronouns in their adjectival function almost always precede the noun they complement: *esai≠t materey* 'this *Matar*' (W-01b), σεμουν κνουμανει 'this tomb' (*passim*). The exceptions are very few and restricted to two occurences of the indefinite pronoun, κακουν κιν 'any harm' (61.1 = 100) and κακουν τι 'id.' (30.1 = 39, a Greek borrowing), and the sequence μανκα μεκας **σας** '**this** big stele' (MPhr-01 = W-11), which perhaps is a metrical consequence.

4.3.3 *Lubotsky's Rection Rule*

Lubotsky (1997, 116 fn. 20)[62] noticed that if "several members are conjoined by κε, the number and gender of the first member determines the rection." Indeed,

61 The features described here fit the universals suggested for the order of meaningful elements by Greenberg 1966. Of course, they are also shered with many ancient Indo-European languages.

62 The term "Lubotsky's rule" appears for the first time in Woodhouse 2007, 193. Although

this rule apparently applies in two NPhr. curses:[63] αυτος κε ουα κε ‘ροκα γεγαριτμενος ας βαταν τευτους (62.2 = 33) and αυτος κ᾽ ουα κ᾽ οροκα [γ]εγ̣[αριτ]με[ν]ος α βαταν τευτους (62.5 = 36), where the pron. and the ptc. are in sg. masc. despite the fem. or neuter plural οροκα, and ζειρα κε οι πειες κε τιττετικμενα ατ τιε αδειννου (40.1 = 12), where the first noun and the ptc. are ambiguous (fem. sg.nom. or neuter pl.nom.-acc.?) despite the fem. or masc. pl. masc. πειες.

Some remarks to these texts are in order. In 40.1 (12) the ptc. cannot be classified as a fem. sg. because the verb αδειννου is in plural. Both words must agree in number, as can be seen in τιττετικμ̣[ε]νοι ιννου (28.1 = 71), the plural variant of the common τιττετικμενος ειτου ‘let him be accursed’ (*passim*). Then, if this word were a hapax it would be a neuter pl. nom.-acc. However, we know that this word is an *a*-stem because the sg. dat. is attested both in OPhr. and NPhr: ↑*irạy* (B-05) and ζειραι (59.4 = 106). Then, it must be assumed that ζειρα and τιττετικμενα are pl. nom. with the drop of the second element of the diphthong: -αι >-α (Woodhouse 2007, 193).[64] This explanation fits with the verb in plural αδειννου. Moreover, since ↑*irạy* / ζειραι is assumed to mean ‘hand’, the obscure word πειες is easly explained as an engraver’s (if not editor’s) mistake for *petes* (G-02). Consequently, ζειρα κε οι πετ̣ες κε τιττετικμενα ατ τιε αδειννου can be translated as ‘let (his) hands and his feet become accursed by Zeus’.[65]

In the case of αυτος κε ουα κε ‘ροκα γεγαριτμενος ας βαταν τευτους (62.2 = 33) and αυτος κ᾽ ουα κ᾽ οροκα [γ]εγ̣[αριτ]με[ν]ος α βαταν τευτους (62.5 = 36, both as previously read), the verb of this apodosis is lacking. In Obrador-Cursach (2017, 308–309), the verb is hypothetically identified in τευτου≠ς. Note that -του is the common 3sg. imp. act. ending (see, e.g., ει-του, *passim*) and the verb may be related to Greek δέω ‘lack, miss’ (as an anonymous reviewer proposed). The suggested pcl. ≠ς seems to be unparalleled. However, we find an interesting parallel at the end of the MPhr.-01 (W-12) ομνισιτου≠ς. The verb again agrees in singular with the pron. and the subject. Nevertheless, a problem remains in ουα κ᾽ οροκα. The first copulative conj. κ(ε) ‘and’ must join “this second apodosis to the first” and a second κ(ε) is expected not after the (clitic poss. ουα but after οροκα). The correct segmentation may be ουα κοροκα (Woodhouse 2007, 193–194 fn. 8). Since the stem **korṷ-* ‘boy’ seems to occur in MPhr. κοροαν (Lubotsky 2017, 430–431), Woodhouse’s suggestion of dealing with a derivative of this stem

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from a syntax point of view his paper is very interesting, I differ here from most of the lexical interpretations.

63 I give here the common segmentation of these texts.

64 A parallel process seems to be found in αββιρετο (35.1 = 25) for αββερετοι (10.2 = 113, etc.).

65 The ‘hands and feet’ theme can be found in CLuw.: GÌR.MEŠ-*ta=du tar-ú-e-ya i-iš-ša-ra=d*[*u*] *du-ú-wa-za-an ti-ya-am-mi-in du-ú-pí-t*[*a*] (*KUB* 35.102 + 103 III 12–13).

is now more likely.[66] Considering that κοροκα is not joined to αυτος through any conj., one can assume that this noun is in neuter pl. nom.-acc. and the DO object of the verb τευτου. The resulting text, αυτος κε ουα κοροκα γεγαριτμενος α(ς) βαταν τευτους, may mean 'and let him, cursed by Bas, lack any children' and may be similar to those found in contemporaneous Greek imprecations from Phrygia: ἄτεκνος ἄτυμβος ἀνανχίστευτος ὀλῖται 'may he die without children, without burial (and) without heirs' (Strubbe 1997, 172).

4.4 Lexicon

Most Phrygian words remain unexplained. This is illustrated by the detailed study presented in the main chapter of this work (§ 5, see also Table 33). Nevertheless, when identified, most of the basic lexicon is inherited, although there are many examples of borrowing, mainly from Greek in the NPhr. subcorpus (see § 4.6.1.3), but also from the Anatolian languages (§ 4.6.2).

The available Phrygian lexicon, then, is almost exclusively restricted to onomastics (especially in graffiti, see Table 33), nouns referring to the monuments on which inscriptions appear and verbs related to their construction. Indeed, at least 125 different PNs are attested in the Phrygian epigraphical corpus. Most of these PNs are Anatolian in origin: *kwa/i-li-i*(*a*), *ku-li-i*(*a*) (see Oreshko 2013a, 361) > *ḳuliyas* (G-127), ^{m}*Urawanni* > *urunis* (G-346), etc. Lallnamen are especially common in Anatolia and the same tendency is found in Phrygian: *atas* (G-128), *baba* (M-01b, G-121), *mama* (G-173), etc. Greek and Persian PNs also appear: e.g., **mokʷsos* (Myc. *mo-qo-so*, alphabetic Greek Μόψος ~ Μόξος) > *muksos* (G-346) and **ʰUvaxštra* > *ϒuva*ϒ*aros* (G-115, Hdt. 1.73 Κυαξάρης). Indeed, few PNs seem to have a genuine Phrygian origin and, only *iman* (M-06, G-136, G-210, etc.) can be confidently asserted.[67]

The Phrygian gods are also well paralleled in other Anatolian corpora, although the names of the main couple are properly Phrygian: *matar* 'Mother' (*kubeleya* B-01, *areyasti-* W-01a, etc.), *ti-* 'Zeus' (NPhr. *passim*), or βας 'The shining one' (an epiclesis of Zeus, 1.1 = 48, 7.1 = 99, etc.). Other DNs are clearly borrowed: *artimitos* 'Artemis' (B-05, Greek Ἄρτεμις, Lyd. *Artimus*, Lyc. *Ertẽmi*; its source remains unknown), *mas* 'Men' (very likely the moon god in 1.1 = 48) and διουνσιν 'Dionysos' (6.1 = 88).[68]

66 Nevertheless, the details of this formation are unclear. If, indeed, κοροκα is to be analysed as κορο-κα, the suffix can be equated to μαν-κα (a clear fem. sg.).

67 Nevertheless, there are many PNs only found in the OPhr. corpus without clear origin.

68 I leave this question for a more detailed study in the future.

Toponyms only occur in derived words, mainly ethnics: e.g., τεμρογειος 'of the Thymbris' (1.1 = 48, a river), πουντας 'from Ponta-' (1.1 = 48, a village also attested in Greek inscriptions, modern Gemiç) and *kubeleya* 'from Kybelon' (B-01, a mountain). The compound noun *moḍroẏanak* 'sovereign of Modra/-oi', (M-04) contains the name of a city (found also in Str. 12.7 and Cons. VII, *De Thematibus* 4.28).

With regard to nouns, the Phrygian corpus attests many words referring to (parts of) the monuments or objects on which texts were engraved. In the case of the cult façades (their name in Phr. is unknown), the niche containing a relief of the mother goddess is called *keneman* in M-01 and the relief itself seems to be *vrekun*. This noun appears in a W-01a, a façade that bore a large representation of the goddess, in M-06 its phonetic variant *ṛekun* designates the so-called Phrygian-idol (a schematic representation in a step-cut monument) and, finally, in B-05 a stele with a relief of a goddess (among others), the fem. *vrekạn* seems to designate the representation: *vrekạn vitạrạn artimitoṣ krạniyạs* 'the *vitaran* idol of Artemis Kraniyas'. In one case the DN is used instead of this *vrekun*. Thus, in M-01b *matar* 'mother (goddess)' clearly refers to the representation: *midas s≈materan tvemes eneparkes*[?] 'Midas engraved this mother goddess *tvemes*'. In B-01 *bevdos* refers to a lost statue in a triangular niche (Lubotsky 2008). In the Vezirhan stele (B-05), *iman* clearly means 'shrine', as it is translated as ἱερόν in the short accompanying Greek text.

Funerary stelae appear in the Late Phrygian period (which corresponds to Achaemenid times). While in the first occurrence of an inscribed funerary stele the name given to it is a Greek borrowing *sṭaḷ*[?]*a* (B-06), from Hellenistic times they are consistently called μανκα 'stele' (MPhr-01, NPhr. 3.1 = 97, 11.2 = 18, etc.), a Phr. word. There are at least three ways to refer to the whole (funerary) monument: κνουμαν (NPhr. *passim*), *vebạn* (B-05) / ουεβαν (1.1 = 48, 2.2 = 130, etc.), equated to μνημεῖον 'monument, tomb' in 1.1. (48), and λατομειον, a Greek borrowing. Finally, there are several words that denote individual parts of tombs, although their specific referent is difficult to identify without a bilingual inscription. Indeed, the clearest examples of these words are borrowings from Greek: θαλαμειδη (18.1 = 4) 'burial chamber', σορου 'cinerary urn, coffin, sarcophagus' (MPhr-01, 65.3 = 21 and 65.4 = 124), ακροδμαν (16.1 = 116) 'roof, top of the stele, pediment?'.

Funerary inscriptions also attest another important semantic field: kinship. Several words have been identified: ματαρ 'mother' (11.2 = 18), *knais* 'woman, wife' (B-07), αναρ 'man husband' (2.1 = 15), πατερης (1.2 = 48) ~ πατρες (2.2 = 130) 'parents', *pạtriyiọ*[?]*is*[?] 'relatives' (B-04), βρατερε 'brother' (40.3 = 31), *nevos* 'son' or 'male descendant' (B-05) and *ṇiptiya-* 'daughter' or 'female descendent' (B-05).

TABLE 33 Classification of the lemmata considered in the lexicon of the Phrygian inscriptions

Categ.	*a*-α	*b*-β	*g*-γ	*d*-δ	*e* ε	*v*-ϝ	↑-ζ	η	θ	*i*-ι	*k* ϒ-κ	*l*-λ	*m*-μ	*n* -ν	ξ	*o*-ο	*p*-π	*r*-ρ	*s*-ς	*t*-τ	*u* – υ	*y*	ac.	Total
PN	32	5	3	8	5	4				8	8	2	16	5	1	1	2	1	5	10	4		3	123
PN?	5	6		6	6	1	1			3	6	3	4				0	1	2	6	5		26	81
DN	1	1		1									1						2	1				7
Noun	10	4	2	6	2	4	3		1	2	12	2	12	3		6	5	1	6	4			1	86
Noun?	2			1	4		1			1		2	1			3	6		2	6			4	33
Adj.	4		1	1	5		1			1	3	1	3	2		3	2			3	1			31
Adj.?	1										1		1				2						1	6
Pron.	1				1	2				2	2					1			1	2		1		13
Verb	3		2	3	8					4	1	1				2	2	1		5	1			33
Verb?	6				8	2				1	2					3	2		1		1		1	27
Prep.	3				1								1			1	1							7
Prep.?	1																							1
Conj.	3				1						1													5
AdvPar.					2								1	2		0					2			7
Adv.?											1													1
Num.																1								1
Mark	1			1	1	1	1				2		1	2					1	1	1	1	2	16
Unkn.	24	5	3	9	11	7		1		13	5	1	10	10		16	16		7	14	2	5	143	302
Total	97	21	11	36	55	21	7	1	1	35	44	12	51	24	1	37	38	4	27	52	17	7	181	780

The attested verbs are divided into two main groups according to their meaning: verbs referring to the construction of the monuments and verbs referring to the curses. The first group contains verbs suchs as *edaes* '(s)he made, put' (M-01a, M-02, etc., compare with Greek τίθημι 'set, put, place'), εσταες '(s)he put, erected' (40.3 = 31, Greek ἵστημι 'make to stand, set up') and their derivatives. In the second group, we find verbs of the imprecative protasis, αδδακετ '(s)he does' and αββερετ '(s)he brings' (commonly with κακουν 'harm'), and verbs of the apodosis, *lakedo* 'let him be took' (W-01b), *ituv* (B-05) / (αδ)ειτου (*passim*) 'let him be' + τιττετικμενος 'accursed' (*passim*) or γεγαριτμενος 'devoted' (62.2 = 33).

4.5 The Place of Phrygian in the Indo-European Language Family

Scholars have long debated the exact position of Phrygian in the Indo-European language family. Although this position is not a closed question because of the fragmentary nature of our current knowledge, Phrygian has many important features that show that it is somehow related to Greek and Armenian. Thracian, Macedonian and Albanian are often considered as being close to Phrygian, but the relationship is too problematic for them to be useful sources for comparison.[69] Greek and Armenian are often postulated to derive from a common proto-language (Greco-Armenian). Although this assumption is based only on similarities between Proto-Greek and Proto-Armenian, which are not sufficient evidence to hypothesise a discrete Proto-Greco-Armenian, the relations between the two proto-languages "may have been intense" (Martirosyan 2013, 86; see now Kim 2018). In any case, the similarities are such that the exact position of Phrygian is difficult to determine, a fact that is apparent in the history of Phrygian studies.

Indeed, between the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth c. BC Phrygian was mostly considered a *satəm* language (a feature once considered important to establishing the position of a language) and, especially after Alf Torp's study, closer to Armenian (and Thracian),[70] whereas it is now commonly

69 The Thracian corpus is too short to give an overview of this language and Macedonian is better explained as a Greek dialect than a proper language (see Méndez Dosuna 2012). Albanian is attested as late as fourteenth c. and shows many particularities that hinder the comparison with earlier languages. On the relationship with PIE see Klingenschmitt 1994 and, for a detailed discussion on Albanian historical phonology, see Demiraj 1997, 41–67.

70 The relationship with Thracian is still considered by Brixhe (2006). However, I do not address the possibility here because Thracian is a poorly attested language and such a relationship is ultimately based on Str. 7.1.25 (see also 7.3.2, 10.3.16 and 12.3.20), who considered Phrygians a Thracian tribe in origin (Θρᾴκιόν τι ἔθνος). Other sources only report

considered to be closer to Greek. However, both those who favoured a Greek proximity for Phrygian[71] and those who preferred the Armenian way[72] adduced historiographic sources rather than linguistic ones, before the publications of Lejeune, Haas and Brixhe, simply because very few Phrygian inscriptions had been discovered until the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century.[73]

Brixhe (1968), Neumann (1988) and, through an accurate analysis, Matzinger (2005) showed the inconsistency of the Phrygo-Armenian assumption and argued that Phrygian was a language closely related to Greek. Note, however, that these authors did not consider the Phrygian *Lautverschiebung* as proposed by Lubotsky (2004). This has been a significant boost to Phrygian studies over the last decade, although it is not of great value for elucidating the language's position. In any case, the question of its origin is complex, and Armenian is often cited as the language closest to Phrygian in modern publications. Recently, Hämmig (fthc. a and b) has claimed that most of the arguments for Phrygian's closer proximity to Greek are not decisive. She is certainly right to state that more in-depth studies are needed. Nevertheless, she also tried to show that Phrygian is closer to Armenian, and this position is not better defended than the others. Her argument is twofold:[74]

1. The Phrygian shift **p* > ⟨v⟩ / V_V is similar to Armenian **p* > *w* /V_V (Hämmig 2013, 136–137).
2. The suffix **-ske/o-* became a subjunctive marker in both languages, and it yielded *-ic'-* in Armenian and *-s/Ϋ-* in Phrygian. Perhaps also aor. in *-es* goes back to a form derived through the same suffix, **-esket*, although it is still less clear.

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that they were neighbours of the Macedonian near to the mount Bermios (Hdt. 7.73, 8.138, Plin. *Nat*. 5.145, St. Byz *s.u.* Βρίγες).

71 W.C. Moriz Schmidt (1869, 133–141), Fick (1873, 409–417) and Ramsay (1887, 381).

72 Mordtmann (1862), Gosche (1864, 84–86) and Torp (1894, 3–8) were the most important supporters of the Phrygo-Armenian relation in the beginning of the Phrygian studies.

73 On this issue, one must consult Morante Mediavilla's PhD dissertation defended in 2007 (unfortunately unpublished), which provides an exhaustive overview of Phrygian studies up to the publication of Ramsay's works.

74 Of course, Hdt. 7.73 is also considered an ancient authority considering that Phrygians and Armenians share a common origin: Ἀρμένιοι δὲ κατά περ Φρύγες ἐσεσάχατο, ἐόντες Φρυγῶν ἄποικοι 'the Armenians were armed just like the Phrygians, being settlers from the Phrygians'. Also, Eudoxus of Cnidus, as quoted by St.Byz *s.u.* Ἀρμενία, follows this consideration: Ἀρμένιοι δὲ τὸ μὲν γένος ἐκ Φρυγίας καὶ τῇ φωνῇ πολλὰ φρυγίζουσι 'the Armenians are native of Phrygia and their tongue resembles very much the Phrygian one'. In any case, we do not have much information about the Armenian Language until the fifth c. AD.

In my opinion, these two isoglosses (the first phonetic, the second morphological) do not prove that Phrygian has a closer position to Armenian. Of course, Phrygian is only fragmentarily attested and we do not know most of the features of this language. Therefore, the relevance of each feature must be judged not on the basis of quantity but on its quality. Nevertheless, the first feature has only been identified in one word, **nepots* > *nevos* (Hämmig 2013), and one cannot rule out a local shift restricted to Bithynia. To complicate the matter further, unlike the PIE voiced and aspirated stops, the voiceless stops preserved their original articulation. Only in B-05 and only for this word does such a shift occur. Consequently, it may be considered a recent shift (if not a local feature).[75] Indeed, the whole Phrygian *Lautverschiebung* can be compared to the Armenian stop shift. However, the only shift[76] that is well attested in both Phrygian and Armenian is the devoicing of the PIE voiced stop series, and it is not a strong enough evidence to postulate a common development, since it is found in many languages (e.g., in PGm. and To.).[77]

Regarding the second feature, it is not an evidence for her hypothesis. The interpretation of ⟨ϒ⟩ as representing something related to a sibilant is refuted here (see § 3.1.3), which rules out the possibility that forms with this letter contain the development of the suffix **-ske/o*. In addition, it is possible that such suffix appears as *-sk-* in three instances: *podaskai*? (G-02, if it is a verb), ουελασκετου (9.1 = 87) and ουελασκοννου (15.1 = 120, if this segmentation is right, as also Hämmig, f.c., suggested). However, these forms are not clear enough to be used here. In any case, forms with *-s-* / -(σ)σ- between vowels (which she equated to ⟨ϒ⟩) can be explained as a reintroduction similar to the one happened in the Greek sigmatic aor. and fut. In such forms *-s-* was preserved in consonant-final stems such as γράφω 'I write', aor. ἔγραψα 'I wrote' and later restored in verbs where it was lost (Chantraine 1984, 177 or Duhoux 2000, 377).

In light of the available data, it is preferable to see Phrygian as closer to Greek than to Armenian. This tentative conclusion is based on some relevant features

75 As said above, the only counterexample is *eneparkes* (G-125 and M-01dI) / ενεπαρκες (40.3 = 31), whose root goes back to **perḱ-* (as suggested Lejeune 1969b, 291–294), but the stop was very likely preserved in forms without augment and was perhaps preserved after these forms.

76 The shift PIE voiced aspirate stops > Armenian voiced stops, which is general in Phrygian, is still problematic for Armenian. See Clackson 2008, 127–130, who suggests that the letters transliterated as voiced stops can represent voiced aspirate stops.

77 Alternatively, Kortlandt (2016, 250) concluded that the Phrygian consonant shift is a dialectal innovation shared with Traco-Armenian. He also suspected that the influence of the Proto-Anatolian substratum worked here.

of the Phrygian language shared between Phrygian and Greek, which are discussed below (summarised in Table 34). It is also consistent with a Balkanic origin for the Phrygians, as reported by ancient historians (e.g., Hdt. 7.73 and 8.138, Str. 7.3.2 and 14.5.29). Furthermore, if Phrygian were not so poorly attested perhaps we could reconstruct a Proto-Greco-Phrygian stage of both languages. Indeed, it is not only that Phrygian and Greek share a relatively large number of isoglosses and innovations but also that not a single relevant isogloss restricted to Phrygian and Armenian is found. I therefore agree with Matzinger (2005, 377, despite the Lautverschiebung question) when he says, "dass die Annahme einer besonderen Nähe zwischen Phrygisch und Armenisch von Seiten der Sprachwissenschaft nicht zu stützen ist." Unfortunately, the Phr. verb has not been well studied and could be at the centre of this discussion in future work. Moreover, new findings could provide more features with which to corroborate or reject this statement. Therefore, the conclusion given here cannot be considered definitive.

4.5.1 *Phonological Isoglosses*

As has been argued in § 4.1.2.2.2, Phrygian belongs to the *centum* group of IE languages. Together with Greek, Celtic, Italic, Germanic, Hittite and Tocharian, Phrygian merged the old palatovelars with plain velars in a first step. However, as happened in Tocharian and the Romance languages, Phrygian subsequently also merged the old labiovelar with the plain velar (the etymological and the resulting ones), and in contact with palatal vowels (/e/ and /i/) some consonants became palatalised. These two secondary processes lend Phrygian the guise of a *satəm* language.

In the attested positions, Phrygian shows the same reflexes as the old PIE laryngeals found in Greek, including the so-called prothetic vowel (see § 4.1.2.2.3). This feature is also shared with Armenian (Martirosyan 2010, 714–716, also 2013, 89).

The PIE sibilant /s/ is lost at the beginning of a word and in intervocalic position. Phrygian, as well as Greek, Armenian and Albanian, has lost the sibilant /s/ at the beginning of the word and in intervocalic position. Note, however, that this feature is also shared with Lycian, so it is not as significant for our question.[78]

The PIE suffix *-*ih*$_2$ yields -*iya* in OPhr. *niptiya* (B-05), a development also found in some conditions in Greek (Myc. -*iya* > -ια) and in Tocharian (PIE *-*n̥*-

78 Gusmani 1959b, 13–14 argued that Phrygian and Lycian where in contact when this sound disappeared. However, it is not necessary since this loss takes place in many unrelated languages.

ǵneh₃-tih₂ 'ignorant' > **n̥-ǵnō-tyH̥* > PTo. *āknā́tsā* > ToB *aknātsa, cf.* Latin *ignōtus* 'unacquainted with a thing, ignorant of'). In other languages, such as Arm. and IIr. it appears as *-ī*: compare πότνια 'mistress' (Myc. *po-ti-ni-ja*) < **potnih₂* with Ved. *pátnī* 'mistress, godess', Y.Av. *paθnī-* and Old Lith. *vieš-patni* 'housewife'.

4.5.2 *Morphological Isoglosses*

The compound pron. **h₂eu̯-to-* is only found in Greek αὐτός and Phr. αυτος. Albanian has an adverb derived from the zero-grade of this formation: **h₂u-tó-* > *hut* 'in vain' (compare with Greek αὔτως 'in this very manner, even so, in vain', Demiraj 1997, 59). A similar formation is Alb. *aý* 'this, he' < **h₂eu̯-so-* (Demiraj 1997, 70 and Matzinger 2005, 384).

Phrygian seem to share with Greek the existence of a suffix **-eu̯-* /*-ēu̯-*: Gr. -εύς / -έως (Epic -ῆος), Phr. *-avos* (thematised). As happens in Greek, the Phrygian forms with this suffix are titles whose origin is not always clear: *akenan-ogavos* ('the holder of the *akenan*' [?] M-01a, W-01a; sg. acc. fem. [?] *ạkinanogavaṇ* M-04; cf. Greek ὀχεύς, -έως, Epic -ῆος) and *proitavos* (M-01b, M-02).

Phrygian shares the *e*-augment with Greek, Arm. and IIr.: compare 3sg. aor. PIE **(h₁)é-dʰeh₁-t* '(s)he put', OPhr. *e-da-es*, Greek ἔ-θη-κα, Armenian *e-d* and Skt. *á-dhā-t*. This is a very significant morphological isogloss, according to Martirosyan (2013, 90).

In the inflection of *knais*, *knays* 'woman' (B-07, HP-114), other forms than the sg.nom. takes the suffix *-ik-*, just as in Greek and—slightly differently—in Armenian. Compare sg .acc. ⸗ναικαν (16.1 = 116) with Gr. γυναῖκα and sg. gen. ⸗ναικο⟨ς⟩ with Gr. γυναικός.

Phrygian perfet middle participles are built through the PIE suffix **-mh₁no-*, as well as Greek (-μενος-, see de Lamberterie 2013, 43–44). The exact form is also found in ToA *-māṃ*, ToB *-mane* and Prakrit *-mina-* (slightly different Skt. *-a-māna-*, Av. *-a-mna-*) and frozen in some Lat. words such as *alumnus* (**h₂el-o-mh₁no-*) or *fēmina* (< **dʰeh₁-mh₁neh₂-*).

Despite the phonetic problems discussed in § 4.1.2.2.3, the prohibitive pcl. **meh₁* is found in Phrygian as *me* / με, as well as in Arm. *mi*, Skt. *mā́*, Av. *mā*, Gr. μή, Alb. *mo* and ToAB *mā* (also used for simple negation 'no' in To.).

Phrygian pcl. *ni*(*y*) / νι is also found in Pamph. ⸗αί νι + imperv. (Pamph. 3, see Brixhe 1976, 131–132), although its use in both languages is different.

In the light of υψοδαν 'above, on the top', Phrygian also has a loc. pcl. **-dʰn̥* attested in some Greek dialects as -θα (e.g., Aeol. πρόσ-θα 'before').

A Greek innovation shared with Phrygian is found in the sg.nom. of PIE **méǵh₂-* 'big', where both languages added the ending *-s*: compare OPhr. *mekas* and Greek μέγας with Skt. *máhi* and Arm. *mec*.

In the Phr. corpus two denominative verbs are found: *kakoioi* (G-02c, also *kakuioi* P-04b; see Lejeune 1969b, 299) and *kuryaneyon* (W-01c). The first is a verb in *-o-yo-* derived from an *o*-stem noun, *kako-*, while the second is in *-e-yo-*, derived from an *o*-stem noun, although only attested in Greek κοίρανος, -ου. In both cases one cannot rule out an early Greek borrowing dated to Myc. times. However, there is no phonetic reason to rule them out as Phrygian cognates of the Greek forms.

4.5.3 *Lexical Isoglosses*

A derived noun **$b^{h}oh_2$-t-* / **$b^{h}eh_2$-t-* from the PIE verbal root **$b^{h}eh_2$-* 'to shine' (*LIV*^{2} 68–69, *IEW* 104–105) has been largely thought to yield in Greek φῶς, φωτός 'man, mortal, hero' (Peters 1993, 101–108 and Vijūnas 2009, 72–76, following a previous suggestion by Brugmann and Delbrück 1906, 536; *NIL* 7). Recently, such a formation has been claimed for the Phrygian DN βας (see Obrador-Cursach 2017).

The formation **(h_1)*en-mén-* (*LIPP* II, 234) derived from **men* 'stand fast, remain' (*LIV*^{2} 437, *IEW* 729) appears in the Greek adverb ἐμμενές 'unceasing' and Phrygian *iman* (sg. dat. *inmeney*, B-05) according to Vine (2010). It is also found in OIr. *ainmne* 'patience'.

Although the root **$ǵ^{h}l̥h_3$-* 'green, yellow' is found in Greek χλωρός 'greenish-yellow, pale green', in Lat. *helus*, (*h*)*olus* 'green plants, vegetables, cabbage', in Skt. *hari-* 'fallow, greenish' (used in compounds), etc., the formation **$ǵ^{h}l̥h_3$-ró-* is only found in Greek χλωρός and Phrygian γλουρεος 'golden' (MPhr-01 l. 2 identified by Brixhe 2004a, 17 through the Hesychius gloss γλούρεα, γ 659).

Here, OPhr. *keneman* 'cavity, niche' (M-01b) is suggested to derive from **$ḱen$-e/o-* 'empty', a form found in Gr. **ken*(*e*)-*u̯ó-* 'empty, idle' (Att. κενός, Ion. κεινός, Epic and Dor. κενεός) and Armenian *sin*, *sn-oy* 'empty'.[79] Previously, *keneman* was thought to derive from **$kenh_1$-*, attested in Sanskrit *khánati* 'to dig' (Lubotsky 1988, 15), but this root is not found outside of IIr.

The PIE verb **$sleh_2g^{u̯}$-* 'take hold of, grasp' (*LIV*^{2} 566, *IEW* 958) was only attested in Greek λαβεῖν 'id.' until Lubotsky (2004, 234–235) equated it to Phrygian *lakedo* (W-01b).

The stem *koru̯-* (perhaps derived from **$ḱerh_3$-* 'grow' *LIV*^{2} 329, *IEW* 577) is a Greek peculiarity attested in κόρη 'young girl, daughter', κοῦρος, κόρος 'boy' (*EDG* 752–753), but recently it has also been identified in MPhr. κορο- (MPhr-01, Lubotsky 2017).

79 *EDG* 672, Clackson 1994, 138–139 and Martirosyan 2010, 575 and 2013, 116.

TABLE 34 Comparison of Phrygian features with Greek, Armenian, Albanian and Indo-Iranian (grey files indicate that a borrowing cannot be totally ruled out)

	Phrygian feature	Greek	Armenian	Albanian	Indo-Iranian
Phonetic	"prothetic vowels"	+	+	?	-
	Loss of /s/	+	+	+	-
	Centum treatment	+	-	-	-
	*-ih_2 > -*iya*	+	-	+	-
Morphological	*e*-augment	+	+	+	+
	*-$e\underset{\wedge}{u}$- / *-$\bar{e}\underset{\wedge}{u}$-	+	-	-	-
	*-$d^h\underset{\circ}{n}$	+	-	-	-
	*$g^u$$neh_2$-*ik*-	+	+	-	-
	*$h_2e\underset{\wedge}{u}$-*to*-	+	-	+	-
	*$mégh_2$-*s*	+	-	-	-
	*meh_1	+	+	+	+
	*-mh_1*no*-	+	-	-	-
	ni(*y*) /ɲi	+	-	-	-
	verbs in -*o*-*yo*-	+	-	-	-
	verbs in -*e*-*yo*-	+	-	-	-
Lexical	*b^hoh_2-*t*- / *b^heh_2-*t*-	+	-	-	-
	*(h_1)*en*-*mén*-	+	-	-	-
	*$ǵ^h\underset{\circ}{l}h_3$-*ró*-	+	-	-	-
	ken-	+	+	-	-
	*$sleh_2g^u$-	+	-	-	-
	*$koru$-	+	-	-	-

4.6 Phrygian in Contact

Because Phrygian was spoken in central Anatolia and surrounded by many languages, it came into contact with several languages, mainly Greek and some Anatolian tongues (Hittite, Luwian, Lydian and Lycian), but also with Assyrian, Aramaic, Old Persian, Elamite, Galatian and Latin. In this chapter, this contact will be considered language by language.

4.6.1 *Phrygian in Contact with Greek*

Leaving aside prehistoric contacts between Greek and Phrygian, which are difficult to ascertain, Greek is present to a varying degree in the whole history of

TABLE 35 Equivalences between the Phrygian and Greek texts of B-05

	Phrygian text		Greek text
L. 1	*sin⩤t imenạn kạliyạ ti tedạt*[…] 'this monument Kallias erect[ed]'	L. 1–3	Καλλίας Αβικτου παῖς ΗΓΗΜΑΣ ἀνέ|θēκεν. 'Kallias son of Abiktos erected this'
L. 8–9	*yos niy ạrt sin⩤t imenạn kạkạ oskạvos kạkey | kạn dedạsitiy tubetiv* 'whoever does harm around this monument…'	L. 3–4	Ὅστις περὶ | τὸ ἱερὸν κακουρ⟨γ⟩ετήσαι 'Whoever harms around this holy place'
L. 11	*torvetun ↑irạy* 'cutting by his hand'?	L. 4–5	ē̄ δρῦν | ἐκόψαι 'or cuts a tree'

the Phrygian language, from the adaptation of the alphabet to the time of the NPhr. inscriptions. This presence is manifested in bilingual inscriptions, loanwords, onomastics and even in the use of Greek verse patterns in Phrygian. The relationship between Greek and Phrygian was not unidirectional, since a Phrygian influence can be perceived in borrowings into Greek and in the language of the Greek inscriptions from Phrygia.[80]

4.6.1.1 Greco-Phrygian Bilingual Inscriptions

All Phrygian bilingual inscriptions are Greco-Phrygian, with the sole exception of an Aramaic-Phrygian graffito on a sherd (G-157). The oldest Greco-Phrygian inscription (B-05) appeared in Vezirhan, Bithynia. It is engraved on a Greco-Persian stele and consists of thirteen long lines of Phrygian text and seven shorter lines of Greek under a relief depicting a goddess, a banquet and a hunting scene. Because of the great difference between the length of the two texts, it is clear that they are not word-for-word translations. Indeed, it is assumed that the Phrygian text was the original while the Greek was added later as a summary of the Phrygian. Moreover, this addition is shown by the position of the Greek text, which was engraved in the empty space of the stele in two parts, one (l. 1–5) above the Phrygian text and the other below (l. 6–7). The clearest correspondences between the content of the two texts can be seen in Table 35.[81]

The difference between this text and the other bilingual inscriptions is that it contains similar information, though the Greek text is a summary of the Phrygian. Note, however, that the Greek text mentions the name of the promoter's father, Καλλίας Αβικτου παῖς, while this information is not found in the Phrygian version, where only *kaliya* is mentioned. Simon (2015) also equated the

80 This chapter is based on Obrador Cursach fthc. b. On the relationship between Phrygian and Greek, see Neumann 1988 and, more recently, Anfosso 2018.

81 For a deeper analysis of this important monument, see Hämmig 2013, followed here.

last Phrygian line, *yos isekosos ↑emeney ḍ'upratoy vebạn ituv*, to the conclusive Greek blessing in lines 6–7, καὶ τôι ἀναγινώσκοντι ἐνθ|άδε ἤκοντι πολὰ καὶ ἀγαθά, 'and who coming here reads it, many and good things to him'. Although Simon defends his hypothesis with an etymological analysis of each word, based on a good knowledge of Phrygian historical phonetics, the occurrence of *veban* in the NPhr. inscription 2.2. (130, firstly edited by Avram 2015) invalidates the equation of the two texts, since in NPhr. this word clearly refers to the monument (a memorial in the shape of altar) or a part of it: αινι ουεβαν δεδασσιννι πατρε|ς σεμουν κορο[υ]μανη 'if? the parents put this *veban* in this place…' Indeed, ουεβαν must be equated to μνημόσυνον 'memorial' in the Greek part of this NPhr. inscription (Face A). Consequently, a Phrygian counterpart of καὶ τôι ἀναγινώσκοντι ἐνθ|άδε ἤκοντι πολὰ καὶ ἀγαθά seems to be lacking. In any case, despite Hämmig's (2013) excellent analysis of lines 8–13 (the imprecative part of the text), most of this large inscription remains obscure.

The Vezirhan stele is the only Greco-Phrygian bilingual inscription in the whole OPhr. subcorpus. By Roman times, however, most NPhr. inscriptions are bilingual, although commonly the epitaph proper is written in Greek while the Phrygian is restricted to a formulaic curse, usually in a secondary position.[82] So, both parts of these funerary texts are independent clauses and the Phrygian curses were added systematically as a formula.[83] Only five texts of the sixty-three bilingual inscriptions from Roman times show a real connection between the Greek and the Phrygian texts:

> 1.1. (= 48, from Dorylaion) [---]. | ε[..]γεντουμενος | νιοισιος ναδροτος | ειτου. μιτραφατα | κε μας τεμρογε|ιος κε πουντας | βας κε ενσταρνα. | δουμε κε οι ουε|βαν αδδακετ ορου|αν, παρεθέμην τὸ | μνημεῖον τοῖς προ|γεγραμμένοις θε|οῖς κὲ τῇ κώμῃ· | ταυθ' ὁ πατὴρ | Ἀσκληπιός. '[Phrygian] let him become ε[..]γεντουμενος, νιοισιος [two obscure adjectives] and impotent?. Mitrap-

82 Only in two inscriptions, 14.1 (122) and 59.1 (72), does the Phrygian formula precede the Greek epitaph.

83 This is the disposition of texts in 3.1 (97), 4.1 (2), 7.2 (111), 7.3 (14), 10.1 (112), 14.1 (73), 17.1 (4bis), 17.4 (90), 17.6 (119), 18.1 (4), 20.2 (128), 21.1 (42), 21.2 (43), 23.1 (89), 25.1 (115), 25.2 (126), 27.1 (92), 30.1 (39), 30.2 (68), 31.1 (125), 33.1 (28), 33.3 (127), 34.1 (37), 37.1 (10), 40.1 (12), 44.1 (61), 44.3 (67), 46.1 (53), 47.1 (51), 48.1 (81), 48.2 (84), 48.3 (85), 50.1 (54), 50.2 (55), 53.1 (76), 53.3 (109), 55.1 (56), 56.1 (57), 57.1 (78), 59.1 (107), 59.2 (47), 59.3 (79), 60.2 (60), 62.1 (32), 62.2 (33), 62.3 (34), 62.4 (35), 62.5 (36), 63.1 (123), 64.1 (82), 65.1 (20), 65.3 (21) and 65.4 (124). In 58 the Greek epitaph is followed by a non-imprecative Phrygian text, but with an exhortation against burying someone else in the tomb. Note also that many of the inscriptions consisting of a Phrygian curse likely originally followed a Greek text, which was lost as these funerary monuments deteriorated.

ata and Mas Timbrogic and Bas Pontic were appointed. And for (the care of) the religious community the 'father' has put his (tomb)stone. [Greek] The father Asklepios put this memorial under the protection of the gods written above and the community.'[84]

1.2. (98 = *MAMA* V Lists I no. 182.89, from Dorylaion) Κλωδία | Σοφοκλέ|ως θυγά|τηρ καὶ Τερ|τίας· παρ|θένε, χαῖρε. δακαρεν πα|τερης ευκιν | αργου '[Greek] Clodia the daughter of Sofocles and Tertias. Hail, oh maiden. [Phrygian] (Her) parents set it up as a vow'.

2.2 (= 130, from Nacoleia) [Face A] Βρογιμαρος Ἐπικράτου | Διὶ Βρογιμαρου καὶ Κυρί|ᾳ εὐχήν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυ|τῷ μνημόσυνον. | αινι ουεβαν δεδασσινν πατρε|ς σεμουν κορο[υ]μανη σως κη | γουμειε, καρπυς ειλικρινη εγο|υννου | αινι κος κακην αδδακετ κορο|[υ]μανη σως κη γουμειε, τιττετι|[κ]μενος ειτου εικαδ αυτον μεκ|αν τιαν. [Face B] Εὐξάμενος πρὸς ἔπ|ος ἱεραῖς ἐπᾳοιδαῖς ἐν|γελάον ἐγὼ πάτρῃ τε | [γόν]οις μου, χεὶρ ὑπὲρ Ι[|.]Α[.....]εχειν | [---]λᾳκεδοη⟨ν⟩ων μῃνε|[---]ροιο δάμαρτος Ο|[---]ΟΜωЄΙ δοξ' Ἀριστο|[---]ΝΕΠ[---]. [Face C] .Ο..ΜΕ [---] | υἱὸς [---] |..Π.....Η [---]| γλῠκε̣ρω[..]Α̣Π̣Ο̣ [---]. [Face D] [..]Ε̣Ν[--] Β̣ρογιμα|ρος ἐγὼ μεγάλου Διὸς | ἀρητήρ̣ ἕ[ν]θα μένω | ἱεροῖς ἐνὶ καρποῖς |Μ̣Η̣Π̣Σ̣Ο̣.Α̣Ν̣Α̣-- Ο̣...|Ο̣Σ̣----- Α....Ε..Υ̣|ΑΣ̣..Α̣Ν̣---- Α--|.Ο̣....Ο̣Υ̣. [Translation of the Greek text, l. 1–4:] '[Greek A:] Brogimaros (son) of Epikrates (dedicates) to Zeus of Brogimaros and to Kyria (his wife) a prayer; and he (dedicates) also the tomb for himself. [Phrygian] If? the parents put this tomb in this place, ..., let them have pure fruits. If anybody does harm to this place and ..., let him become accursed by the great Zeus. [Greek B] Praying for this purpose with sacred incantations I enjoyed my tribe and my children ... [Greek D] I Brogimaros the priest of the great Zeus stay here among my sacred offspring...'[85]

6.1 (= 88, from Bağlıca) Αὐρ(ήλιος) Μηνόφιλος Οὐενούστου κὲ Μα|νια Ἀντιόχου ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Αππη καὶ Οὐεναουιη τέκνοις ἀώροις καὶ | ἑαυτοῖς μνήμης χάριν. ❧ ιος | νι σεμουν κνουμανει κακε | αδδακετ αωρω ουεναουιας, τιγ|γεγαριτμενος ιτου, πουρ ουανα|κταν κε ουρανιον ιστ?εικετ διουνσιν. ❧ | ❧ καὶ Αὐρ(ηλίῳ) Σώζοντι Κανκαρου ἀνδρὶ τῆς Οὐεναουιης. '[Greek] Aurelios Menophilos the son of Venustos and his wife Mania the daughter of Antiochus for Appe and Venavia, their children who died prematurely, in memoriam. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this tomb of the prematurely dead Venavia, let him become accursed and he will have to do

84 This tentative translation is based mainly on the analysis of this inscription by Lubotsky (1997). Here, 'father' seems to be used as a priest title.

85 Tentative translation based on Avram 2015, with the remark of Obrador-Cursach 2016 and de Hoz 2017.

with the heavenly king Dionysos.[86] [Greek] and for Aurelio Sozo de son of Kankaros, Venavias's husband.'

22.1 (= 9, *MAMA* IV no. 18, from Işıklar) υς δουμ?ετυου πασε | δεκμουταις κινο[υ]||μα ε̣τι μ⟨α⟩νκαν οπεσταμ|ε̣ν̣α̣ν̣ δαδιτι Νεν[υε]ρια | παρτυς ουβρα. | Κόϊντος Ῥούφου τῇ ἰδί|α̣ γυναικὶ Νενυεριᾳ μν|[ήμη]ς ἀ̣[ϊδ]ιότατον ἵνεκα. | [---]. The Phrygian text remains obscure. κινο[υ]||μα 'tomb' (variant spelling for κνουμαν) and μ⟨α⟩νκαν 'stele' show that the Phrygian part describes the monument and a man called υς δουμ?ετυου 'Ys Domitius' is mentioned, while the Greek text identifies the promoter, Κόϊντος Ῥούφου 'Quintus Rufus' and both texts show that the monument was made for a girl called Νενυεριᾳ.

In three inscriptions after the Greek epitaph a Phrygian curse is followed by another, different one in Greek. The text of 56.3 (= 64, from Beşkavak) was not well preserved when copied by Ramsay and Calder (1911, 210–211), but this disposition of the languages is clear. The other two inscriptions are the following:

18.2 (= 5, from Augustopolis) ις κε σεμουν κ⟨ν⟩ουμινος ⟨κακουν⟩ | αδακεν, με διω[ς ζ]εμελως τιτετικμενος ητου. | ὃς ἂν δὲ κακῶς [π]υήσε, τέκνα ἄω|ρα ἐντύ[χοιτο]. '[Phrygian] Whoever does ⟨harm⟩ to this tomb, let him be accursed in the sight of gods and men. [Greek] Whoever does harms, let his children die prematurely.'

66.1 (= 103, *MAMA* VII no. 214, from Turgut) [ιος] σεμον τι κνουμανι κ[ακ]||[ον α]βερετι ζ̣ει̣[ραι] παρταν, το[ς] | [νι με] ζ̣ι̣[μελως] α τι ατιτικμενος | [ειτ]ου. | [τίς ἂν] τούτῳ κακὴν χεῖρα | [προσ]οίσει, ὀρφανὰ τέκνα λ[ί]||[ποιτ]ο, χῆρον βίον, οἶκον ἔ|[ρημ]ο̣ν. '[Phrygian] Whoever brings harm to this tomb by his hand ΠΑΡΤΑΝ, let him be accursed by Zeus in the sight of men. [Greek] Whoever lays a wicked hand on this tomb, may he leave orphaned children, a widow's life for his wife, and a deserted house.'[87]

Finally, more interesting from the perspective of the bilingual parallelism is the inscription 19.1 (= 96, *MAMA* VI no. 382, from Prymnessos),[88] which consists of a single curse with a Greek protasis and a Phrygian apodosis: ὃς ἂν τούτῳ τῷ μνημείῳ κακῶς προσποιήσει ἢ τοῖς | προγεγραμμένοις ὑπεναντίον τι πράξῃ, με δεως κε | ζεμελως κε τιτετικμ̣ενος ειτου. '[in Greek] who damages this monument or

86 Translation of the last apodosis by Lubotsky 2004, 235.

87 On this last Greek formula, see Strubbe 1997, 291–292, with many parallels in east Phrygia.

88 Brixhe 2002b, 252 saw this inscription as irrefutable proof that Phrygian was understood.

contravenes the foregoing injunctions, [in Phrygian] let him be accursed in the sight of gods and men.'

4.6.1.2 The Phrygian Imprecative Formulae also Found in Greek Inscriptions from Anatolia

An important source of evidence of Greco-Phrygian contact is the use of shared imprecative formulae, although there are some particularities in each language. Curses are commonly attached to epitaphs in Anatolia in order to preserve the funerary monument against desecrators. There are hundreds of such texts written in Greek, mostly dated to the third c. AD, so they were contemporaneous to the NPhr. inscriptions. Curses were so popular that they even survived the expansion of Christianity.[89] Although new inscriptions have been found, Strubbe (1997) provided a very useful corpus of the Greek curses which contains an excellent analysis. By compiling and classifying all of the different formulae attested in Greek inscriptions, he created a priceless source of information that can be compared with the Phrygian inscriptions.

Indeed, the common NPhr. protasis ιος νι σεμουν κνουμανει κακουν αδδακετ 'whoever does harms to this tomb', occurs in Greek as τίς ἂν κακῶς ποήσι τούτῳ μνήματι (Strubbe 1997, no. 193, from Appia-Soa). However, the most common variant of this North-Phrygian curse formula (Strubbe 1997, 285–288) is τίς ἂν προσοίσει χεῖρα τὴν βαρύφθονον 'whoever lays a hand with heavy envy (on this tomb)'. The presence of the hand is also found once in the NPhr. protasis of 59.4 (106): ιος νι σεμουν κνου|μανει κακουν αδοκετ ζειραι 'whoever does harm to this tomb with the hand'. They are not word-for-word versions of the same text, but both the Greek and Phrygian inscriptions contain the same idea and it is possible that the variants are affected by the metrics of the Greek imprecations.

Phrygian formulae of apodoses are also found in Greek epitaphs. According to Hämmig (fthc., followed by Obrador-Cursach 2017), βας ιοι βεκος με βερετ 'let Bas not produce bread (= food) to him', (7.2 = 111 and 8.1 = 86) and με κε οι τοτοσσειτι βας βεκος 'let Bas not give bread to him' (7.1 = 99) have a Greek counterpart in μηδὲ γῆ καρποφορήσοιτο αὐτῷ 'neither the earth produce fruit to him' (Strubbe 1997, no. 76), οὔτ' ἡ γῆ αὐτ⟨ῷ⟩ καρπὸν ἐνενέκῃ (no. 121), μ[ήτε] ἡ γῆ καρποφόρος (no. 122), μὴ γῆ … καρποὺς δοίη 'neither the earth provides fruit' (153), μὴ γῆ καρπὸν εκφέροι (155) μηδὲ γῆ καρπόν (357), [μήτε γῆ] … καρπὸν φέροι (368),

89 See, e.g., the reliquary of the martyr Trophimos in (*SEG* 6.343, 30.1494, see Guarducci 1978, 390–392): ὧδε ἔνα Τρο|φίμου τοῦ μ|άρτυρος ὀστέ|α· | τίς ἂν δὲ ταῦ|τα τὰ ὀστέα | ἐκβάλῃ ποτέ, | ἔσται αὐτῷ | πρὸς τ[ὸ⟨ν⟩] θεό|ν 'here within are (the) bones of the martyr Trophimos; if anyone, at any time, should throw out these bones, that person shall be answerable to God' (translation by Tabbernee 1997, no. 35).

μήτε γῆ ἐνέγκαι αὐτῶι ... καρπόν (369), μηδὲ γῆ ... καρπὸν ⟨α⟩ὐτῷ ἐνινκαίτω (374), μὴ ⟨ἐ⟩νέγκηι [ἡ γῆ αὐτῶι] καρπόν (377) and μήτε γῆ καρπὸν ἐνένκαι (385). Also, the common NPhr. formula με δεως κε ζεμελως κε τιττετικμενος ειτου 'let him be accursed in the sight of gods and men' is found in Gr. as παρά θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἐπικατάρατος 'id.' (Teos 186, see § 4.6.2.2 for its Luwian origin).

4.6.1.3 Greek Borrowings in Phrygian

It is not always easy to decide if a Phrygian word is shared with or borrowed from Greek. Only when a phonetic rule or morphological feature restricted to Greek occurs can one be completely sure that a word is a loanword and not an inheritance. This issue is illustrated in the classic discussion of Midas's titles in the inscription W-01a: *lavagtaei* and *vanaktei*. Are they shared with Greek or early borrowings into Phrygian? Because of the Phrygian *Lautverschiebung*, *lavagtaei* can now be considered a Greek borrowing, but *vanakt-* (sg. nom. *vanak* M-04 and sg. acc. ουαναϰταν 6.1 = 88) is ambiguous. Greek (ϝ)άναξ, -ϰτος (Myc. *wa-na-ka* /wanaks/) does not have a clear origin: it is sometimes equated to Skt. *vanij* 'merchant' but is also considered a "substrate word" (*EDG* 98–99). Perhaps Greek shares this substrate with Phrygian, but in light of *lavagtaei*, it is likely that it was also borrowed from Greek.[90] A similar case is *kuryaneyon*, W-01c, also a title. According to Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 187 = 2018, 1820), it is a Myc. loanword (borrowed before the metathesis **kori-* > ϰοιρ- and the loss of *yod*, as found in alphabetic Greek ϰοιρανέων, present ptc. of ϰοιρανέω).[91] However, leaving aside that one title is borrowed (*lavagtaei*), there is no phonetic or morphological reason to rule out the possibility that Phrygian *kuryaneyon* is a cognate of Greek ϰοιρανέων, since Phrygian *kury-* fits as inherited from PIE **kori-* and there are deverbative Phrygian verbs at least in *-oy-*, as *kakoioi* (from ϰαϰουν) shows.

Aside from these titles, there are two probable Greek borrowings in the OPhr. inscriptions. The first is *sṭaḷ²a* (B-06), considered here a borrowing from Aeol. στάλλα 'stele' (better than Dor. στάλα, suggested by Vassileva 1995, 28–29). However, the context is obscure, so this identification cannot be more than a pos-

90 Brixhe in several papers (1990, 73–75; 1993, 340–341; 1994, 176–177; 2002b, 257) argued that Phrygian *vanakt-* and Greek ἄναξ, -ϰτος are cognates and, consequently, represent proof of the relationship between the two languages. However, as can be seen, this relationship is not so clear and does not constitute a valid argument to establish the position of Phrygian. Recently, Petrakis 2016, 104–105 also argued that the Phrygian word is borrowed from Greek.

91 On the other hand, Brixhe (in Brixhe and Summers 2006, 128) interpreted it as a noun in sg. acc. without explaining either its meaning or its origin.

sibility. The second is *krạniẏạs* (B-05, sg. gen.), an epithet of Artemis suggested to be derived from Aeol. κράννα 'spring, fountain' (Att.-Ion. κρήνη, Dor. κράνα).

Clear Greek loanwords are more frequent in the NPhr. corpus (some are also found in MPhr.) and most of them refer to parts of the funerary monuments, as can be seen in the following list:

- ακροδμαν (16.1 = 116), despite not being found in Greek, it seems a clear Greek formation parallel to μεσό-δμη 'crossbeam' (Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 172), built with the element ἄκρος 'at the farthest point or end, topmost' and -δμη- 'house' (derived from δέμω 'build').
- θαλαμειδη 'funerary chamber' (18.1 = 4, dat.) was borrowed from Gr. θαλαμίς, -ίδος, derived from θάλαμος 'chamber, grave'. With the meaning 'grave', θαλαμίς is also used in the Greek part of 25.1 (115).
- κορο- (κορου 27.1 = 92, dat.) is borrowed from Greek χώρος 'a definite space, piece of ground, place' and in Phrygian may refer to the space devoted to the tomb. In addition, it seems to apeer in a derived noun: κορο[υ]μανη (2.2 = 130, with the suffix *-man*, if not related to κοροαν MPhr-01 = W-11).
- λατομειον (11.2 = 18) is a loanword from Greek λατομεῖον (also spelled λατόμιον and λατομίς) 'stone-quarry' (following Woodhouse 2006, 182), used with the meaning 'grave' at least in inscriptions from Perinthos (e.g., *IG* II^2 13218 or *CIG* 2032, see Robert 1974, 238–239).
- σορο- (σοροι MPhr-01 and σορου 65.3 = 21, 65.4 = 124) is considered a borrowing from Greek σορός -ου 'cinerary urn' by Brixhe (2002b, 258); in Anatolia this word is used for 'sarcophagus' (Kubińska 1968, 32–35).

In addition to these kinds of terms, there are five more borrowings:

- ανανκαι (62.4 = 35) is very likely the Greek noun ἀνάγκη 'force, constraint, necessity'.
- αωρω (6.1 = 88) is a clear borrowing from Greek ἄωρος, -ον 'untimely, unseasonable' (this interpretation is corroborated by the Greek part of the inscription).
- ειλικρινη (2.2 = 130) is a clear borrowing from Greek εἰλικρινής, -ές 'unmixed, without alloy, pure' (also found in the Greek part of the inscription, see Avram 2015, 14–15).
- ζως (43.1 = 69) is a less clear loanword, but it seems to be borrowed from the Greek ζώς 'alive, living'.
- τις (28.1 = 71) and τι (30.1 = 39) is the Greek indefinite pron. τις, τι 'any one,

anything' used instead of the Phrygian cognate *ki-*. This grammatical borrowing, only found in NPhr., demonstrates the intensity of relationship between Greek and Phrygian in Roman times.

As can be seen, Greek *o*-stems are rendered as their etymological counterpart in Phrygian. However, Greek nouns in -ης appear as Phrygian *a*-stems. It remains unclear whether this is a phonetic adaptation or if these words were early borrowings from the Aeol. dialect, which preserved the original sound of the old *a*-stems. The second option seems preferable in light of *sṭaḷ[ʲ]a* (B-06, Aeol. στάλλα 'stele') and *krạniyạs* (B-05, sg .gen., derived from Aeol. κράννα 'spring, fountain').

4.6.1.4 Greek Personal Names in Phrygian

Several Greek PNs are found in Phr. inscriptions from all stages of the language: five in OPhr., two in the MPhr. inscription MPhr-01 and four in NPhr. This is the list of the identified and possible Greek PNs in the Phrygian corpus:

arkia- (M-01a) was found under the patronymic form *arkiaevais* and is very likely borrowed from Greek Ἀρχίας.

δορυκα[νος] (2.1 = 15), despite damage to the inscription at the end of the word, is restored in the light of two Greek inscriptions (Hierapolis I p and *MAMA* I 308, where Δορυκανος and its dat. Δορυκανωι occur, see *KPN* 152 § 302–1).

εκατηας (16.1 = 116) was identified by Brixhe and Neumann (1985, 175) as the Greek PN Ἑκαταία. The Phrygian rendering shows the form Ἑκατέα (with the common monophthongation) found in some Greek inscriptions such as *IK* Laodikeia am Lykos 116 (from Phrygia) or Erythrai 152 (from Ionia).

ερμω[λ]ạọṣ (16.1 = 116) is the Greek PN Ἑρμόλαος, well attested in Phrygia (e.g., *MAMA* V R 2), as well as the whole of Anatolia.

iketaios (W-02) very likely derives from the Greek PN Ἱκέτας.

kạliyạ (dat. *kạliyay*, B-05) corresponds to Καλλίας in the Greek part of this bilingual inscription.

ḳ̣λευμαχοι (MPh-01 = W-11) is clearly the PN Κλεόμαχος (Κλευ- instead of Κλεο- occurs once in the Greek inscription from Caria *IK* Rhod. Peraia 302, but it is more frequent in central Greece and the Aegean Islands).

λευκις (11.2 = 18, dat. λευκιωι) renders the common Greek name Λεύκιος, taking thematic inflection despite the nom. form (with the shift -ιο- > -ι- also found in Greek inscriptions from Phrygia).

muksos (G-346) is the Greek name Μόψος ~ Μόξος (Myc. *mo-qo-so* and *mo-qo-so-jo*) also found in HLuw. *Muksasa-* (the bilingual KARATEPE I § 21) and Phoenician *mpš* (in the same inscription).

νικοστρατ̣ος (MPh-01 = W-11) is clearly the Greek PN Νικόστρατος.

pseṛ²keyoy (Dd-101, if it is not read as *pseu²keyoy*) can be equated to Greek Σπερχειός (Pisani 1982), a PN found in Roman Caria (Tralles 83, the form Σπερχύλειος is attested in Ephesos and Smyrna and Σπερχὶς in Thessalia).

The DN διουνσιν (6.1 = 88) can be added to the list of Greek onomastics in Phrygian, since it is clearly related to Διόνῡσος. However, its spelling is problematic, as it seems to show a syncope διόνῡσ- > *διονσ- > διουν- and the thematic ending spelled with -ι- instead of the common -ου- seen in σεμιν (53.1 = 76 and 61.1 = 100) for σεμουν (see Lubotsky 1989b, 153, against Brixhe 1999, 308, who did not rule out a "théonyme autochtone").

4.6.1.5 Phrygian Borrowings in Greek

There are many Phrygian words in Ancient Greek works. However, most of them are names (anthroponyms, DNs and toponyms), mere glosses in *lexica*, or are identified as Phrygian, not Greek. Consequently, only a few words can be considered true borrowings in Greek.[92] Some of these are clear because the words occur in the Phr. epigraphic corpora. This is the case of βεῦδος 'woman's dress, statue', a borrowing from OPhr. *bevdos* 'statue' (B-05, see Lubotsky 2008) introduced into the Greek literary tradition by the Lesb. poetry (Sappho 155). Also, δοῦμος 'cultic association' is a Phrygian borrowing attested as *duman* (B-01, sg. acc.) and δοῦμε (1.1 = 48, sg. dat.). The Greek form is attested for the first time in Hipponax 40.2 and occurs in the work of other poets; however, it is mainly documented in Greek inscriptions (see Polito 2004). Another Phrygian word in Greek literature is γλουρός, -οῦ 'gold', used by Besantinus in his famous *Bomos* calligram (*AP* 15.25, 7). The first Phrygian inscription written in the Greek alphabet (W-12) confirmed the gloss of Hsch. γ 659: γλούρεα· χρύσεα. Φρύγες ⟨καὶ⟩ γλουρός· χρυσός 'g.: golden things. Phrygians. Also g.: gold'. Indeed, the Phrygian word γλουρεος is a cognate of Greek and both go back to PIE $*ǵ^{h}l̥h_3$- 'green, yellow'. Less clear is the status of ἄκολος 'bit, morsel' (*Od.* 17.222), which some think came from Phrygian ακκαλος (54.1 = 76, 63.2 = 33 and 55.1 = 108, ακαλα 4.1 = 2). Its etymon is unclear. However, I have suggested a borrowing

92 Although PN are not considered here, glosses are studied in § 6.

from Assyrian *akalu* 'bread'. In any case, if both words share the same origin, the Greek form can only be explained as showing a vocalic dissimilation *a_a* > *a_o*.

Words not attested in the Phrygian inscriptions or in glosses are hard to detect. A possible example is κῖκυς, -υος 'strength, power' (derivatives ἄκικυς, -υος 'without strength, weak' and κικύω = ἰσχύω 'to be strong' Hdn.Gr. 2.533). Beekes (*EDG* 697) suggests this poetic word is (non-IE) pre-Greek by; however, Mihaylova (2016, 321, following Van Windekens 1956, 239–242) assumes that "it continues **g^{w}ih$_{3}$g$^{(w)}$u-* from the IE root **g^{w}i̯eh$_{3}$-* 'to live, life'" (*IEW* 467–469, *LIV*^{2} 215), cf. with the same enlargement as Latv. *dzîga* 'live' and the Gm. formations **kwikwaz* 'alive': OE *cwic*, OIcel. *kvikr*, *kykr*, Germ. *keck* 'bold', etc. vs. Go. *qius* 'alive' < **g^{w}ih$_{3}$u̯o-*. As she observes (Mihaylova 2016, 313 fn. 14, following Müller 2007, 116–117), PGmc. **kwikwaz* is one of the core examples of Cowgill's Law (at least **h$_{3}$* became *k* between a sonorant and *w*), while Go. *qius* is considered the resoult of a dissimilatory loss of the second stop. Nevertheless, languages of other branches show the velar enlargement of the root (Latv. *dzîga* 'live', Lat. *uigeō* 'to be lively, be vigorous' or the perf. *uīxī* from *uiuō* 'to live'). Although none of the many lexica and grammars that gloss this word provides its origin—it is, in any case, non-Greek and with a very restricted use in poetry (*Od.*, *Homeric Hymns*, some Aeschylus's fragments, Theocritus, etc.)—a Phr. origin can be defended. Indeed, the development **g^{w}ih$_{3}$g$^{(w)}$u-* > κῖκυς is expected in this language according to Lubotsky's *Lautverschiebung* and our analysis of the labiovelars. The path of the borrowing from Phrygian to Greek can be found in the *Etymologicum Gudianum* (*s.u.* ἄκικυς): ὁ δὲ Ἀλκαῖος, ὁμοίως Ὁμήρῳ τὸν ἰσχυρὸν κίκυν καλεῖ 'Alcaeus like Homer calls a strong man κίκυς'. Although the poem(s) where Alcaeus used the word κῖκυς is (are) lost, this testimony establishes a parallel with the borrowing identified by Lubotsky (2008) of βεῦδος 'woman's dress, statue', taken from OPhr. *bevdos* 'statue' (B-05) and introduced into the Greek literary tradition by the Lesb. poetry (Sappho 155). Unfortunately, κῖκυς never occurs in the Phrygian corpus and this strong possibility cannot be corroborated. It is true that the OPhr. PN *kikos* G-284 can be taken as its derivative (< **kiku̯os*, gen.), but one cannot rule out a Greek origin for this name in light of Κίκος or Κίκκος (see Brixhe 2002a, 45).

Finally, some remarks must be devoted to βέν(ν)ος 'society of the faithful'. This noun and its derivatives βέν(ν)ιος (ad. said of Zeus, also as a PN Βενιος in NPhr. no. 66.1 = 103 and *MAMA* VII 214 and *MAMA* VII 214), βεννείταις 'members of the βέν(ν)ος' (pl. dat., *MAMA* X 304), βεννά⟨ρ⟩χην 'head of the βέν(ν)ος' (sg.acc. *IK Iznik* 1206) and βεννευε 'celebrate the cult of the βέν(ν)ος' (3sg. *MAMA* I 390) occur in inscriptions from northwest of Phrygia, also from Lydia, Bitynia, Gala-

tia and Pisidia.[93] It is commonly accepted that it is a Phrygian word related somehow to OPhr. *benagonos* (G-116). Indeed, leaving aside this OPhr. word,[94] βέν(ν)ος has been analysed in several ways but a satisfactory explanation of its origin is still lacking.

It was first considered a Galatian word by Cavedoni in the light of *benna*, a Gallic word found in Festus 32.14 and glossed in *Gloss. Lat.* 4.132: *Benna lingua Gallica genus uehiculi apellatur, unde uocantur combennones eadem benna sedentes* 'in the Gallic language a sort of vehicle is said *benna*, so people sitting in a *benna* are called *combennones*'. This interpretation was followed by Deecked (1882, 385), who suggested that βέν(ν)ιος was a Greek transcription of *Bennius*, a PN considered Illyrian but derived from the Celtic word. Ramsay, in his influential works (1887, 511–512, 1888, 367 and 1895, 157, 183, 188), followed the Celtic explanation, considering βέν(ν)ιος to mean 'he who stands on a wagon'. However, this explanation is not congruent with the area in which the text was found or the representations of this god.

Neumann (1961, 44) suggested a Pisidian origin, despite the lack of arguments, but this was never subsequently taken up. A second relevant interpretation was suggested by Haas (1966, 160), who considered βένος a noun with the meaning 'fertility offering' due to the context in which καρποί 'fruits' also appears (see, e.g., *MAMA* I 390). Following this proposal, Şahın (1978, 786–790) argued that the epithet Βέν(ν)ιος was related to Zeus as the god of fertility and weather. The semantics of βένν- considered by this argument fits the rural context of Roman Phrygia, but the authors did not explain the origin of the word.

The reference study of Ζεύς Βέν(ν)ιος was provided by Drew-Bear and Naour (1990, 1987–1988), who gathered all the occurrences of βέν(ν)ος and its derived words. According to them and Schwabl (1999), βένν- is a Phrygian term (because it occurs mainly in Phrygia) derived from a PIE root **bend-* 'federation, association',[95] and the meaning of βένος is simply 'cult association'. Nevertheless, the PIE root must be **b^{h}end^{h}-* 'to tie' (*LIV*^{2} 75, *IEW* 127). If indeed this is the etymology and it is a Phrygian word, the evolution of the cluster (PIE **-nd^{h}-* >) **-nd-* >-νν can be related to the 3pl. ending, where **-nt-* occurs in NPhr. as ⟨νν⟩ (see § 4.2.2.1.4).

93 On the occurrences and interpretations see Şahin 1978, 778–790, Drew-Bear and Naour 1990, 1987–1988 no. 19, Schwabl 1999 and Eckhardt 2016, 163–165.

94 See Lubotsky 2004, 232 for a possible analysis.

95 Even the Thracian goddess Βενδῖς is introduced in this discussion. On the etymology of this goddess, see Oreshko 2013a, 86–87, who thinks the Thracian DN perhaps means 'archer'.

Without considering the etymological problem, Eckhardt (2016, 165) suggests that the first meaning of βέννος in Phrygian was 'festival' or 'festive gathering', a word used "to designate cult communities, without a clear distinction between the participants of the feast and the feast itself." However, in Roman times "some inhabitants of northern Phrygia adapted their indigenous terminology to match new social structures," and the word then was used for "formal organizations" with members (βεννεῖται) and a head (βεννάρχης), although both the original and the new meanings coexisted.

Recently, Opfermann (2017, 72 fn. 89) suggested a new origin. In his study of the PIE root **g^{u}en-* 'fruitful; fertility', he suggests that the expletive verb βῑνέω / βενέω 'fuck' derives from a noun **g^{u}én-o(s)-* > (*)βένος 'fertilisation; pregnancy'. Consequently, βενέω may go back to **g^{u}en-é(s)-i̯ e/o-* 'fertilise' > βενέω 'fuck' (improving on first identification by de Lamberterie 1991). Although a noun (*)βένος is reconstructed in light of its derived verb, in an annotation Opfermann indicates this is the debated βέννος and, if this is the case, it may be a Thess. word introduced to Pisidia via the colony of Antioch. Note that in this city, a Magnesian colony, βέννος occurs with the meaning 'fruit'. Indeed, the development **g^{u}en-* > βέν- is only possible in Aeol. However, the word could come from Aeolis instead of Thessaly.

To summarize, two of the given interpretations of βέννος are still defensible: it goes back to **b^{h}end^{h}-* 'to tie' and means 'cultic association' (Drew-Bear and Naour 1990, 1956–1961, Schwabl 1999 and Eckhardt 2016, 165) or it goes back to **g^{u}en-* 'fruitful, fertility' and is a borrowing from Greek (*)βένος with the meaning 'fruit' (Haas 1966, 160, Şahın 1978 and Opfermann 2017, 72 fn. 89). The first possibility does not explain the occurrence in the inscription from Pisidia, while the second does not take into account the geminated forms.[96]

4.6.1.6 The Aeolic Role in the Greco-Phrygian Contacts

In the Greek borrowings[97] there is no evidence for the Attic-Ionian shift ā > η and, from a phonetic and geographical point of view, Aeolic stands as the most likely origin for them. Indeed, the Aeol. dialect retained the original *ā* in all positions. Then, ανανκαι (35, sg. dat.) can be considered a borrowing from Aeol. ἀνάγκα (Alcaeus 75,6, 249,9 and 298,2) and *sṭaḷ^{ə}a* (B-06) from στάλλα (in

96 In addition, if indeed **g^{u}en-* 'fruitful, fertility' is the origin of βέννος, a Galatian word cannot be ruled out. Note that **g^{u}enh$_2$* 'woman' yields **bena* in Proto-Celtic, OIr. *bé* 'id.', OW ben 'id.', Gaul. *bnanom* 'id.' (pl.gen.), PNs *Bano*[*na*] and *Banonias* (sg. gen., see Matasović 2009, 61). As far as I know, however, a form **g^{u}én-o(s)-* is unattested.

97 Note, however, that personal names in *-es* in Phrygian have inconsistent inflection, see § 4.2.1.1.4.

inscriptions from Aeolis and Lesbos).[98] Even Artemis's epithet *kraniyas* (B-05, sg.gen.) is very likely derived from Aeol. κράννα 'spring, fountain' (*IG* XII,2 103, Alcaeus Fr. 105,5; Att.-Ion. κρήνη, Dor. κράνα). Although the word is not attested in Aeol., ακροδμαν (116), a formation parallel to μεσό-δμη 'crossbeam' (Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 172), may be considered a likely Aeol. formation.

The contact with Phrygian is corroborated by the presence of at least one Phrygian word in Lesb. poetry. Indeed, Sappho is responsible of the diffusion of Phr. *bevdos* (B-05), and Alcaeus may be the origin of the poetic use of κῖκυς. Thus, we might assume that a linguistic interaction took place in early historical times between Phrygia and Aeolia. Even Lesb. poetry seems to show this phenomenon, although since many texts were lost it is impossible to determine its scale.

In such a scenario, one wonders if the Phrygian shift **-ans* > *-ais*, **-ons* > *-ois*, also found in Aeol., is an areal feature that occurred at the same time in NW Anatolia at an uncertain proto-historical moment. Indeed, we know that in Lesbian it cannot be an old feature because it is not shared with Tessalian or Boeotian. Consequently, it is possible that the shift occurred in the historical territory of the Aeolians in contact with Phrygian.

Such a relationship between Aeolic and Phrygian is more likely when one considers the alleged Phrygian influence on Greek music, a discipline closely related to poetry. In Greek sources, many πρώτοι εὑρεταί of instruments and melodies are said to be Phrygian, and new findings from Gordion (instruments such auloi and lyres, as well as depictions in figures and paintings) attest the strong relationship between Phrygians and music:

> These finds make it clear that over three centuries before Midas of Akragas won the aulos competition at Delphi or Euripides' bacchants played Phrygian cymbals for Dionysos, the Phrygian court had vibrant musical accompaniment, and percussion instruments had been incorporated into Phrygian ritual. These finds support the primacy of Phrygia in invention myths by showing that two distinguishing musical instruments had already crystallized by the end of the ninth century, when Greeks began to learn and appropriate major technologies of the Near East, most notably the Phoenician alphabet.
>
> HOLZMAN 2016, 541

98 Vassileva 1995, 28–29 considered a borrowing from Dor., but there is no evidence for contacts between this branch of dialects and Phrygian.

Nevertheless, the most interesting and clear connection is from the two sources that report that Midas married a princess from Kyme called Hermodike (Aristotle frag. 611, 37, Rose) or Demodike (Julius Pollux, *Onomasticon* 9.83).

4.6.2 *Phrygian in Contact with the Anatolian Languages*

4.6.2.1 Contacts between Hittite and Phrygian?

Since Phrygians settled in the central highlands of Anatolia, a territory occupied by the Hittite Empire until its collapse (ca. 1175 BC), the Hitt. language has been considered the origin of some Phrygian words and personal names. However, the status of Hitt. in the last century of the empire is disputed,[99] and it may already have been a dead language by the time the Phrygians entered Anatolian history. In any case, there is a five-century gap between the last Hittite texts and the first Phrygian inscriptions. Moreover, the only evidence of Hittite we have in Phrygian is two possible but problematic loanwords (other proposals are rejected in this work) and some onomastic material. In light of these few examples, and given the doubts about when Hittite died and Phrygian arrived in central Anatolia, it remains unclear whether Hittite and Phrygian were ever in contact or if these possible Hittite words were transmitted via other languages influenced by Hittite.

The most likely Hittite loanword in Phrygian is σαυναμαν (16.1 = 116), which Lubotsky (1993a, 132, followed by Gorbachov 2009, 106 fn. 32) argued was borrowed from Hitt. *šāmăna-* 'foundation(s); foundation deposit'. This meaning fits the context in which σαυναμαν occurs, a sequence of several nouns in the sg. acc. referring to different parts of the monument. However, there are two problems with this proposal: the shift *šā-* > σαυ- and the metathesis of its sonorants. Consequently, the hypothesis remains unproven.

Another noun suggested to have the same origin is *ploṛia* in *ploṛiaṭạ*[---] (G-132), which Orel (1997a, 453) considered a loanword from Hittite ^{DUG}*pulluṛiya* 'vessel' (see e.g., *CTH* 476 § 22, 95). This meaning is possible because the inscription was incised on a fragment of a pitcher. Nevertheless, the segmentation of the graffito is unclear and so, by extension, is its interpretation.

In addition, Börker-Klähn (2000, 90, also Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 72–74) considered OPhr. *sikeneman* (M-01b) a loanword from 'Syrian' *sikkanum* 'sacred stone, baetilo' (?) via Hitt. *sikkanu* 'id.'. However, this Phrygian sequence is better explained as *si keneman* 'this niche', as Lubotsky suggested (see 1988, 15 and Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 189, 192–193). Indeed, the inscription M-01b very likely refers to the addition of a niche to the Midas's façade.

99 On this question see, e.g., Melchert 2005 and van de Hout 2006.

The remaining material is onomastic. The Phrygian dynastic name *Midas* (M-01d-I, G-137, etc.) is commonly equated to *Mita*, the name of a king of Paḫḫuwa found in *CTH* 146 (sixteenth–fifteenth c. BC). Following Burke (2001, 257), Berndt-Ersöz (2015, 112) has recently claimed that this name "can most certainly be derived from the Hittite word *mita-*." Because the adj. *mit(t)a-*, *miti-* means 'red' in this language, she suggests a connection between this most significant colour in the Anatolian religious tradition and the Phrygian royal family. She also suggests that the Greek noun μίτος 'thread of the warp' is related to Hitt. *mit(t)a-*. However, the histories of the Hittite and Greek words are difficult to follow (see Kloekhorst 2008, 583 and *EDG* 958–959, respectively), and the spelling of the dental is inconsistent. Therefore, the origin of this name remains unclear and, considering how short it is, we cannot rule out that the similarity is a mere coincidence. A second royal name can be added to the discussion, since here *Urgi-* (in the patronymic gen. *urgitos* K-01 VI–VII a2) is suggested to follow the first part of the Hurrian name *Urḫi-Tešub* 'Teshub is truth' (*vel. sim.*) borne by Mursili III.

Other Phrygian PNs suggested to have Hittite origins are: *aiay* (G-319), equated to *Aya-* (*LNH* 23 § 3, see Brixhe 2002a, 75–76), *alis* (NW-102) and *ali-* (*LNH* 27–28 § 33–36, see Brixhe 2002a, 12).[100] In addition, Gusmani (1980–1981, 21–27; see also Beekes 2003, 19 fn. 21 with some remarks) argued that *surgastoy* (Dd-102), also found in Lyd. as *śrkaśtus*, derived from the Hitt. adj. *šarku-* / *šargau̯-* 'eminent, illustrious, powerful'. However, this is a problematic issue (see § 4.6.2.3).

Finally, the discussion must take in the name of the Phrygian capital, Gordion. The name never occurs in the Phrygian corpus, appearing only in the Greek sources (Plb.l.c., Str. 12.5.3, 8.9, Plu.*Alex*. 18, Arr. *An*. 1.29.3, 2.3.1, etc). However, it is a productive Phrygian term in polionyms since some cities in Phrygia or surrounding areas are named after it: *Manegordo* (*Itinerarium Antonini* Wess. 142.2),[101] *Gordos* (latter *Iulia Gordos*, Lydia), Γορδίου κώμης (latter *Iouliopolis*, Sarılar) and *Gordiutichi* (= Γορδίου τεῖχος 'Gordios' fortress', Liv. 38.13, Northen Caria). The etymology of this word is often considered to be the PIE word **g^{h}(o)rdh-ó-*, attested in Skt. *gṛhá-* 'house', Go. *gards* 'house', Lith. *gařdas* 'fence, enclosure, stall', OCS *gradъ* 'wall, town, garden', Alb. *gardh* 'hedge, fence', etc.). The form has also been compared to New Hittite *gurta-* 'town, citadel,

100 The PN *masa* (K-01 VI–VII a2) is also attested in Hittite sources as ^{m}*Masa* (*LNH* 115 § 770; see also ^{*m}*masa-muwa LHN* 115 § 771). However, this PN may be Luw. See § 4.6.1.2.

101 Like many other toponyms, *Manegordo* appears in *Itinerarium Burdigalense* Wess. 575.2 as *mansio Malogordis*, a clear deformation (see, e.g., Wess. 575.1 *mansio Mnizos* instead os *Minizo*). I follow Cuntz's editon of both *Itineraria* (1990 = 1929).

acropolis', a word thought to be a Luw. borrowing (Kloekhorst 2008, 465). Because there is no evidence for the presence of Phrygians in central Anatolia in the last period of the Hittite Empire, a Phrygian borrowing to Hittite is unlikely.

According to Simon (2016, 196–197), *gurta-* is highly unlikely to go back to **g^{h}r̥d^{h}-ó-* or **g^{h}or-tó-*, and he suggested a ptc. of PIE **k^{u}er-* 'to cut' (*LIV*^{2}, 391): **k^{u}r̥-tó-* > *gurta-*. The origin of Luw. *gurta-* is thus inherited. In a recent paper (2017), he argues that Gordion is not related to Luw. *gurta-* but is from a PN **Gordi-* (borne by the father of Midas according to Hdt. 1.14 and St.Byz.). If this is the case, the main city of the Phrygians was perhaps named after one of its kings (Bryce 2012, 41), while the city of Μιδάειον (e.g., Str. 8.12) clearly derives from *Midas*. In addition, according to Simon (2017b), the PN attested in Luw. as *Kurtis* (e.g., BOHÇA 1.1) and in Neo-Assyrian as *Gurdîs* is a borrowing from the Phrygian *Gordi-*, as well as Γόρδιος, Γορδίας, or Γορδίης in Greek.

4.6.2.2 Contacts with Luwian and Luwic Languages

Luwian is the Anatolian language that provided the greatest number of clear borrowings in Phrygian, including PNs, nouns and even one imprecative formula. This is not surprising. At the beginning of Phrygian history (ninth and eighth c. BC), Gordion's architectural style and several of its objects were related to the Neo-Hittite states, where Luw. was a prestigious language. Even Phrygian stelae were found in *Tuwana* / Tyana, the capital of Tabal. The contacts between Phrygians and Luwians were intense.

In the Phrygian corpus the clearest element is the Phrygian calque of a Luw. imprecative apodosis, found elsewhere in NPhr. inscriptions. The HLuw. text, KARKAMIŠ A 3, line 4, reads as follows: *wa*/*i-sá-* | DEUS-*na-za* | CAPUT-*tá-za-ha* | *zí-na-na* | (DEUS)TONITRUS-*tá-tí-i* | (LOQUI)*tatara*/i-*ia-mi-sa i-zi-ia-ru* 'and let him be made accursed by Tarhunzas among gods and men'. It is rendered in Phrygian as με δεως κε ζεμελως κε Τιη τιττετιχμενος ειτου 'let him become accursed by Zeus in the sight of gods and men'.[102]

Phonetically, there is a very interesting common Luw. contraction **wa* > *u* (Rieken 2001) *memeuis* (T-02b) for *memevais* (M-01b and M-02) on one of the stelae from Tuwana / Tyana.[103] See also ^{m}*Urawanni* > *urunis* (G-346). In Phrygian, there are three possible nouns borrowed from an unclear Luwic dialect.

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102 The first to propose the relationship between the two curses was Lubotsky 1997, 420. A Greek inscription from Teos can be added here: καὶ γενήσεται παρὰ | θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἐπι-κατά|ρατος 'let him become accursed in the sight of gods and men' (Strubbe 1997, no. 32).

103 I want to thank Adiego for sharing with me the identification of the shift in this Phrygian word (in p.c. 05/10/2017).

The first is *imroy* (B-01, *o*-stem sg. dat.), a loanword from Luwic **imro-*, a form attested in Luw. *im(ma)ra/i-* 'open country' found in HLuw. *i-mára/i* 'open country' and CLuw. *im(ma)ra/i-* 'open country' (attested in the gen. adj. -stem *im(ma)rassa/i-*), also in the toponym ^{URU}*Im-ra-al-la* (see Melchert *CLL*, 89) and in the PN *Immara-ziti* 'steppe man' (*LNH* 78 § 450). Adiego (2011, 327) argued that it also occurs in Lyc. and Carian PNs under the forms *ipre-* (rendered in Greek as ιμβρ-) and *m̃para-*. The second possible borrowing is τιαμα- '(burial) plot' (?) (with many spelling variants, τεαμα 15.1 = 120, τεαμας 7.3 = 14, 10.1 = 112, 21.2 = 43?, τ̣ιαμα 11.2 = 18, τεαμας 25.1 = 115 and τιαμας 9.1 = 87) which can be borrowed from a Luwic form close to CLuw. *tiia̯mm(i)-* 'earth' (< **dǵémo-* < PIE **dǵʰem-*), as firstly proposed by Orel (1997a, 463). However, a segmentation ατε-αμας (preferred by Lubotsky fthc.) invalidates this possibility. In any case, note that in *imro-* and τιαμα- there is no trace of the Luw. *i*-mutation. A third borrowing could be Luw. *gurta-* 'city', attested in some Phrygian polionyms, discussed above (§ 4.6.2.1).

The origin of the noun ουταν 'punishment, word, spell'? (53.1 = 76, 54.1 = 108, etc.) is less clear. Bayun and Orel (1989, 32) considered it a borrowing from Hitt. *uttar* / *uddan-* (n.) 'word, speech' or CLuw. *utar* / *utn-* 'word, spell'. Although this is very likely, the word derives from PIE **u̯eth*$_2$- 'to say' (*LIV*^{2} 694–695, see Kloekhorst 2008, 932–933), and one cannot rule out the possibility that it is an inherited Phrygian word derived from the PIE oblique form **uth*$_2$*-én*.

Finally, the onomastic material is relatively abundant but sometimes ambiguous. The clearest Luw. PNs in the Phrygian corpus are: *t̯uvatis* (G-133, see Innocente 1997, 325) equated to *Tuwattis* (a dynastic PN from Tabal, see Weeden 2010), *k̯uliyas* (G-127, also in G-101) to HLuw. *ku-li-i(a)* /kuliia̯/ (read in the Suratkaya graffito no. 5 according to Oreshko 2013a, 361, simplification of *Kwa/i-li-i(a)* /kwaliya/, also found in Cappadocia as *Ku-li-a* *LNH* 97 § 612) and *urunis* (G-346) ^{m}*Urawanni* (an ethnic in origin, see Melchert 2013, 37). The PN *Vasus* (P-02, P-03 and P-05) is the hypocoristic of a Luwian PN such as *Wasurunti(ya)*- (Malatya 1) or *Wasusarma-* (Topada § 2, *LNH* 207 § 1514). OPhr. *mamutas* G-229 (*bis*) has been considered to be Anatolian (Brixhe 2013, 58). Although the first element *ma-* is unclear, the second element *-mutas* seems to follow the Luwic form **muwata-* 'might, potency', which is very common in Anatolian onomastics: ^{f}*Muwatti-* (in Hittite texts, *LNH* 124 § 838), *Mute-* (Carian, Adiego 2007, 386), Μουτας (found in Greek inscriptions from Cilicia and Phrygia, *KPN* 339 § 989–2; see also Melchert 2013, 34), etc. In that case, note that the *i*-mutation is lacking from the Phrygian form. An exact parallel is found in Μαμοτης (from Lycia, Cau 2003), although there are some variants, including Μαμουσις (Cilicia, *KPN* 286 § 854), Μαμωτασις and Μαμοτασις (Pisidia, *KPN* 286 § 854–1 and 3). Nevertheless, OPhr. *mamutas* can also be considered ethnic in

light of Μαμουτηνός (*SERP* 319,2 l. 71, 73 and 76, *KON* 363 § 761), a Greek ethnic attested in the lists of Ξένοι Τεκμορεῖοι (from Roman Pisidia).[104] Compare NPhr. Πουντας (1.1 = 48) with Ποντανός (Haspels 1970, 338 n. 105), the ethnic of a village near Nacoleia.

The PN *masa* (K-01 VI–VII a2) occurs in Hittite as ^{m}*Masa* (*LNH* 115 § 770; see also *^{m}*masa-muwa* *LHN* 115 § 771) and in Roman times Μάσας (*KPN* 301 § 875–76; also 300 § 875–72 fem. PNs derived from it) occurs in Pisidia/Southern Phrygia, Lycia, Galatia and, recently, Cicilia (see Laflı 2017, 166). It is very likely derived from the Luwic word *massan-* 'god', attested in CLuw. *mašša(i)-*, HLuw. DEUS-*n(i)-* (= /massan(i)-/?), Lyc. *mahan(a)-* and, perhaps, Carian *msn-* in the PN *msnord-* (see Adiego 2007, 385).[105]

The PN *alus* (G-204, W-08–W-10) may be added to this list, since it seems to be the Hitt. *Al(l)uwa-* (*LNH* 28 § 39) with the common Luw. contraction *-uwa-* > *-u-* (see Rieken 2001). This name also occurs in Lyd. as *alus* (49,2, see Gusmani 1964, 56, also in the Greek inscription from Lydia *TAM* V,1 579 as Αλυς). OPhr. *ạtriyạs* (B-05) is also unclear but may be related to HLuw. *atri(ya)-* 'personal, soul' (ALEPPO 6 § 3 COR-*i-sa*).

An interesting fem. PN is ουεναουιας, which occurs in the bilingual inscription no. 6.1 (= 88) in gen. ουεναουιας, also as Οὐεναουιη (dat.) in the Greek text of the same epitaph (*MAMA* I, 216–217 no. 413) and other Greek inscriptions from Phrygia (*KPN* 396 § 1153): Ουεναυια (nom., *MAMA* I 393, near Midas City, *MAMA* V 243, from Nacoleia, *MAMA* I 234, from Laodikeia Katakekaumene) and Ουεναυιη (*MAMA* VIII 100, also from Laodikeia). Following Dressler (1964), it can be analysed as a fem. Luw. PN *-wiya*.[106] Nevertheless, the first element *wena-* remains unclear. Laroche (1966, 640, also Brixhe 2013, 67) related it to the Hitt. PNs in *Wanni* and HLuw. *wani-* 'stele', although this last word is indeed *wanid-* (*CHLI s.u.*) and must be rejected. Phrygian ουενα- may follow the HLuw. PN *Wana-* (*wa/i-na-sa* SCRIBA-*la-sá* 'Wanas [was] the scribe', in KARABURUN § 14) and *-wiya* > -ουια is only used to make the fem. form, if it "came to be perceived in some dialectal communities as a suffix of female onomastics, pure and simple," as Yakubovich cautiously suggested (2013, 107–108).

The name of Midas's father, Γορδίας, Γόρδιος, or Γορδίης (as reported by Greek sources; see 4.7.2.1.), can be added to this list. It is likely the same PN found

104 On these inscriptions see Blanco-Pérez 2016. Note that many Phrygian men are listed.

105 Note that this word "can be used as an argument for the dialectology of the Anatolian language branch" (Kloekhorst 2008, 764), since it is not found in other Anatolian languages. Indeed, PIE **diēu-* yields Hitt. *šīuna(na)-*, Palaic *tiuna-* and Lyd. *cẇ-*, all with the meaning 'god'.

106 On this, see Yakubovich 2013, 94–95, who argued that originally names in *-wiya* (normally following deities, toponyms and other first members) meant 'X sent (her)'.

in Luw. *Kurtis* and the origin of the name of the Phrygian capital, Gordion. Finally, the mother goddess epithet *areyastin* (W-01a) seems to be somehow related to Luw. *ari*(*ya*)- 'raise; check, restrain', a cognate of Hitt. *arā*(*i*)- 'id.' and Lyc. *erije*- 'raise, levy' (see CLL 27). Note that, because of this etymology, the Phrygian form could be derived from an oronym, and many epithets of *Matar* derived from such names. Perhaps a Sidetic name can be added to this list, if it is accepted that Phrygian *si*↑*idos* (G-105, HP-110 and G-346) is indeed the Sidetic PN *śdi*↑*s* (S6) with a metathesis in the Phr. renderering: **sidi*↑*os* > *si*↑*idos* (but see Schürr 2017, 4 fn. 13). However, this interpretation cannot be proved (see also Nikolaev 2017, fn. 23).

Finally, Brixhe (1983, 128; 1994, 176 and 2008, 79) claimed that the hesitation between the masc.nom. of the PN with and without *-s* in Phrygian PNs (also attested in a Greek inscription from Phrygia, see Brixhe 1987a, 78–79) also illustrates the Anatolian influence on Phrygian. Indeed, the distinction between masc. and fem. does not occur in Anatolian, but in Phrygian, as well as in Greek, an *a*-stem masc. is expected to have an *-s* ending in the nominative and *-ø* in fem.: compare the masc. PN *midas* (M-01d I, G-137 and HP-102) with the fem. [*l*ʔ]*ạgineiạ* (G-276). Nevertheless, masc. PNs without *-s* are commonly found (*baba* M-01b and G-121), even in other stems: compare *voines* (G-129 and G-286) with *voine* (G-228) and *manes* (B-07) with *mane* (Dd-103).

4.6.2.3 Contacts with Lydian

The Lydians were the Phrygians's neighbours to the east and ruled over Phrygia between 650 and 540 BC. Because of this, some Phrygian words and some PNs clearly have a Lydian origin. The two Lyd. borrowings I propose here in fact remain unclear, although they fit their context. The first is OPhr. *asenan* (B-05, from Vezirhan, an area strongly influenced by Lydian culture), which I suggest comes from Lyd. *asinas* '(part of a) grave' (Sardes no. 4; "an isolated substitute for *wãna*- in the later inscriptions," Schürr p.c.). Then, Phrygian †*iv*† ⟨*s*⟩*imun inmeney ạsenạn dạket* (B-05) could be translated as 'whoever puts a tomb in this shrine…'. The second, which is even less clear, is μρο(ς) (29.1 = 114) and/or μδυει (14.1 = 3, both from western Phrygian), which could be borrowed from *mru*- 'stele' (Sardes no. 2, 12, etc.). If we accept this proposal, the protasis ιος νι [σ]εμον κν[ου]μανη κακον αβ̣β̣ε|ρετ ατ νουκτον μρος σας can mean 'whoever brings harm to this tomb through the destruction? of this stele'. In addition, Orel (1997a, 310, 461) suggested OPhr. *tesan* (T-02b) to be a borrowing from Lyd. *tasẽv* (No. 40, from Pergamon), although this possibility remains unclear.

One may wonder whether Phrygian PNs in *-es* shared with Lyd. in fact originated in Lydian: compare *manes* (B-07) with Lyd. *manes* (see Gusmani 1964, 163) and *ates* (M-01a, W-08, etc.) with the poss. adj. *ateliš* 'of Ates' (Gusmani

1964, 69). Another shared PN is OPhr. *alus* (W-08, W-09 and W-10) = Lyd. *alus* (49,2, see Gusmani 1964, 56), which could be borrowed from Luw. (see § 4.6.2.3).

Finally, we must add to this list the form *surgastoy* (Dd-102), corresponding to Lyd. *śrkaśtus*, which occurs in inscription no. 11: *šarištrosλ šrkaštus katowališ sulos* 'Surgastos the son[?] of Kadoas for Śariśtros'. The Lyd. form is considered a PN (Gusmani 1964, 199 and *eDIANA*, *s.u.*) and seems to be derived from an Anatolian adj. somehow related to Hitt. *šarku-* / *šargau̯-* 'eminent, illustrious, powerful' (Gusmani 1980–1981, 21–27; see also Beekes 2003, 19 fn. 21 with some remarks). Alternatively, Schürr (2006, 1583–1584) considered it a Lydian formation: *Šr-kaš-tu-*. However, it is unclear whether Phrygian *surgastoy* (Dd-102) refers to a man or to a god.[107] Avram (2016b, 73–74) considered that the bowl on which this name in dat. was engraved is an offering to a god called *surgasto-* because it appears in Greek inscriptions as an epithet of Zeus: Ζεὺς Συργάστης or Συργαστειος (on several coins dated to Imperial Roman times from Tion, modern Filyos, Bithynia, Head 1911, 518) and Διὶ Συργαστῳ (*SEG* 48.984, from Apulum, Dacia Superior).[108] One inscription from Hadrianopolis (Pontus-Bithynia) also reports an agon devoted to Συργάστης / Συργάστος called Συργάστιον (Laflı and Christof 2012, no. 24). Finally, this DN occurs in a Lat. inscription as *Surgasteo* (*CIL* V 4206, from Brixia, Italy) and is very likely the origin of the name *Sergestus* found in Verg. *Aen.* (said to be the origin of the Sergian family).[109] It is not clear whether this name is a Phrygian formation derived from an Anatolian word or if it is in fact Lydian. As far as we know, the first possibility is preferable, because the suffix *-st-* is a common feature of Phrygian DNs and PNs from the Phrygian cultural area that seem to be derived from Anatolian names. The DNs are *areyastin* (epithet of *Matar* in W-01a) and Ἄγδιστις (epithet

107 Avram (2016b, 74) also suggests that it appears in OPhr. G-113 [---]*a*[?]*stoipitave*[---], which he restores as [*Surg*]*astoi*, and G-164 [-?-].*astoy*, tentatively restored as [*Surg*]*astoy*. As well as Σαρνενδηνος, another epiklesis of Zeus derived from a Phrygian word, the presence of this epithet in Dacia is explained as "introduced by colonists from Asia Minor after 106 AD" (Avram 2016b, 77).

108 Note also that Mordtmann 1878, 292 considered that this divinity is the same found as θεῷ Σουρεγεθη (*IGBulg* III,1 1293), θεῷ ἐπιφανῖ ἐπηκόο Σουρηγεση (= ἐπηκόῳ Σουρεγεθη, *IGBulg* V 5329), Θεοῦ Σουρεγέθου (*BCH* 60 (1936) 336), Ἥρωι Σουρεγεθιη (read Σουρεγεθ⟨ηι⟩, *SEG* 53.724, *AnnÉp* (2003) 1565 and *AnnÉp* (2008) 1211), κυρίῳ Ἄρηι Σουρεγεθη Ϛελλη[νῳ] (*IGBulg* V 5610) in Macedonia, Thrace and Moesia Inferior during Roman Imperial times. However, such an identification is hard to substantiate: in these inscriptions it is identified not with Zeus but with Ares and it only occurs in a Balkanic context. It is true that Σουρεγεθη is similar to *surgastoy* and perhaps both names are etymologically related. In any case, it is not a Phrygian issue.

109 See Beekes 2003, 19–20, 47, who also suggests that Lyd. *srkastus* can be the origin of the Etr. PN *sekśtalus* (*TLE* 713).

of the mother goddess in a Greek inscription from Phrygia, also in Arn. *Adu. Nat.* 5, 5–6, Paus. 7, 17, 9–12, Str. 12.5.3 and Hesychius α 404), while of the PNs we can consider Μαμαστα (*KPN* 286 § 852–1, from Lycaonia), Μαμαστις (*KPN* 286 § 852–2, from Pisidia), Νενεστος (*KPN* 357 § 1025, from West Phrygia), Παπουστις (*KPN* 416 § 1201, from South Phrygia–Lycaonia) and Ερεμαστου (*KPN* 166 § 352, from Galatia). As can be seen, four of these examples are likely derived from a Lallname: Μαμα (*KPN* 281–282 § 850–1), Παππος (*KPN* 414–415 § 1199–21) and Νεν(ν)ας or Νενης (*KPN* 357 § 1024).

4.6.3 *Phrygian in Contact with Aramaic*

Despite the importance of Aramaic in Neo-Hittite states and in the Achaemenid administration, in prior publications on Phrygian the relationship between Aramaic and Phrygian has been restricted to the bilingual graffito from Gordion G-157 (fourth c. BC), a sherd with few letters.[110] However, the Aramaic influence on Phrygian is attested from the first OPhr. inscriptions, as G-249 (ca. 800 BC) shows, to the end of the Achaemenid period. Moreover, although Phoenician has been seen as the origin of the Greek and Phrygian alphabets, Aramaic cannot be ruled out as a possible source, since the Phoenician and Aramaic alphabets were indistinct until the eighth c. BC. In any case, Aramaic inscriptions (both monumental and quotidian) are found elsewhere in Anatolia and Phrygia is no exception, although Daskyleion, the satrapal seat of Hellespontic Phrygia, shows the strongest coexistence of Phrygian and Aramaic.

The only Aramaic borrowing attested in Phrygian is the term *se⅄el* 'weight, a shekel' (G-249), from Aramaic *šql* (also borrowed into Lyc. *siχla-* 'shekel' and Greek σίκλος, σίγλος 'weight, shekel'). It appears on a weight similar to those commonly found in Aramaic states, on which the unit of weight is incised (see Deutsch and Millard 2014). Moreover, the Phrygian PN *saragis* (B-108, from Daskyleion, and M-101) is very likely to be found in an Aramaic bulla from the satrapal seat as *SGRY* (Balkan 1959, no. 30, pl. XXXIVb and Lemaire 2000, II.4 no. 3; see also Benvenuto 2016, 33 and Benvenuto and Pompeo 2017, 35, who do not exclude a reading *SGDY*).

Nevertheless, Aramaic seems to have had the greatest influence on Phrygian in the phraseology of monuments. As has been argued above, B-07 is a funerary stele with parallels in another Aramaic inscription from the same city, Daskyleion: compare *me kos anivaγeti s=maniṇ*, which is interpreted here as 'let

110 See *CIPPh* I, 141 and 80 (with a reference to an unpublished Aramaic graffito from Gordion, inv. no. 9370) and Sowa 2015, 178.

nobody harm Manes' (see § 3.1.3), with *ʔl yʕml* 'do no harm!' (Lipiński 1975a, 151).[111] Both the Phrygian and the Aramaic sentences conclude the epitaph. So, here, similar prohibitions replace the most common curses.

More Aramaic echoes can be found in an imprecative apodosis, W-01b, read on a façade devoted to the mother goddess (see the details in the chapter devoted to Phrygian curses): *lakedo key venavtun avtay materey* 'and let him be taken by the same Mother'. Assuming Lubotsky's analysis of *lakedo* (2004, 234), the text is similar to Aramaic curses such as *wybʕh lh šhr wšmš* 'may Šēhr and Šamš search for him!' (inscription from Keseçek Köyü, Cilicia). Note that the verb *ybʕh* means "to search for, to look for somebody, also in order to punish or to kill him" (Lipiński 1975a, 150). Indeed, the Aramaic influence on this text could explain two oddities of this Phrygian apodosis: the unexpected presence of the copulative conj. *key* and the uncommon word order. The *key* 'and' can be equated to the Semitic "*waw*-apodosis." According to Pat-El (2012, 47–48), this term is "used for one of the functions of the Semitic coordinators **wa* or **pa* when it introduces the apodosis of a conditional clause or when it introduces a matrix sentence after a subordinated clause, mostly a temporal clause." This is exactly what we have in both the Phrygian inscription W-01b and the Aramaic inscription from Keseçek Köyü: *lakedo* ***key*** *venavtun avtay materey* 'let him be taken by the same Mother' is preceded by the subordinated clause *yos esai≀t materey eveteksetę́ʔy ovevin onoman daϒet* 'whoever puts his own name to this Mother *Evetkesetey*' and ***w***ybʕh lh šhr wšmš 'may Šēhr and Šamš search form him!' by *wmn byš | yʕbd ʕm ptkr znh* 'and whoever injury does to this figure' (trad. Lipiński 1975a, 150). Moreover, the Phrygian verb is commonly found at the end of the sentence. So, the unexpected word order of W-01b is also explained as an Aramaic calque in light of the comparison with the inscription adduced here. It remains to be explained why the writer preferred *venavtun* (sg. acc.) to, e.g., *avtos* (sg. nom.). Indeed, this pron. clearly refers to the violator mentioned in the protasis, who is also the subject of the apodosis.

The beginning of MPhr-01 (= W-11, dated to the second half of the fourth c. BC) also shows a peculiar word order in which the demonstrative pronoun follows the noun (and the adj.). Indeed, the other occurrences of demonstrative pron. in agreement with a noun always precede it: *si bevdos* (B-01), *si keneman* (M-01b), *sin≀t imenạn* (B-05), σεμουν κνουμανει (*passim*), σα του μανκα (64.1 = 81)… So, MPhr-01 has a particularly exceptional sequence. Given this scenario, it would seem to be another Aramaic calque in the light of *šmhʔznh* 'this funerary

111 Other translations: "let no one do harm (to my tomb)" (Cross 1966, 8–9) or 'que personne ne (lui) fasse de mal!' (Lemaire 2000, II.1).

stele' (lit. 'funerary stele this') found at the beginning of three contemporaneous Aramaic funerary inscriptions from Cilicia (Yukari Bozkuyu, Göller—near Bostanlar—and Kumkulluk).[112] Indeed, Old and Official Aramaic, as well as most of the Semitic languages, tend to place the attributive demonstrative pronouns after the noun they modify (Pat-El 2012, 95).

Consequently, although Aramaic has not been considered in Phrygian studies, its influence on Phrygian was strong, especially in the Achaemenid period. What is more, Aramaic influenced Phyrgian not only at the lexical level but also at the syntactical level, at least in formulae borrowed from the Aramaic tradition.

4.6.4 *Phrygian in Contact with Old Persian*

Old Persian influence on Phrygian is basically restricted to onomastics, as is the case with Lyc., although there are two possible PN borrowed into Phrygian. The first one is *bagun* (G-136), which Lubotsky (2004, 231) has suggested is a loanword from OP *baga-* 'god'.[113] Despite the break of the inscription containing this word, another Persian borrowing is likely. Indeed, the word *magọ*$^{?}$[---], B-108 *saragis*:$^{?}$ *magọ*$^{?}$[---] (dated to between the late sixth and early fifth c. BC), is very likely to be the well-known priest title magus, borrowed from OP *maguš* (also found in Baby. *magus*, Aramaic *mgšy* and Greek μάγος). Since in the OPhr. graffiti it follows a PN in nom., one can easily restore its *o*-stem sg. nom. ending: *magọ*$^{?}$[*s*].

PNs of Persian origin are more common than nouns, but not all are clear. The possible Old Persian PNs in the Phrygian corpus are as follows:

asakas (G-150c): This name was suggested to have an Iranian origin by Lejeune (1970, 74; also by Orel 1997a, 194, 416), and Schmitt (1982, 35) considered this possibility without being at all convinced. If both are right, this PN is derived from OP **asa-* 'horse' with the hypocoristic suffix *-ka-* and also occurs in Elamite as *Áš-šá-ka*$_4$ (Tavernier 2007, 118).

112 On these, see Lemaire 1994 and 2000, v. 10–12. There is another inscription from Cilicia (Ayvalik, near Aigeai) with the phrase *šmh?znh*, but it occurs in the l. 5 (see Lemaire 2004).

113 A second possibility given by the same scholar is merely etymological: an inherited word from PIE **b*^{h}*eh*$_2$*ǵ*^{h}*-u-* 'lower arm, elbow' (e.g., Greek πῆχυς 'forearm, arm' or Skt. *bāhú-* 'lower arm, arm, foreleg of an animal'). Although it fits phonetically, the meaning is not expected in the context. On the other hand, Lejeune (1969b, 293, followed by *CIPPh* I, 125 and Sowa 2008, 28) thought it to be inherited from PIE **b*^{h}*eh*$_2$*go-* with the meaning 'present'. However, this can no longer be substantiated from a phonetic perspective: PIE **g* yields *k* in Phrygian.

manuka (B-07): Brixhe (2004a, 81) saw this name as a noun, but its position after the phrase *va ḳnais* 'his wife' it is very likely a PN. In that case, *Manukka* can be considered the same PN found in the administrative clay tablets from Persepolis (on this PN, see Mayrhofer 1973, 189 *s.u.*).

μιτραφατα (1.1 = 48): Because of the similarity with the Old Persian PN **Miθra-pāta-* (a theofortic with the meaning 'protected by Mithra'), documented in Lyc. as *miθrapata* and *mizrppata* (Neumann 2007, 217, 218 *s.u.*) and in Greek as Μιτροβάτης (Herodotus 3.120–129) and Μιθρωπάστης (Str. 16.5, both variants refer to the same satrap of Hellespontic Phrygia), its identification is obvious (first proposed by Kretschmer 1898, 363, this identification is commonly accepted, *pace* Lubotsky 1997, 122). The confusion between letters for voiceless aspirated and voiceless plain stops in Phrygian and Greek from Phrygia is inconsequential.

𐤚uva𐤚aros (G-115, abbreviated as *𐤚uv* in G-224, §3.1.3): This Phrygian form renders a Median PN via OP **ʰUvaxštra*, also found in in Akkadian as ^{m}*Ú-ak-sa-tar*, ^{m}*Uk-sa-tar* and ^{m}*Ú-ma-ku-iš-tar*, in Elamite as *Ma-ki-iš-tur-ri* and *Ma-ak-iš-tar-ra* (Schmitt 1982, 27) and finally in Greek through Herodotus 1.73, 1.103–107 as Κυαξάρης (borne by the son of the Median king Phraortes). Kretschmer first proposed this (in Prott 1898, 363, see also Schmitt 1982, 34–35, Tavernier 2007, 466–467).

Less clear are the following three PNs, also claimed to be of Persian origin:

αδενπᾳṭῃς, αδεν⟨π⟩ατω (43.1 = 69): The reading is problematic and αδενπ|ᾳṭῃς was formerly read as Αλενπατης, while αδε|ν⟨π⟩ατω as Α|ρεοπαδε|ν ατω (see Hämmig fthc. a). In any case, the element -π|ᾳṭῃς probably has an Iranian origin, borrowed via the Greek language, since it can be equated to *-pātā*, like μιτραφατα (1.1 = 48).

aspę[---] (P-102): Brixhe and Lejeune (*CIPPh* I, 145) equated this sequence to the Median word *aspa-* 'horse' and suggested that it is a PN of Iranian origin.

pʔerbastidages (HP-101): Dinç and Innocente (1999, 69–71 also in Vassileva 2015, 94) considered it a PN with a Thracian or "Persianised Thracian" origin (whatever this means). However, Brixhe (2004a, 103–106) preferred to consider it a preposition *pʔer* followed by a PN *bastidages*, without clear origin. As can be seen, this word(s) remain(s) obscure.

While in Greek the common masculine Old Iranian PNs in *-a* became "either Greek stems in -ης or Greek stems in -ο (the genetically corresponding type)" (Tucker 2001, 776), in Phrygian the clear cases of these PN are rendered in either *a*-stems or *o*-stems: compare **Miϑra-pāta-* > μιτραφατα (Greek Μιτροβάτης and Μιθρωπάστης) with **ʰUvaxštra-* > *ϒuvaϒaros* (Ionian Greek Κυαξάρης). There are two Phrygian PNs in *-ēs* with a possible Iranian origin, but they remain unclear: αδενπᾳτης (if -πᾳτης goes back to *-pātā*) and *pʾerbastidages* (a highly obscure word).

4.6.5 *Phrygian in Contact with Elamite*

The attested Phrygian contacts with Elamite and Phrygian are restricted to the Phrygian clay tablet found in Persepolis among thousands of Elamite tablets from the end of the sixth c. BC and the first half of the fifth c. BC. This Phrygian text, HP-114, has the Elamite month name *ạṇamakạ*, borrowed into the Persian calendar (Schmitt 2003, 27–29, Brixhe 2004a, 125 and Tavernier 2007, 39, 83–84). The administrative nature of this text explains this loanword.

4.6.6 *Phrygian in Contact with Assyrian?*

Leaving aside the PN *kanutî* (see § 4.2.1.1.5.2), there is only a Phrygian word that could be borrowed from Assyrian: ακκαλος (53.1 = 76, 54.1 = 108 and 62.2 = 33, pl. ακαλα 4.1 = 2). It is found in two different apodoses: ακκε οι βεκος ακκαλος τιδρεροuν ειτου 'and let his bread *akkalos* become innutribile' (53.1 = 76, 54.1 = 108 and 62.2 = 33) υ κε ακαλα οουιτετου ουα 'let not him found his loaf?' (4.1 = 2). In this case, it is possibly a borrowing from the Assyrian *akalu* 'bread, food'. Perhaps βεκος ακκαλος refers to a specific kind of bread while in υ κε ακαλα οουιτετου ουα the plural ακαλα is the generic for food.

4.6.7 *Phrygian in Contact with Galatian*

The Celtic tribes known as Galatians occupied the west part of ancient Phrygia in the fourth c. BC, introducing a new language to the linguistic map of Anatolia. Nevertheless, Galatians did not produce inscriptions in this language, thus our knowledge of Galatian is restricted to PNs, toponyms and some glosses (see Freeman 2001). Despite the fact that Galatian is so poorly attested, the identification of Phrygian τευτους (62.2 = 33 and 62.5 = 36) as a Galatian borrowing (Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 177, Bayun and Orel 1988b, 156, Orel 1997a, 253, 461 and Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 194) must be refuted, since the ethnics *Ambitoutus* (established near Gordion according to Plin. *HN* 5.146) and *Toutobodiaci* (associated with Tectosages according to the same source) show that the word **teu̯t-* (borrowed from an unknown European language by some IE western branches; see Beekes 1998, 461–465) becomes *tout-* in Galatian. The only iden-

tified Galatian elements in inscriptions containing New Phrygian texts are the PNs Βωδορις, read in the Greek part of NPhr. no. 62.3 (= 34)[114] and equated to Gaul. *Borodix* (*CIL* 11.867, see Freeman 2001, 32–33), and Βρογιμαρος, read in the Grek part of NPhr. no. 2.2 (130). This last name was identified by Avram (2015, 205–206), the first editor of the inscription, and is also found in Gaul. *Brogimaros*. It is a compound of *brogi-* 'territory, region' and *maros-* 'great' (see Matasović 2009, 258, 280). The most interesting feature of the altar that Brogimaros built in Nacoleia is that the first text incised on it was Greek, while the two Phrygian clauses, as well as three more Greek texts, were added after his death.

4.6.8 *Phrygian in Contact with Latin*

The Latin influence on Phrygian is essentially restricted to a small number of PNs in the Greek part of NPhr. inscriptions such as Αὐρήλιος, common after the *Constitutio Antoniniana* issued by Caracalla (officially *Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus Augustus*), a useful dating limit *post quem* for many NPhr. inscriptions.[115] NPhr. δουμ'ετυου (22.1 = 9) < *Domitius* is the sole Lat. PN found in a NPhr. text. In addition, Neumann (1986, 80–81) suggested that μαιμαρηαν (40.3 = 31), read as /memarian/, renders Lat. *memoria* with the same meaning found in Greek μεμόριον 'memorial chapel or shrine'. In this case, μανκαν ιαν εσταες βρατερε μαιμαρηαν means 'stele which (he) erected for (his) brother as memorial'. Nevertheless, the most common opinion holds that this word is an adj. parallel to Greek μαρμάρεος, α, ον 'flashing, gleaming, of marble', although the spelling difference (μαρ- / μαι-) is not accounted for. Following this view, μανκαν ιαν εσταες βρατερε μαιμαρηαν means 'stele of marble which (he) erected for (his) brother'. With regard to onomastics, the Phrygian PN *davo-* (dat. *davoi* in M-06 and B-05) is found in Latin sources as *Dauus* (bore by slaves), as well as in Greek as Δᾶ(ϝ)ος. Finally, it should be noted that the Phrygian mother goddess is found in Latin as *Cybele*, but it is clearly an adaptation of the Greek rendering Κυβέλη.

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114 Its nominative Βωδορις occurs in another Greek epitaph (*MAMA* VII 335) from the same city, Sinanlı (Brixhe 2013, 63). A variant spelling of this PN is read on a gravestone from the late Ptolemaic cemetery of Hadra (Egypt), *SB* 3:7238: Βουδορὶς Γαλάτη 'Budoris the Galatian'.

115 See Ramsay 1883, 30 and McLean 2014,114–117.

CHAPTER 5

Lexicon of the Phrygian Inscriptions

𐤀 (*a*) – A α

***a*¹** (mark)
OPhr. *a* G-225, G-311
a[-?-] G-317, G-327, G-334, NW-108?
Single letter incised on potsherds. In G-225, ↑ also appears as an isolated letter, and G-327 has another undetermined sign. This letter in G-317, G-327, G-334 and NW-108 was perhaps followed by another that has not been conserved due to the fragmentation of the support. NW-108 could be read as *ḍ*[-?-].
CIPPh 1, 161; Brixhe 1997, 42–49, 50–52; Brixhe 2002a, 17, 69.

***a*²** see *ad*.

***a*³** and **αας** see *as*.

[-?-]***ạb***, [-?-]***ạbạ***, [-?-]***abas*** see *babas*.

αββερετ (verb) 'bear, produce'
OPhr. 3sg. sub. pres. med. *ạbretoy* B-05 l. 10
NPhr. 3sg. sub. pres. act. αββερετ 18.3 (6), 29.1 (114), 39.1? (11), 40.2 (12)
3sg. sub. pres. med. αββερετοι 10.2 (113), 17.5 (91), 19.2 (129)
3sg. sub. pres. med. αββερετορ 14.1 (73), 52.1 (75), 59.3 (79)
3sg. sub. pres. med. αββιρετο 35.1 (25)
3sg. sub. pres. act.? αβερετι 66.1 (103)
3sg. sub. pres. act. βερετ 7.2 (111), 8.1 (86)
A verb inherited from PIE **bʰer-* 'bear, carry' (*LIV*² 76–77, *IEW* 128–132, Gr. φέρω 'bear, bring, produce', Skt. *bhárati* 'bear, carry', Lat. *fero* 'id.'). In most instances it takes the preverb αδ (with assimilation of its stop, as well as αδδακετ; on the verbal formation, see *LIPP* II, 14, with parallels) and usually is found in imprecative protases in the same position as the more common verb αδδακετ (10.2, 14.1, 17.5, 18.3, 19.2, 29.1, 35.1, 39.1, 40.2, 52.1 and 59.3): compare 52.1 ιος κακον αββερετορ κνουμανει αινι [---] with 9.1 ιος νι σεμουν κνουμανει | κακουν αδακετ αινι τια|μας. Even the NPhr. middle forms are found in the same position as the active form: e.g., 14.1 ιος νι σεμον κνουμανι κακον αββερετορ αιṿι σας μδṿει or 17.5 [ιος νι σε]μον [κνουμανει] | [κ]ạκοṿ[ν α]ββερετοι α⟨ι⟩νι | ạṣṭαι σα μ[ανκ]ε… The presence of the

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two equivalent endings -τοι (-το 35.1) ~ -τορ can be explained by the coexistence of the inherited ending with a secondary formation in the light of OPhr. *ạbretoy* B-05 (with syncope, see Brixhe 2004a, 62). This OPhr. occurrence is found in an apodosis: B-05 *mekạṣ key* | *koyis ạbretoy nun ibey neyotạn ṇiptiyan sirun mireyun*. In the two occurrences of this verb without a preverb, its meaning is 'bring, produce, cause' (also found in Gr.): 7.2 βας ιοι β⌜ε⌝κος με βερετ and 8.1 βα[ς] | ιοι βεκος με βερε[τ] 'let Bas not bring bread to him'. In this instance, the formula is equivalent to 99 με κε οι | τοτοσσειτι βας βεκος, 'let Bas not give bread to him', as Hämmig (fthc. a, followed by Obrador-Cursach 2017, 309) identified in the light of Gr. parallels (§ 4.6.1.2).

Neumann 1988, 9; Neumann 1997, 22; Orel 1997a, 420; Brixhe 2004a, 62; Sowa 2007a, 74–77; Gorbachov 2008, 101–102; Sowa 2008, 104–106; Brixhe and Drew-Bear 2010, 164–165; Hämmig 2013, 144; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 183, 187, 191; Simon 2015, 21–22; LIPP II, 14; Obrador-Cursach 2017, 309; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1821, 1827, 1828; Hämmig fthc. a and b; Lubotsky fthc.

αββερετοι, αββερετορ, αββιρετο, αβερετ, αββερετ and ***abretoy*** see αββερετ.

abs (PN)
OPhr. *abs* G-166
Complete graffito incised on the neck of a vase. *CIPPh* (I, 147) equated to the PN *abas* (*KPN* 43–44 § 1–3) and considered that the loss of the last vowel could be a consequence of the stress, adducing the variant *bba* (M-04) instead of the common *baba* (M-01b).
CIPPh I, 147.

agariṭoi (adj.) 'devoted'
OPhr. pl. nom. *agariṭoi* G-02 a
This *o*-stem adjective agrees with the noun *petes* in the votive inscription where it occurs: *agariṭoi pẹtes adoikavoi*… According to Kloekhorst (2015, 116), it can be considered a deverbative adj. derived from the same verbal root attested in the participle γε-γαριτ-μενος 'cursed, devoted', which goes back to PIE **ǵʰr̥H-* 'desire, enjoy' (*LIV*^{2} 176–177, *IEW* 440–441). Regarding its beginning, he also considered *ad-* a preverb assimilated to the following velar stop. Following this interpretation, this word means 'devoted', which is expected in a votive text of this kind. Before Kloekhorst's analysis, it was misread as *agarṭioi* and considered a PN in sg.dat. which agreed with *adoikavoi*. Woudhuizen (2008, 183 § 5) equated it to Gr. ἀχάριστος 'ungracious, unpleasant'. Although this Gr. adj. shares its PIE root with *agariṭoi*, it is not an equivalent formation and even its meaning does not fit in this context.

CIPPh 1, 87; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 191; Lubotsky 1989b, 152; Woudhuizen 2008–2009, 183 § 5; Kloekhorst 2015, 110, 116.

†***agarṭioi*** see *agariṭoi*.

agipeia (PN)
OPhr. sg. nom. [-?-]*agipeia* G-135
Graffito incised on a fragment of a cup handle. Although more letters could precede the preserved text, it is likely complete. Consequently, Neumann (1988, 7) suggested that *agipeia* was derived from Ἄγιππος by adding the suffix *-eia̯-* and that it means 'the daughter of Agippos'; see a good parallel in *imeneia*. Although Ἄγιππος in never attested in Anatolia, this could be a good explanation. On the other hand, Orel (1997a, 185) read it as [*l*]*agiṇeia* in light of *lagineios* (G-110) and [*l*ʾ]*ą̣gineią̣* (G-276). Nevertheless, this possibility was previously ruled out by *CIPPh* (I, 124).
Brixhe 1983, 127; CIPPh 1, 124; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 90; Neumann 1988, 7; Innocente 1997, 39; Neumann 1997, 27 fn. 11.

†***aglavọy*** see *ae* and *lavọy*.

agomoi (PN)
OPhr. sg. dat. *agomoi* W-08
The inscription in which this word appears was engraved on a lone rock. The context is clear enough to conclude that, despite the lack of parallels, *agomoi* is a thematic PN: [-?-] *ates agomoi* | *saꝕʾta tedaes* 'Ates put these *saꝕʾta* for Agomos'.
Brixhe and Drew-Bear 1982, 70; Brixhe 1983, 115; CIPPh 1, 53; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 185.

ad (preposition) 'to, at, by'
OPhr. *a* NW-101 a II
ad B-05
NPhr. α 9.1 (87), 17.3 (7), 66.1 (103)
αδ 7.3 (99); αδ 2.2 (130)?
ατ 8.1 (86), 18.3 (6), 20.3 (62), 29.1 (114), 30.1 (39), 36.3 (94), 39.1 (11), 40.1 (12), 41.1 (45), 42.1 (101), 44.1 (61), 44.3 (67), 45.1 (65), 47.1 (51), 49.3 (85), 50.1 (54), 51.1 (80), 53.1 (76), 53.2 (77), 54.1 (108), 55.1 (56), 56.1 (57), 58.1 (72), 59.4 (106)
Preposition inherited from PIE **h*$_2$*ed* (*LIPP* II, 8), also attested, e.g., in Lat. *ad*, Oscan *adpúd*, Go. *at* and OIr. *ad*. Contexts where the preposition was in contact with words beginning with a voiced sound may explain the unexpected

preservation (if not a mere voice assimilation) of the etymological voice. It governs dat. (*ạd kạliyay* B-05; its voiced sound may be analogical) and is commonly attested by the DN τι- 'Zeus' in the NPhr. imprecative apodosis: 36.3 ατ τιε τιτετικμενος ειτου 'let him become accursed by Zeus'. However, it is once attested with sg. acc.: ιος νι [σ]εμον κν[ου]μανη κακον αββ̣ε̣|ρετ ατ νουκτον μρος σας (29.1 = 114). In many instances, its stop assimilates to the following one and the consequent geminates are often simplified in NPhr., ατ τι (42.1) > α τι (9.1), while in OPhr. the script does not represent them: *a tiei* (= NPhr. ατ τιη) /attiej/ (NW-101). Phr. *ad* is also a common preverb (with assimilation and often with simplification of the geminates): αδδακετ, αδακετ, αββερετ, αβερετ, ατετικμενος... According to Kloekhorst (2015, 10), it is likely attested in the adj. *a-garitoi* 'devoted' (G-02a).
Brixhe 1997, 42–49; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 183; Kloekhorst 2016, 116; LIPP II, 8; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1821.

αδδακετ (verb) 'do, put'

OPhr.	3sg. ind. pres. act.	*dạket* B-05 l. 11; *da⋎et* W-01b
	1sg. ind. pres. med.?	*dakor* K-01 VI–VII a2?
	3sg. subj. pres. act.	*dedasitiy* B-05
	3sg. subj. pres. act.?	*de⋎eti* NW-101 A I
	3sg. ind. aor. act.	*edaes* M-01a, M-01b, M-02, B-01, W-08; *ẹdaes* K-01 VI–VII b; *ẹdạẹ*[*s*] M-01f; *ẹdạẹ*[*s*] P-04 c; *ẹd*[*a*]*ẹs* W-02; [*e*]*daes* W-05 b
	3sg. ind. aor. med.	*edạtoy* B-05 l. 2
	3sg. med.	*odeketoy* B-07
	3sg. ind. aor. med.	*tedatoy* W-01a; *tedạt*[*oy*] B-05 l. 1?
NPhr.	3sg. ind. pres. act.	αδδακετ 1.1 (48), 2.2 (130), 4.1 (2), 6.1 (88), 11.2 (17), 15.1 (120), 17.2 (3), 17.4 (90), 20.2 (128), 20.3 (62), 21.2 (43), 22.2 (118), 25.2 (126), 37.1 (10), 43.1 (69), 53.1 (76), 53.2 (77), 56.1 (57), 59.2 (47), 59.3 (79), 60.1 (59), 62.2 (33), 62.3 (34), 63.1 (123), 64.1 (81), 65.4 (124); αδδ[α]|κετ 8.1 (86); ⟨αδδακ⟩ε⟨τ⟩ 5.1 (19)?; [αδ]δ[ακετ] 13.1 (122)?; ạδ[δ]α|κετ 30.1 (39); αδδακ|[ετ] 31.1 (29); [α]δδακετ 41.1 (45), 51.1 (82); αδ[(δ)ακετ] 42.1 (101)?; αδ̣[δακε]ṭ 45.1 (65); αδδακ[ετ] 50.2; αδ[δ]ακετ 57.1 (78); [α]|δδακεττ 46.1 (53); αδδακεκ 62.1 (32); αδδακεμ 62.4 (35); αδακετ 3.1 (97), 7.1 (99), 7.2 (111), 7.3 (14), 9.1 (87), 10.1 (112), 18.1 (4), 25.1 (115), 32.1 (93), 33.1 (28), 36.3 (94), 40.4 (102), 44.1 (61), 62.5 (36), 62.6 (105), 65.1 (20), 65.3 (21); αδακε[τ] 30.2 (68);

	αḍαx⌜ετ⌝ 33.3 (127); αδα|[κ]ετ 62.6 (105); αδα|κε 47.1 (51); αδακεν 18.2 (5); [αδ(δ)ακ]εν 17.3 (7)?; οδ[(δ)ακετ] 37.2 (27)?
3sg. ind.pres.med.	αδδακετορ 24.1 (40); αδδα|κεττo̤ρ 20.1 (63); [αδδ]|ą̣κετορ 12.1 (121); [αδα]κκιτορ 58.1 (72)
3sg. ind. pres. act.	αδοκετ 59.4 (106); δοκετ 38.1 (44), 50.1 (54)
3pl. ind. perf. act.	δακαρεν 1.2 (98)
3sg. ind. pres. act.	δακετ 36.1 (26), 44.3 (67), 55.1 (56)
3pl. subj. pres. act.	δεδασσιννι 2.2 (130)
3sg. ind. aor. act.	εδαες 16.1 (116) l. 9 and l. 11

A verb inherited from PIE *d^heh_1- 'to do, put, place' (*LIV*^{2} 136–140, *IEW* 235–239), Gr. τίθημι 'to set, put, make', Lat. *faciō* 'to do', Sk. *dádhāti* 'id.', etc. Unlike the aor., the Phr. present forms seem to have the same disputed element *-k*- found in Italic **fac*- (on it, see Berenguer and Luján 2005 and de Vaan 2008, 198–199), although in Phr. it is more likely taken from a *k*-aorist (cf. Gr. aor. ἔθηκα and perfect τέθηκα). The most attested form is 3sg. ind. pres. act. αδδακετ (see, however, Kor), with the preverb αδ-, attested in the common NPhr. protasis: e.g., 62.2 ιος νι σεμουν κνουμανει κακον αδδακετ… The forms αδακετ, αδδακεκ, αδδακεμ and αδδακεττ are variants with simplification of the geminates (αδακετ), hypercorrections (αδδακεττ) and consequences of sandhi (αδδακεκ and αδδακεμ, perhaps αδ(δ)ακεν 18.2). Even αδοκετ (59.4) and δοκετ (38.1 and 50.1) can be considered an Eastern phonetic variant because they are found in the same position: 38.1 [ι]ος ą̣ṇ ṣ̣[εμουν κακου]ṇ̣ κνoṵμμανει δοκε[τ]…, 50.1 [ι]ος κε σεμουν κνο[υ]μανει κακουν δοκετ… and 59.4 ιος νι σεμουν κνουμανει κακουν αδοκετ… The NPhr. middle forms αδδακετορ, αδδακεττορ and αδακκιτορ are also in this context: e.g., 20.1 ιος νι σεμουν κνουμανε κακουν αδδą̣κεττo̤ρ… The form δεδασσιννι is found once in a conditional? clause: αινι ουεβαν δεδασσιννι πατρες σεμουν κορο[υ]μανη σως κη γουμειε… Its sg. form, B-05 *dedasitiy*, is found in a protasis *yos niy ạrt sin≠t imenạn kạkạ oskạvos kạkey kạn dedạsitiy*… (see Hämmig fthc. a, *pace* Avram 2015, 209, who considered it a perfect form). Both δεδασσιννι and *dedasitiy* probably go back to a reduplicated form *d^he-d^heh_1- (without the element *-k*-) parallel to Gr. τίθημι. NPhr. δακαρεν (1.2) appears in a non-imprecative clear sentence: δακαρεν πατερης ευκιν αργου 'the parents put it *in memory*?'. Its sg. counterpart is perhaps found in δακαρ (11.2 = 18, e.g., de Lamberterie 2013, 38; see also *daker*), but it remains unclear. It must be compared to Lat. *fēcēre*, *fēcerunt*. The most common OPhr. form is *edaes*, also found in NPhr. 16.1 εδαες, an aor. used in monuments: e.g., M-01a *ates arkiaevais akenanogavos midai lavagtaei vanaktei edaes*. Its middle form, *edatoy*, occurs in similar contexts: W-01a *materan areyastin bonok akenanogavọṣ\| vrekun tedatoy* (with the preverb *t*-, *LIPP* II, 772). W-01b *da*ϒ*et* was considered a sigmatic form by Lejeune (1978, 788);

however, since it occurs in a clear apodosis it is more easily explained as being the same form *dạket* / (αδ)δακετ (see § 3.1.3.): compare W-01b *yos esai≻t materey eveteksetę̣ʔy ovevin onoman da⋎et* with B-05 †*iv*† *imun inmeney ạsenạn dạket torvetun ↑irạy*... The remaining forms are less clear. The OPhr. form *odeketoy* B-07 appears in a funerary stele in the part devoted to the circunstances of the monument: ... *va ḳnais manuka odeketoy*... The verb can be analysed as 3sg. ind. pres. med. *o*(*d*)*-dek-e-toy* of the verb **d*^{h}*eh*$_{1}$*-k-* 'to do', with the preverb *od-* (see οτ). This interpretation is given by Gusmani (in Gusmani and Polat 1999b, 158) and followed "sans doute" by Brixhe (2004a, 80). However, if the sentence means 'his wife Manukka made it', the expected form is *edatoy* (as in B-05) and it remains unexplained why the verb occurs in present, as Simon (2015, 24) observes, and why it has zero-grade in the root. However, the alternative, an aor. verb **od-e-ket-toy*, implies an unparalled root without clear origin and meaning. OPhr. *de⋎eti* (NW-101 A 1) seems to be 3sg. subj. pres. act. Brixhe (2002a, 6–7) also suggested the relationship with δέκομαι / δέχομαι 'take, accept, receive', but this cannot be substantiated because it goes back to PIE **deḱ-* 'take, perceive' (*LIV*^{2} 109–112, *IEW* 189–190) and a voiced stop is not expected in Phrygian. In any case, it occurs in an unclear context: NW-101 *de de⋎eti toTi a tiei*. Finally, Brixhe (in Brixhe and Summers 2006, 125–126) suggested that *dakor* (K-01) was the 1sg. ind. pres. med. form, although the damage to the inscription is such that this conclusion cannot be confidently drawn: ... | *enịyę*[---] | [---].*pa* ʿ *uva* ʿ .[---] | [---] ʿ *ṃạsa u*|*rgitos dakor s≻vebrạ*[---] | *tataniyeṇ*ʔ *ẹ̣daes* | [---]*le*.[---].

Haas 1966, 24 and 112; Lejeune 1978, 788; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 188; Bayun and Orel 1988b, 134; Lubotsky 1988, 22 fn. 11; Orel 1997a, 409 and 422; Gusmani and Polat 1999b, 158; Brixhe 2002a, 6–7; Brixhe 2004a, 52, 80–81; Berenguer and Luján 2005, 202; Gorbachov 2005; Brixhe and Summers 2006, 125–126; Sowa 2007a, 74–77; Sowa 2008, 98–104; de Vaan 2008, 198–199; de Lamberterie 2013, 37–40; Simon 2015, 24; Avram 2015, 209; Kortlandt 2016, 252.

αδδακεττ, αδδακετορ and αδδακεττορ see αδδακετ.

αδειτου and αδειτττνου see ειτου.

αδενπᾰτῑης (PN)

NPhr.	sg. nom.?	αδενπ|ᾰτῑης 43.1 (69) l. 4–5
	sg .dat.?	αδε|ν⟨π⟩ατω 43.1 (69) l. 9–10

Both forms are attested in the same inscription: εινεϙ μ|δους, ξευ|νε πειρ α|ρεοπ αδε|ν⟨π⟩ατω κῠϙυ|μαν [ο]ῠεκρ|ω δαδωνε|ι ονουειᾰ ει|ροι τε̣ αδ̣ενπ|ᾰτῑης δεουϙ̣|ιας μᾰνεις | δαδων κε | οκκαυγοι | ουρῠουσαε|ν. The reading and segmentation of this epitaph is not at all clear. The identification of αδε|ν⟨π⟩ατω was suggested

by Hämmig (fthc. a) in light of αδενπ|ᾳṭῃς. Since the PN δαδων also occurs in sg. nom. and sg. dat. in the same inscription, this identification is very likely, despite assuming the engraver's mistake with *pi*. The element -π|ᾳṭῃς probably shows an Iranian origin, since it can be equated to *-pātā*, like μιτραφατα (1.1 = 48), or in *-pati-*. The form αδενπ|ᾳṭῃς was previously read as Αλενπατης, while αδε|ν⟨π⟩ατω as Α|ρεοπαδε|ν ατω (see e.g., Haas 1966, 107–108).
Haas 1966, 107–108; Hämmig fthc. a.

αδεν⟨π⟩ατω see αδενπᾳṭῃς.

adi..[---] (PN?)
OPhr. *adi..*[---] B-01
This occurs at the begining of a large inscription describing a niche devoted to the mother goddess: *si bevdos adi..*[..] | *kạyarmọyo imroy edaes etovesniyo* 'Adi..[..] made this statue for this field…'. The only possible subject of this sentence is *adi..*[---], meaning that it is very likely a PN, despite being mainly lost.
Lubotsky 2008.

αδιθρερακ (PN)
NPhr. sg.nom. αδιθρερακ 40.3 (31)
This unparalleled PN is read in a epitaph: ας σεμουν κνουμαν αδιθρερακ | ξευνεοι αδικεσει αν | μανκαν ιαν εσταες βρατερε | μαιμαρηαν. Its ending has been explained as an assimilation of an original *-s* to the adjacent velar. However, it is not necessary since there are other PNs in Phr. ending with *-k*, such as *bonok*. In that case, the expected nom. ending *-s* drops after this stop, as *moḍroyanak* shows. The use of *theta* in this name perhaps suggests a non-Phrygian origin, since in the whole Phr. corpus it is only found in the Gr. loanword θαλαμειδη. However, we cannot rule out a possible hypercorrection in light of ϑ̣ιτ[τ]ετικμενọ̣[ς] for τιττετικμενος. On the basis of this reasoning, Neumann (1986, 82) equated it to the Cilician name Σαριδηρας (*KPN* 456 § 1376), although in order to identify the elements of this PN he also suggested the presence of Gr. Ἀντι- with the shift Ἀδι- attested in Phrygia (e.g., Ἀδιγόνη for Ἀντιγόνη see Brixhe 1984, 34). Alternatively, Orel (1997a, 332, 41) equated -θρερακ to Gr. θρέψις 'nourishing'.
Kowal 1984b, 181; Neumann 1986a, 82; Orel 1997a, 332 and 410; Brixhe 1999, 298–299.

αδικεσει (verb?)
OPhr. 3sg.? αδικεσει 40.3 (31)
A probable verb read in an epitaph: ας σεμουν κνουμαν' αδιθρερακ ξευνεοι αδικεσει αν μανκαν ιαν εσταες βρατερε μαιμαρηαν. This sequence has been segmented in several alternative ways, though none of them are satisfactory: e.g., Ξευνε οι

αδικεσει and Neumann (1986a) Ξευνεοι (ε)δικες ε(σ)αν (Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 169). Although its ending is problematic (why not *-t*[*i*]?), the probable verb seems to take the preverb αδ-. Woudhuizen (2008–2009, 183) read it as *adikesai* and equated it to the Gr. ἀδικέομαι 'to be wronged', but this reading is ungrounded and the equation is phonetically unexpected.

Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 169; Neumann 1986a; Lubotsky 1993a, 183; Woudhuizen 2008–2009, 183.

[***a***]***ḍoikaẏ***[---] and ***adoikavoi*** see [*a*]*ḍoikavos*.

adoikavos (PN)

OPhr.	sg. dat.	*adoikavoi* G-02 a
	sg. nom.	[*a*]*ḍoikavos* G-146
		[*a*]*ḍoikaẏ*[?][---] G-153

This *o*-stem word is attested in two graffiti incised on pottery, G-146 [---].....[--- *a*]*ḍoikavos* and G-153 [--- *a*]*ḍoikaẏ*[?][---], and on a votive slab: *agariṭoi pẹtes adoikavoi*... This last text has recently been interpreted by Kloekhorst (2015, 116) as '(these) feet (are) devoted to Adoikavos'. According to this interpretation, *adoikavo-* is a clear proper name, very likely of a divinity, as Woudhuizen argued (2008–2009, 197). However, such a god is not attested elsewhere, and a PN can be considered if the dat. *adoikavoi* in G-02 a is understood as an agent: 'feet devoted by Adoikavos'. Although the beginning of this PN in G-02 can indeed be considered the preposition *ad-*, since the other occurences are not clear about this question (a form *ad* + *doikavoi* cannot be excluded), the expression of the agentive dat. without preposition is well attested: see, e.g., 4.1 ... τιε τιτ[τ]ετι-κμενος ειτου 'let him be accursed by Zeus'.

Lubotsky 1988, 12; Neuman 1988, 13; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 191; Brixhe 1993, 333; Neumann 1997, 23; Orel 1997a, 159, 410; Woudhuizen 2008–2009, 197; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 189; Kloekhorst 2015, 114–116; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1825.

αδοκετ see αδδακετ.

ạdun (noun)

OPhr. *ạdun* B-05 l. 4

An unparalleled word read in the non-imprecative part of the stele of Vezirhan: ... *pạntạ vebrạṣ ạdun p*[?]*os key estạt pator.*[?]*ike*[...]*ẹ*[..] *ạndạti*... Because of its ending, it can be considered a masc. *o*-stem noun in sg. acc., a sg. nom.-acc.neuter or even a pl. gen.

Brixhe 2004a, 56–57.

ae (?)
OPhr. *ae* M-01f
ae W-09
ạ²ẹ² B-04
The three contexts in which this unexplained word occurs remain unclear: M-01f [.²].*as tuave|niy ae esuryoyoy totin ẹḍaẹ*[*s*], W-09 *si*↑*eto ae alus* and B-04 *ḷami²b²aẏ²ạymokveṣ amp²i ạ²ṃ²ọp²tov²a*↑*iy ạ²ẹ² lavọy ue | eḍạviy p²is² ạṇernevey*. Following a first suggestion by *CIPPh* (1, 17, 54), Brixhe (2004, 41) considered it a preposition. However, this is not probable in light of W-09, where it occurs after a verb and followed by a noun, very likely in sg. nom. He also thought it to be a spelling variant of a *aey*.
Haas 1969, 73–78; Brixhe and Drew-Bear 1982, 80–81; Brixhe 1983, 117; CIPPh 1, 17, 54; Brixhe 1990, 70–71; Brixhe 2004a, 32–42.

aeiketio[.²] (?)
OPhr. *aeiketio*[.²] P-06
It occurs in an eroded inscription engraved on an stepped monument: [-?-]*a²kiti²... s ai ios aeiketio*[.?] *ivi..se*.[.²]*n²*. Since *ios* revails that the yod is not used in this inscription, a segmentation *aei ketio*[.?] is also defensible, in which case *aei* is a graphic variant of *aey*.
CIPPh 1, 243.

aey (verb?)
OPhr. 3sg. perf.? *aey* W-01a, B-01 l. 8
It appears in obscure contexts on two cultic monuments: W-01a *yos tutut ... ạ.m.noy akenanogavos aey* (an imprecative protasis?) and B-01 ... *kavarmoyun matar otekonov* (.²) *kesiti oyvos aey apaktneni pakray evkobeyan epaktoy*... It can be also attested in P-06 as *aei*, although the segmentation is unclear (as are the reading and the context): *ios aeiketio* [.?] *ivi..se*.[.?]*n²*. Although many interpretations have been suggested, none is conclusive. Perhaps the most elaborated one is that of Lubotsky (1988, 17–18 and later still in Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 192), who considered it a 3sg. perf. reduplicated form inherited from the PIE verb **h₁es-* 'to be' (*LIV*² 241–242, *IEW* 340–341): **h₁es-h₁-e-i* (with a secondary *-i*). According to Lubotsky, then, it makes sense in W-01, where this protasis translated as 'whoever ... may become an *akenanogavos*' can be equated to a well-attested imprecative formula in Anatolia and Syria 'whoever becomes king after me...' (see, e.g., HLuw. KARKAMIŠ A2 + 3 § 18–19). By contrast, Brixhe (1990, 72) considered it a sg. dat. pronoun inherited from PIE **e/o-* and suggested that *ae* is a variant of *aey*. This tentative hypothesis can be supported by *ke* ~ *key*, although the contexts of *ae* are also obscure. Woudhuizen's proposal (2008–

2009, 183 § 4) must be rejected: he equated *aey* and even *ay* to the Gr. conj. ἤ, ἠέ 'or', which goes back to a PIE form *h_1ē-u̯e (*EDG* 57). The glide *-u̯- is preserved in such a position in Phr. In any case, in W-01a and B-01 a conjungion is hardly defensible.

Haas 1969, 73–78; Brixhe and Drew-Bear 1982, 80–81; Brixhe 1983, 117; CIPPh I, 17, 38–39, 54; Lubotsky 1988, 17–18; Brixhe 1990, 70–71; Brixhe 2004a, 32–42; Sowa 2007a, 86; Woudhuizen 2008–2009, 183; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 192; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1828.

avara[.?] (?)
OPhr. *avara*[.?] M-04
Read in an inscription engraved on an stepped monument: *ạkinanogavaṇ tiyes moḍroỵanak avarạ*[.?]. Because it occurs in the last position of the sentence, a verb is expected (Witczak 1992–1993, 265). However, there is no basis to consider *avara*[.?] a verb (see *CIPPh* I, 23). Bayun and Orel (1988a, 180), after an ungrounded reading [*k*]*avara*[*n*], considered it a PN in agreement with *ạkinanogavaṇ*. Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 192), on the other hand, tentatively translated it as 'exalted', without any argumentation. In any case, this word remains unclear.

CIPPh I, 23; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 180; Witczak 1992–1993, 265; Orel 1997aa, 27; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 75; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 192.

avie[---] (?)
OPhr. *avie*[---] M-01d II
Read in a badly preserved graffito from the central niche of the Midas façade: *matera*[---] *avie*[---]... Although it is a very short sequence, Bayun and Orel (1988a, 178, also in Bayun and Orel 1988b, 135–136) considered it a verb related to the even more fragmented B-03 *ao*[---] and translated it as 'permit, allow'. Going one step further, Blažek (2005, 21) classed it as a verb in 3sg. aor. act. **e-eu̯i-es-s* (*sic*) with the meaning 'be favourable'. These interpretations are clearly ungrounded.

CIPPh I, 14; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 178; Bayun and Orel 1988b, 135–136; Blažek 2005, 21.

[-**?**-]***ạỵṣị*** (?)
OPhr. [-?-]*ạỵṣị* G-283
Unparalleled graffito incised on a fragment of a pithos. Perhaps, it is a PN.
Brixhe 2002a, 43–44.

avtay and ***avtoi*** see αυτος.

avun (?)
OPhr. sg. acc. *avun* G-144
This obscure word was incised on the bottom of a bowl or cup after a probable verb: *estatoi avun*. Its ending *-un* is ambiguous: it could be a a thematic or *u*-stem masc. sg. acc., a thematic sg. nom.-acc. neuter, a masc. sg. nom. in **-ōn*, or even a pl. gen. Bayun and Orel (1988a, 197) suggested a possible relation with the PN *aoa* (G-269). On the other hand, Orel (1997a, 190, 417) translated it as 'vessel', considering that it refers to the bowl or cup on which it was incised, although no etymology was identified.
Bayun and Orel 1988a, 197; Orel 1997a, 190 and 417.

a*↑*ios (noun or adj.?)
OPhr. dat. sg.? *a*↑*iiai* T-03a 1
sg. acc. *a*↑*ion* T-02b l. 2
sg. nom. *a*↑*ios* T-02b l. 5
A word only found in the fragmented stelae from Tyana: T-02b [---]*ṭumida* ⁝ *memeuis* ⁝ [---]|[---]*a* ⁝ *tesan* ⁝ *a*↑*ion* ⁝ *v*[---]|[---]*oitumen* ⁝ *mịḍạ*[---]|[---]*n* ⁝ *a*↑*ios* ⁝ *mi*[---]|[---]*ṇ* ⁝ *batan* ⁝ *e*.[---] and T-03aI *a*↑*iiai* ⁝ *polodrẹ*|*tes* ⁝ *poreti* ⁝ *ọtu*|[---]. Since it appears in fem. (*a*↑*iiai*) and masc. (*a*↑*ion* and *a*↑*ios*), it is very likely an adjective, although a noun cannot be ruled out (see *vrekun* / *vrekan*). In T-03, Brixhe (1991, 38) considered it a word in dat. sg. followed by a sg. nom. *polodrẹtes* and the verb *poreti*. In T-02b l. 2 it seems to agree in acc. sg. with *tesan*, a *C*-stem noun(?). In any case, the damaged context of all the occurrences means that no conclusive information can be gleaned. A relationship with the PN Αζιος (*KNP* 48 § 20–2, from Phrygia and Lycaonia) cannot be excluded.
Brixhe 1991, 38 and 41.

a*↑*ses (PN)
OPhr. sg. nom. *a*↑*ses* HP-109
A PN incised on a bronze bowl from Bayındır (East Lycia). Although it remains unparalleled, the other incised bowls bear common PN. Consequently, it may be a PN. According to Brixhe (2004a, 114–115), ⟨↑*s*⟩ is a reiterative notation of ⟨↑⟩ (considered ⟨ts⟩) similar to Gr. ⟨ξσ⟩, instead of the single ⟨ξ⟩ in some inscriptions. One wonders if this is a local palatalisation of the common PN *ates*.
Varinlioğlu 1992, 12 and 14–15; Orel 1997a, 318; Brixhe 2004a, 114–115.

***a*↑[*i*/*e*?.?] (?)**
OPhr. *a*↑[*i*/*e*?.?] NW-139
Fragmented graffito on the bottom of a small cup. Since ⟨↑⟩ is always followed by the vowels /e/ or /i/ (leaving aside *a*↑*ses*), Brixhe and Sıvas (2009, 137–138)

suggested the restoration *a*↑[*i*/*e*.ˀ]. Nevertheless, it remains unclear, as does the possible relation with *a*↑*ios* suggested by these authors (2009, 137–138).
Brixhe and Stvas 2009, 137–138.

ai (conj.) 'if, or'?
OPhr. *ay* B-03, G-01 a
ai P-06
NPhr. αι 40.3 (31), 56.3 (64)
Its function is not clear because all occurrences of *ay* are in fragmentary contexts. However, in most instances it seems to precede an imprecative protasis: B-03 *evtevey ay yosyos yenvṛạ* | *eti*≀*t evtevey me.oun laked*ˀ*ọ*..., P-06 [-?-]*a*ˀ*kiti*ˀ...*s* | *ai ios aeiketio* [.?] *ivi..se*.[.?]*n*ˀ and 56.3 αι κος [σεμουν του κνουμαν]|ει κα[κουν αδδακετ]... In these instances *ay* perhaps connects protases (in B-03 and P-06) and curses (in 56.3 the Gr. and the Phrygian one), but it may also be a conditional conj., especially in 56.3, 'if someone does harm to this tomb...'. This seems to fit in the restored protasis 58.1, [αι] κος ϰ[ακον αδα]κκιτορ, | [.] κε [.....]ε αυ̣|τος ειτου (following Calder 1913, 103–104). Either way, its function is similar to the compound conj. *ayny*. The other occurrences are even more obscure: G-01a [---]*ọ*ˀ*lavị*[---]*isvolkay* | ⁝ *dumeyay* ⁝ [---]*ḍeḍa*[---], 40.3 [... ξ]ευναν αι δμως βροκειω | [.....] δεκμουταης ιου | [.....] προ τοσου. On its origin, Brixhe (1978b, 4 and 1997, 57) equated it to the Dor. and Aeol. conj. αἰ and considered both forms the old locative of the PIE demonstrative-anaphoric pronoun **e*/*o*- (contrary to *EDG* 379), also *LIPP* (II, 348), where these forms are considered as inherited from PIE **éh*$_2$*i*. Woudhuizen (2008–2009, 183 § 4), by contrast, considered that *ay* is a variant of *aey* and equated them to the Gr. conj. ἤ, ἠέ 'or'. However, the contexts suggest that *aey* is not related to *ay*.
Brixhe 1978b, 3–6; Brixhe 1997, 57–59; Woudhuizen 2008–2009, 183 § 4; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 184; LIPP II, 348; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1822.

ai see *ay*.

aiasay (PN)
OPhr. dat. sg. *aiasay* HP-102
The inscrition HP-102, engraved on a silver cup, has a clear structure: *midas aiasay mạ*[---]*uṇ*, 'Midas (gaveˀ) this *mạ*[---]*uṇ* to Aiasa'. It is very likely a variant of *aiay*. Orel (1997a, 135–136 and 415) read it as *arosay* and interpreted it differently. However, since his reading is ungrounded, such an interpretation cannot be considered.
Gusmani 1988; Orel 1997a, 135–137 and 415; Brixhe 2004a, 106–108.

aiay (PN)
OPhr. sg. dat. *aiay* G-319
Read on a sherd from Hellenistic times, it is an *a*-stem PN, very likely a variant of *aiasay*. Note that both PNs share the spelling *ai-* where *ay-* is expected. Regarding its origin, Brixhe (2002, 75–76) suggested that it is the Hitt. PN *Aya-* (*LNH* 23 § 3).
Gusmani 1988; Brixhe 2002, 75–76; Brixhe 2004a, 108.

αιδομενου (participle?)
MPhr. αιδομενου MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 5
It appears in an obscure sentence on a large funerary stele after two Gr. PNs and one unclear word: νικοστρατος̣ κ̣λ̣ευμαχοι μιρος αιδομενου ματιν κισυις μ̣ο̣.κρος υιταν. Because of the presence of -μενο- (< *-*mh*$_1$*no*-?), it seems to be a middle participle. Regarding its ending, Brixhe (2004a, 20) considered it a sg. acc. masc. or sg. nom.-acc. neut. whose ending -*n* dropped. However, a sg. gen. or even a sg. dat. cannot be ruled out. On its root, he also suggested, e.g., the PIE **h$_2$eid^h-* 'kindle, burn' (*LIV*^{2} 259, *IEW* 11–12), attested in Gr. αἴθω 'id.', Lat. *aedes* 'dwelling, temple, shrine', and Sk. *inddhé* 'to light, set on fire', or **h$_2$eisd-* 'to be in awe, to worship' (*LIV*^{2} 260–261, *IEW* 11–12), Gr. αἴδομαι 'shrink back, feel awe, honour', Sk. *īḍé* 'praise, honour' and Go. *aistan* 'avoid, pay attention'. However, the similarity of αιδομενου with the perfect middle participle of the last Gr. verb, αἰδούμενος, or even with the adverb αἰδουμένως (derived from it), is so close that it can be considered a Gr. borrowing. In any case, it remains unclear. Indeed, Phr. αιδομενου cannot be inherited from **h$_2$eisd-* because the preservation of the stop as voiced is not expected.
Brixhe 2004a, 7–26; Sowa 2007a, 90; Sowa 2008, 114–115; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 192; Simon 2014a, 145; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1828.

†αικαν *ay* and καν.

aini (conj.) 'or, if'
OPhr. *ạini* P-101
ạyniy B-05 l. 11; *aynị* B-01
NPhr. αιν 7.3 (14), 15.1 (120)
αινι 2.2 (130) *bis*, 3.1 (97), 8.1 (86), 9.1 (87), 10.1 (112), 11.2 (18), 14.1 (73), 19.2 (129), 18.1 (4), 21.2 (43), 25.1 (115), 31.1 (29), 35.1 (25), 36.1 (26), 40.4 (102), 52.1 (75); α⟨ι⟩νι 17.5 (91); [αι]νι 27.1 (92), 61.1 (100); αιν̣[ι] 40.2 (13)
A compound conj. built by adding the particle *ni*(*y*) to *ay* 'if'. The form αιν shows an apocope before the vowel: 7.3 ιος νι σεμουν κνουμανει κακιν αδακετ αιν' αδ ατεαμ̣ας and 15.1 ιος νι σεμον το [κνουμα]ν̣ε κακον αδδακετ αιν' ατεαμα… It is found

with different functions. It connects alternative clauses (two imprecative protases) as disjunctive conj.: B-05 *iv*† *imun inmeney ạs enạn dạket torvetun* ↑*irạy ạyniy oy tubnuv nevos me deritoy*..., B-01 *yos tivo* [*t*]*ạ speretạ ayni kin te*[*l*]*ẹmi* [..]*toyo*[.]*is* [.]*erktẹvoys ekey dạ*[*k*]*ati*... and 11.2 ιος νι ουκρα|ον λατομειọν εγḍαες μουρσạ αινι κος σεμουν κνουμανει κακουν αδδακετ αινι μανκα... It also connects objects: e.g., 36.1 ιος νι σεμον κνουμα|νε κακον δακετ αινι | μανκα... 'whoever does harm to this tomb or stele...'. Finally, it introduces sentences, so it does not work as disjuntive conj. in four occurences: P-101 *ạini dabp²ula ịsini*, 2.2 αινι ουεβαν δεδασσιννι πατρες σεμουν κορο[υ]μανη σως κη γουμειε, καρπυς ειλικρινη εγο|υννου. αινι κος κακην αδδακετ κορο[υ]μανη σως κη γουμειε, τιττετι[κ]μενος ειτου, εικαδ αυτον μεκαν τιαν and 11.2 αινι κος σεμουν κνουμανει κακουν αδδακετ αινι μανκα... In the second example of 2.2 and in 11.2 αινι introduces a conditional clause, 'if someone does harm to this ground...', although in P-101 it is impossible. Here, Hämmig (fthc. b) suggested a meaning similar to Lat. *utinam* or Gr. εἰ γάρ, introducing a wish.

Brixhe 1978b, 15–21; CIPPh 1, 244–245; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 90; Brixhe 1997, 57–59; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 184; Hämmig 2013, 131 fn. 16; Avram 2015, 208; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1822; Hämmig fthc. b.

ain²[---] (?)

OPhr. *ain*²[---] G-289

Read on a sherd, a reading *aiṃ*[---] is not ruled out by Brixhe (2002a, 50), but the parallels with *aini* give the more probable reading *ain*[---]. In this case, it could be the conj. *aini*, which occurs once on another pottery fragment: P-101 *ạini* | *dabp²ula ịsini*. However, since in G-209 only a fragment of the inscription remains, it can be also considered a PN Αινας, attested in Pisidia, or one of its variants (see *KPN* 49 § 24).

Brixhe 2002a, 49–50.

ak (PN)

OPhr. *ak* B-105

This graffito read on a sherd is very likely an abbreviated PN related to Ακεπτος, Ακετας, Ακιερους, or Ακκα (and variants) attested in Roman Phrygia (see *KPN* 50–51).

Bakir and Gusmani 1993, 139; Brixhe 1996, 141–142; Brixhe 2004a, 89–90.

ακα[.²]ḍ̣εο (?)

NPhr. ακα[.²]|ḍ̣εο 16.1 (116) l. 7–8

An obscure word read in an unclear context: ϙμϙυσασαι ποσεκανες ακα[.²]ḍ̣εο ποκ γονιον τευτωσι... Although the sequence was first segmented as ακα[.²] ḍ̣εοποκ-

γονιον, Brixhe and Neumann (1985, 176) ruled out any relationship with ακκαλος and ακαλα because there is not enough space for the restoration ακα[λα] and its context is very different.
Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 176.

ακαλα see ακκαλος.

ακαλας (PN)
NPhr. sg. gen.? ακαλας 37.2 (30)
It has often been considered to be related to ακκαλος and ακαλα. However, it does not fit the inflection, and their contexts are very different. While ακκαλος and ακαλα appear in imprecative apodoses, ακαλας is found in a non-imprecative part of an epitaph, as the formula ευκιν αργου shows: [.....] δ̣ουδας ακαλας ευκιν αργου. It seems to be an *a*-stem PN in sg. gen., as well as δ̣ουδας and perhaps works as a patronymic: a diminutive of Ακκα, attested in Mysia, West-Phrygia, Galatia, Isauria and Lycia (*KPN* 51 § 36–31)? However, the text is damaged, making this difficult to corroborate.
Haas 1966, 67, 85, 223–224; Neumann 1971; Brixhe 1979a, 191–192; Panagl and Kowal 1983, 187; Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 176; Orel 1997a, 411; Lubotsky 2004, 236.

akaragayun (noun) 'altar'?
OPhr. sg. acc. *akaragayun* M-02
Because of its position in the inscription, it is very likely a noun that functions as the direct object: *bba memevais proitavo*[*s*] *k↑ianaveyos akaragayun edaes*. Moreover, although the etymology is unclear, since this inscription refers to the altar on which it was engraved, it likely refers to this monument itself: 'B(a)ba ... set up this *akaragayun*'. Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 187 = 2018, 1820) preferred to consider it a part of the monument. On its origin, Varinlioğlu (1991, 35) suggested a compound noun whose components are related to Gr. ἄκρα- 'highest or farthest point' and γάϊος 'on land, earthy' or γαιήϊος 'sprung from Gaia' with the meaning "the hight place which has sprung from earth, the hill-top terrace." Broadly following her interpretation, Orel (1997a, 23, 411) considered that the first element is the word attested by *EM* 617, ἀκαρός· σημαίνει τὸν ἐγκέφαλον ἢ τὴν κεφαλήν 'a. means 'brain' or 'head' ', and suggested that the first meaning of *akaragayun* was 'earth head' or 'earth mound', referring to the 'altar'. However, this is highly speculative, as is Woudhuizen's (2008–2009, 194) suggestion that it is to be equated with Gr. ἐσχάρα 'hearth, house, sacrificing hearth'. Finally, the proposal of Diakonoff and Neroznak (1985, 62, 114), who translated it as 'sarcophagum', does not fit the context and the phonetic equivalence is not defensible.

CIPPh 1, 19; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 62 and 114; Lubotsky 1988, 23; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 179; Varinlioğlu 1991, 35; Lubotsky 1993b, 96 fn. 2; Orel 1997a, 23 and 411; Woudhuizen 2008–2009, 194; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 187 and 189; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1820.

aka.[---] (PN)
OPhr. *aka.*[---] G-160
Read on a sherd, this graffito is likely a PN. The remaining strokes of the last letter could be accidental, so Orel's (1997, 198) reading *akaụ*[---] is a mere possibility. It is possibly related to Αχκα and its variants attested in Mysia, West-Phrygia, Galatia, Isauria and Lycia (*KPN* 51 § 36–31).
CIPPh 1, 143; Orel 1997a, 198.

αχε see **αχκε**.

ạḳenan (noun)
OPhr. sg. acc. *ạḳenan* P-04a
sg. gen. *akenạṣ²* W-07
This word is found in two different contexts. The first, W-07 is a very damaged text read on a cultic niche engraved on a rock: [---]*ṭ*[ ]⋮[ ]*ṇ*[ ] *ẹsagas* ⋮ *akenạṣ* [---]. Here, *akenạṣ* seems to be qualified by *ẹsagas*. On the other hand, the inscription P-04a is more legible and shows the word in an imprecative protasis, although its meaning is unclear: *otuvoi vetei etlnaie ios ni ạḳenan egeseti ọ²ḳ²irterḳọ*[..]. *tekmoṛ ot.*[....]*seti vebru*. Its origin remains unconfirmed, although Bayun and Orel (1988a, 184 and Orel 1997a, 46, 411) suggested a borrowing from Lyc. *ecãnẽ* with the dual interpretation 'tombstone'. However, since the context of W-07 is not related to funerary monuments, such a word is not expected. Perhaps their alternative, a noun derived from the PIE root **h₂eḱ-* 'sharp' (*LIV*² 261, *IEW* 18–22), is more probable since it can mean 'stone, rock', although the pattern of the Phrygian *akena-* is not a morphological fit for the examples they give: Skt. *aśani* 'sharp point' and Gr. ἀκόνη 'whetstone, hone'. Alternatively, Lubotsky (1988, 12–13) considered it "somehow related to the semantic sphere of foretelling" and suggested a derivation from **h₂eǵ-* 'to speak' (*LIV*² 256; *IEW* 290–291). The title *akenanogavos* derives from this noun.
Kretschmer 1899, 360; Sayce 1927, 29 and 32; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 184; Lubotsky 1988, 12–13; Varinlioğlu 1991, 35; Orel 1997a, 46 and 411; Brixhe 2008, 78; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 193.

akenạṣ² see *ạḳenan*.

akenanogavos (title) 'the holder of the *akenan*'?

OPhr.	sg .nom. masc.?	*akenanogavos* M-01a; *akenanogavoṣ* W-01a
	sg. acc. fem.?	*ąkinanogavaṇ* M-04
		ąkeṇ^{ʔ}ano[---] M-09?

This word appears in monuments related to the cult of *Matar*: M-01a (a façade) *ates arkiaevais akenanogavos midai lavagtaei vanaktei edaes* W-01a (a façade) *bonok akenanogavoṣ materan areyastin vrekun tedatoy* and M-04 (stepped monument) *ąkinanogavaṇ tiyes moḍroyanak avarą*[.^{ʔ}]. The fourth possible occurrence is in M-09, a badly preserved inscription on an undetermined architectural element: [---] *ąkeṇ^{ʔ}ano*[---]. On the one hand, since *akenanogavos* follows a PN in M-01a and W-01a, Gusmani and Polat (1999b, 156 fn. 61), Innocente (1997, 40) and, in particular, Brixhe (2004a, 60, 78) argued that it was a patronymic in sg. gen. derived from a PN in **-ēu̯-* parallel to Gr. -εύς / -ῆϝος (e.g., Ἀτρεύς, -έως). According to this hypothesis, the anthroponymic sequence *ates arkiaevais akenanogavos* can be equated to B-07 *manes iyungidas manitos* 'Manes (the son) of Iyung- (the grandson) of Manes'. On the other hand, Lubotsky (1988, 12), Janda (1997, 271–272), Orel (1997a, 10–11, 412) and other scholars considered *akenanogavos* a title in sg. nom. of *ates* and *bonok*, a reference to a kind of priest. Even more problematic is the form *ąkinanogavaṇ*, which seems to be a sg. acc. and precedes the PN *tiyes*. Leaving aside the pretonic hesitation *akenan-* ~ *akinan-* (see § 4.1.1), the presence of this acc. is only addressed by Lubotsky (1988, 12), who suggested that it is the fem. of *akenanogavos* applied to the mother moddess (to whom the step monument of M-04 is devoted). He also showed that it derives from the noun *akenan*, "as can be seen from *akenas*[(W-07) and the protasis formula *ios ni akenan egeseti* (P-04a)" (against Orel 1997a, 10–11, 412). In § 4.2.1.1.5.9, Phr. *-ogav-* is equated to Gr. ὀχεύς 'anything used for holding or fastening', which derives from **soǵʰ-*, the *o*-grade variant of the root **seǵʰ-* 'to hold' (*LIV*^{2} 515–516, *IEW* 888–889), and it is considered a thematisation after oblique cases like the sg. gen. **soǵʰ-ēu̯-os* (Epic Gr. ὀχῆος). Wittke (2004, 203) proposes an alternative to the patronymic and title theories, suggesting the possibility of an ethnic. However, such a toponym never occurs, so it is impossible to corroborate her suggestion, and the beginning *akenan-* supports the interpretation as a title.

Lubotsky 1988, 12; Varinlioğlu 1991, 35; Witczak 1992–1993, 265; Innocente 1997, 40; Janda 1997, 271–272; Vassileva 1997, 269; Orel 1997a, 10–11, 412; Gusmani and Polat 1999b, 156 fn. 61; Lancellotti 2002, 37, fn. 117; Brixhe 2004a, 60 and 78; Wittke 2004, 203; Woudhuizen 2008–2009, 168 § 60, 194; Woodhouse 2009, 170; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 188, 192; Oreshko 2013b, 87–89; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1829.

ąkeṇ^{ʔ}ano[---] and ***ąkinanogavaṇ*** see *akenanogavos*.

ακε̣ʔνικου (PN?)

NPhr. sg. nom.? ακε̣ʔνικου 11.2 (18) l. 2

The third letter of this word is unclear; however, the *epsilon* suggested by Orel (1997a, 80–81) fits well, more so if it is related to *ạḳenan*. Nevertheless, the segmentation that he considered, ακε̣νι κου, has no parallels and his analysis of ακε̣νι as the sg. dat. of *ạḳenan* is impossible because the shift *-āi* > *-i* is *ad hoc*. The context is not at all clear, but since it follows a probable PN it can be considered a PN in sg. gen. working as a patronymic (as Woodhouse 2006, 171 suggested): [---]οι κνουμα ετι δεạḍạ μανκα|ν μιμογαδις ακε̣ʔνικου οκαυγοσι | μιδακας δαδου λευκιωι δακαρ...

Orel 1997a, 80–81, 411; Woodhouse 2006, 171.

akio[---] (?)

OPhr. *akio*[---] M-03

It appears in a damaged text engraved on an 'altar': [---] *abas iṃaṇ akio*[---]. Since it follows a PN it can be considered a patronymic or a title. By contrast, Bayun and Orel (1988a, 179 and Orel 1997a, 24–25, 412) suggested the restoration *akio*[*i*], considering it a dat. of a PN related to PNs such as the Hitt. *Akiya-* (*LNH* 24–25 § 15) and Ακης, Ακκις, attested in Gr. inscriptions from Mysia (*KPN* 51 § 33, 36–31). In any case, as *CIPPh* (I, 21) considered, the lack of parallels means that no proposal can be made with absolute certainty.

CIPPh I, 20–21; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 179; Orel 1997a, 24–25, 412.

ακκαλος (noun or adjective?)

OPhr. pl. nom- acc. neut. ακαλα 4.1 (2)

sg. nom- acc. neut. ακκαλος 53.1 (76), 62.2 (33); ακκαλọ[ς] 54.1 (108)

It is read in two different imprecative apodoses: 4.1 υ κε ακαλα οουιτετου ουα and 53.1, 54.1 and 62.2 ακκε οι βεκος ακκαλος τιδρερουν ειτου. A third occurence often adduced, 37.2 ακαλας, seems to be a PN not related to ακκαλος. This word is clearly neuter, as the possessive ουα and he adj. τιδρερουν reveal. The origin and meaning of this noun remain unclear, despite several proposals (see Brixhe 1979a, 191). Haas (1966, 67, also 85, 223–224, followed by Woudhuizen 2008–2009, 183 § 9), suggested that it was the Phrygian noun for 'water' (related somehow to the Gr. river name from Phthia Ἀχελῷος). Similarly, Panagl and Kowal (1983, 187) considered it an adj. derived from a noun **ακα-* 'water' by the suffix *-lo-* with the meaning 'wet', a parallel formation to Gr. ὑδρηλός 'id.'. However, both interpreations imply that ακκαλος is a cognate of the Lat. *aqua*, Go. *ahva* and OHG *aha*, and such a word is now considered a borrowing into these western IE branches from an unknown European language (Beekes 1998, 459–460). On the other hand, Orel (1997a, 411) considered it an adj. **ad-kalos* with

the meaning 'good, fine, beautiful' in light of Gr. καλός < καλϝός. However, it does not seem to fit here, and the prehistory of this Gr. adj. is also unclear (see *EDG* 626–627). Finally, Brixhe and Neumann (1985, 176) and Lubotsky (2004, 236) saw ακκαλος as a noun in apposition to βεκος, although no etymology or meaning is given. Following this last interpretation, we may consider the working hypothesis that ακκαλος is a borrowing from the Assyrian noun *akalu* 'bread, food', thus in βεκος ακκαλος it perhaps refers to a specific kind of bread while in 4.1 υ κε ακαλα οουιτετου ουα the plural ακαλα is the generic for food. The consistent geminate in the sg. form remains unclear.

Haas 1966, 67, 85, 223–224; Neumann 1971; Brixhe 1979a, 191–192; Panagl and Kowal 1983, 187; Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 176; Orel 1997a, 411; Brixhe 1999, 296; Lubotsky 2004, 236.

ακκε (copulative conj.) 'and'

NPhr. ακκε 53.1 (76), 62.2 (33)

It appears between two imprecative apodoses: 54.1 τιττετικμενος ατ τι αδειτου ακκε οι βεκος ακκαλος τιδρεγρουν ειτου and 62.2 γεγρειμεναν εγεδου τιος ουταν ạ̣κκε οι βεκος ακκαλος τιδρεγρουν ειτου. While the second part of ακ-κε clearly corresponds to the common inherited PIE copulative conj. **$k^{\mu}e$ > *ke*, κε, the interpretation of the first element is not unanimous. Haas (1966, 96) and Brixhe (1978b, 2, see also *LIPP* II, 11) suggested that this formation is parallel to Lat. *atque*, so ακ- goes back to PIE **h_2ed 'near, at' with assimilation of its stop before κε. On the other hand, Lubotsky (1989b, 150, followed by Brixhe 1997, 49) argued that ακ works as the preposition (as the common αδ ~ ατ) governing the following sg. dat. pronoun οι. It may also be attested with a simplification of the geminates in the apodosis of 17.3 (7): δεος κε ζεμ[ελως κε]|[---] ạ̣κε οι ειροι α τιε τιττ[ε|τικμενοι ειττ]νου. However, since the inscription was already damaged when it was copied, other possibilities cannot be ruled out, for example, [---]ạ̣ κε, the ending of a word followed by the the simple conj.

Haas 1966, 96; Brixhe 1978b, 2; Lubotsky 1989b, 150; Brixhe 1997, 49; Poccetti 2012, 322; LIPP II, 11.

ako (PN)

OPhr. *ako* G-237

Graffito incised on a fragment of a pithos. Although it is too short to reach any conclusion, it is perhaps related to the masculine PN Ακης read in a Gr. from Mysia (*KPN* 51 § 33).

CIPPh I, 188.

akor (noun?)
OPhr. *akor* G-105
Incised on a bronze bowl after a PN: *si↑idos akor*. The old segmentation *si↑ido sakor* (Bayun and Orel 1988a, 193 and Orel 1997a, 169, 456) is not defensible, since *si↑idos* appears in two other inscriptions. Brixhe (2004a, 116) suggested that it is a verb in 1sg. pres. ind. pass., while Lubotsky (Lubotsky 1988, 21; Lubotsky 1989b, 152) proposed a neuter noun in sg. nom.-acc. On the other hand, it cannot be ruled out that *si↑idos akor* are two PNs. In any case, no parallel is attested elsewhere.
Lubotsky 1988, 21; Lubotsky 1989b, 152; Brixhe 2004a, 116.

ακροδμαν (noun)
NPhr. sg. acc. ακροδμαν 16.1 (116) l. 3
Read in a list of parts of the funerary monument on which it was engraved: ξ̣ευνε ιοσος κε δετοι̯ [ο?υ]ψοδ̣αν κε τα̣ν σαυναμαν [.?] κ̣νο̣υμαν κ᾽ ακροδμαν κε λο̣δ̣ιμ̣ον μειομον ριδιτι ται τοα̣ μ̣ε̣ ο̣ι̯ομανιας εναρκε ερμω[λ]|α̣ο̣ς̣ κναικο⟨ς⟩ εκατηας. Although it is never attested in Gr., it is likely an Aeol. formation parallel to μεσόδμη 'cross-beam' borrowed in Phr.: ακρο- (Gr. ἄκρος 'at the farthest point or end, topmost') and -δμα- (Gr. -δμη- 'house', derived from δέμω 'build').
Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 172; Neumann 1988, 21–22; Lubotsky 1993, 128; Orel 1997a, 128, 412; Lubotsky 2004, 233 fn. 14.

aladis (PN)
OPhr. sg. nom. *aladis* G-109
Although this graffito incised on a jar is unparalleled, it has been considered an *i*-stem PN. It is followed by the obscure sequence *url*.
Brixhe 1983, 127; CIPPh I, 103; Orel 1997a, 412; Brixhe 2008, 79; Liebhart and Brixhe 2009, 150.

αλενπατης see αδενπα̣τ̣ης.

alis (PN)
OPhr. sg. nom. *alis* NW-102
Incised on the bottom of a bowl with two other (less readable) graffiti. Brixhe (2002a, 12) considered it an Anatolian PN that he equated to the Hitt. names in *ali-* (*LNH* 345).
Brixhe 2002a, 12.

alus (PN)
OPhr. sg. nom. *alus* W-08, W-09; *alụs* W-10; *alu* G-204
It appears in a formula attested in three inscriptions on rock from West Phrygia: W-08 *alus si↑eto*[?], W-09 *si↑eto ae*. | *alus* and W-10 *alụs si↑eto das*. It is clear that *alus* is a *u*-stem sg. nom. that works, perhaps as the subject of *si↑eto*, if it is a verb in impv. Very probably *alus* is a PN attested in Lyd. *alus* (49,2, see Gusmani 1964, 56) and in the Gr. inscription from Lydia as Αλυς (TAM V,1 579), perhaps related to Hitt. *Al(l)uwa-* (*LNH* 28 § 39, with the common contraction **wa* > *u*; see Rieken 2001). In addition, G-204 *alu*, read on a fragment of a pithos, seems to be a variant of this PN without the sg.nom. ending *-s* (if not an abbreviation of another PN), but unfortunately its context is even less comprehensible: [---]*ḍa alu m s* [-?-]. In any case, the formula *alus si↑eto* remains obscure and other interpretations have been given, although they are improbable. Bayun and Orel (1989, 32; see also Sowa 2008, 80) proposed that this word means 'priest' (although Lyd. *alus* is now commonly considered a PN, as in *eDiAna*), and Orel (1997a, 48 and 412) equated to the Hesychian gloss ἄλυς ἀπορία. πλάνος. βλάβη. 'a.; difficulty, roaming, harm' (Hsch. α 3301). Finally, the similarity with the river Ἅλυς (modern-day Kızılırmak) was also considered by Brixhe and Drew-Bear (1978, 73–75).
Brixhe and Drew-Bear 1978, 73–75; CIPPh I, 52–53, 168; Bayun and Orel (1989, 32); Orel 1997a, 412; Sowa 2008, 80; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 188; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1825.

αμι̣ạσιαν (adjective?)
NPhr. sg. acc. fem. αμι̣|ạσιαν 2.1 (15)
Since this word follows the fem. noun μανκαν, αμι̣ạσιαν seems to qualify it: ξευνη ταν ειξα υψο|δαν προτυς σ[ε]σταμ|ε̣ναν μανκαν αμι̣|ạσιαν ιοι αναρ δορυκα|[νος ---]. However, its meaning remains unknown. Orel (1997a, 78 and 413) prposedthat αμι̣|ạς was the PN attested in Gr. inscriptions from Lydia, Caria, Mysia and Phrygia as Αμιας / Αμμια (*KPN* 58 § 57–12 and 59 § 57–16), while ιαν was the relative pronoun in sg. acc. fem.
Haas 1966, 106; Orel 1997a, 78, 413; Lubotsky 1993a, 127–134.

amos (PN)
OPhr. sg. nom. *amos* C-102; *amoṣ* G-313
Thematic Lallname attested in two sherds. It is very likely to be the same PN that occurs as Αμμως in a Gr. inscription from Philomelion (Phrygia, *MAMA* 7.202, *KPN* 65 § 57–32).
CIPPh I, 221–222; Orel 1997a, 288–289 and 413; Brixhe 2002a, 71.

αν[1] (particle?)
NPhr. ᾳ̣ν 38.1 (44)?
According to Woudhuizen (2008–2009, 183 §11), *an* is the modal particle attested in Gr. as ἄν. However, since he does not mention the texts in which it is attested, it is difficult to know where his reading is from. Indeed, there is only one possible attestation: 38.1 [ι]ος ᾳ̣ν ϙ[εμουν κακου]γ̣ κνουμ̣|μανει δοκε[τ, ατ τ]ι αδειτου. This inscription was copied by Sterret (1888, 176) and published with a correction by Anderson (1898, 118). Although it is now lost, it seems clear that the inscription was badly damaged when it was read by Sterret. Consequently, the existence of this form is difficult to substantiate.
Woudhuizen 2008–2009, 183 §11.

†**αν[2]** see *esai*.

ạṇamakạ (noun) tenth month of the Persian calendar
OPhr. sg. nom. *ạṇamakạ* HP-114
Read on the clay tablet from Persepolis: 30[?]*...ẹkẹs* 30[?] *i*[?] | .. 30[?] *y*[?]*r*[?]*ekeṣ*[?] | . 30[?] *knays* 30[?] *ṣ*[?] | *i*[?]*y*[?]*r*[?]*i* 40[?] *knạykẹ*[?][*s*[?]] | .[?] 40[?] *m*[?]*akeres* 40[?] | [---] | [-?-] | .. *ạṇamakạ*.
Since this tablet was found in the Fortification Archive among many Elamite administrative documents, it is clear that Phrygian *ạṇamakạ* is the tenth month of the Persian calendar, *Anāmaka-* (which corresponds to the Akkadian *Ṭebêtu*, December–January). Consequently, this is a Persian borrowing, also attested in the Elamite texts as *Ḫanāmakaš* (Poebel 1938, 130). According to Schmitt (2003, 27–29), who rejected the common etymology *nāman-* 'name', **an-āmaka-* means "nichts Rohes habend" or "kein (rohes) Fleish als Speise habend" or "kein Fleisch zum Opfer habend" (followed by Tavernier 2007, 39, who translated it as "having no raw meat for sacrifice or having no raw meat for food"). On its Phryg. ending, it appears in nom., like the other words in the tablet, and can therefore be considered a nom. of rubric.
Haas 1966, 176; Diakonoff and Neronak 1985, 92; Orel 1997a, 365, 413; Schmitt 2003, 27–29; Brixhe 2004a, 125; Tavernier 2007, 39, 83–84.

ανανκαι (noun) 'force, constraint, necessity'
NPhr. sg. dat.? ανανκαι 62.4 (35)
This noun appears once in an imprecative apodosis: ιος νι σαι κακουν αδδακεμ μανκαι, ας ανανκαι οι παντα κενα ⟨ι⟩ννου. It is likely a borrowing from the Gr. noun ἀνάγκη 'force, constraint, necessity' (on its unclear etymology see *EDG* 97). Its ending is the common *a*-stem sg. dat. However, according to Brixhe (1997, 51–52), the preposition ας governs acc., and perhaps here the ending was confused (like elsewhere in such a inflection, see the pronoun σα, σαι, σαν). Since ἀνάγκη

is never attested in Gr. imprecative apodoses from Anatolia (indeed, this word only appears in a protasis of Strubbe 1997, no. 39, from Lydia), there are no parallels through which to interpret the Phrygian sentence. Nevertheless, its meaning could be something like 'let his whole offspring become into necessity'.

Orel 1997a, 255, 413; Brixhe 1997, 51–52; Lubotsky 2004, 234; EDG 97.

αναρ (noun) 'man, husband'

NPhr. sg. nom. αναρ 2.1 (15)

It is attested on a lost funerary stele in apposition to the PN Δορυκα[νος]: Ξευνη ταν ειξα υψοδαν προτυς σ[ε]σταμ̣εναν μανκαν αμι̣ᾳσιαν ιοι αναρ Δορυκα[νος ---]. The *r*-stem noun αναρ is clearly inherited from the PIE noun **h*$_2$*nḗr* 'man' (*NIL* 332–335, IEW 765) attested in Gr. ἀνήρ 'id.', Skt. *nár-* 'id.', Lat. *Nerō* (PN with the suffix **-ōn*; see also Oscan *niir* and South Picene pl. gen. *nerum* 'id.').

Orel 1997a, 78, 413; Matzinger 2005, 377, 378; de Lamberterie 2013, 32–33; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 186, 188; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1819 and 1825.

anato (?)

OPhr. *anato* B-01 l. 6

An unknown word read in a cultic inscription: … *opito* [*k*]*ey oy evẹmẹmesmeneya anato* (.$^{?}$) | *kavarmoyun matar otekonov* (.$^{?}$) | *kesiti*… *CIPPh* (I, 66) argued that some strokes remain after *anato* which could be read as *y* or *t*. Following this observation, Bayun and Orel (1988a, 188, also Orel 1997a, 144, 413) considered that *anatoy* was a borrowing from the Gr. ἄνᾱτος 'unharmed, immune from punishment' in sg. dat. Nevertheless, Lubotsky (1993b, 94) considered "not very probable" the presence of this letter. Its ending in *-o* is also attested in l. 2 of the same inscription: *kạyarmọyo imroy edaes etovesniyo*.

CIPPh 1, 66; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 188; Lubotsky 1993b, 94; Orel 1997a, 144, 413.

ạndạti (verb?)

OPhr. 3sg.? *ạndạti* B-05 l. 4

The ending suggests that this is a verb, although its context is damaged and unclear: *pạntạ vebrạṣ ạdun p*$^{?}$*os key estạt pator.*$^{?}$*ike*[…]*ẹ*[..] *ạndạti vạy niptiyạy dạker kạrạtu*… Since *ạn-* can be a preverb, it perhaps goes back to the PIE verbal root **d*^{h}*eh*$_1$- 'to do' (see αδδακετ).

Brixhe 2004a, 57; Sowa 2007a, 74.

†ανδετοῠ̣ see κοροαν and δετουν.

ạndo (preposition?)
OPhr. *ạndo* B-05 l. 6
Read in a obscure part of this large inscription: … *nidus ạd kạliyay kạrạtụ pạnạto ạndo popostois kḷạṇiv* | *kelmis ke umnịset evrạduṣ dạḳeṛạiṣ key iverais* [..] … Brixhe (2004a, 58), after rejecting Neumann's (1997, 22) segmentation *ạndop opostois*, read it as a single word *ạndopopostois*. Nevertheless, a first part *ạndo* can be related to the PIE adverb **h*$_1$*endo*(*m*) 'inside', attested in Gr. ἔνδον 'id.', Oir. *and* and Hitt. *anda* 'in(to), (with)in' (see also HLuw. *anta* 'in[to]', Lyc. *ñte* 'inside'), although the details of its vocalisation do not fit at all with the Phr. form. Since it is very likely followed by a noun in acc., *ạndo* seems to be a preposition.
Neumann 1997, 22; Brixhe 2004a, 58; Hämmig 2013, 137.

†***ạndopopostois*** see *ạndo* and *popostois*.

ạṇernevey (verb)
OPhr. 3sg. perfect. ind.? *ạṇernevey* B-04
Read in a lost inscription. Its context remains obscure: *ạ*$^{?}$*ṃ*$^{?}$*ọp*$^{?}$*tov*$^{?}$*a*↑*iy* · *ạ*$^{?}$*ẹ*$^{?}$ *lavọy* · *ue* | *eḍạviy p*$^{?}$*is*$^{?}$ · *ạṇernevey* | *ẏ*$^{?}$*ạ.oe*$^{?}$*ạp.eạrvi*$^{?}$*s*$^{?}$ ·$^{?}$ *bạto*$^{?}$*ạntẹ*… Although Brixhe (2004a, 41) considered it a noun in sg. dat. or a verb in 3sg., the latter option is the most probable in the light of (*etit*)*evtevey*. In that case, its beginning is very likely the preverb *an-*, also attested in *anivaɣeti* (B-07).
Brixhe 2004a, 41.

anivaɣeti (verb) 'to harm'
OPhr. 3sg. pres. sub. act. *anivaɣeti* B-07
A verb found in the last sentence of an epitaph from Daskyleion: *me kos anivaɣeti s≈maniṇ* 'let nobody harm Manes' (see the whole disccusion and parallels in § 3.1.3). This Phrygian verb may go back to the PIE root **u̯eh*$_2$*g-* / **u̯eh*$_2$*ǵ-* 'break' (*LIV*^{2} 664–665), also attested in Gr. ἄγνυμι 'to break', Hitt. *u̯āk-*^{i} / *u̯ākk-* 'to bite', and ToAB *wāk-* 'to split, to burst'. It seems to have the preverb *an-*, also attested as a preposition in NPhr. ανι (40.3 = 31, already identified by Brixhe 2004a, 84). However, the *-i-* between the preverb and the verb remains unexplained.
Gusmani and Polat 1999, 159; Brixhe 2004a, 84; Sowa 2007a, 84; Sowa 2008, 107; Hammig fthc. b.

aoa (PN)
OPhr. sg.nom. *aoa* G-269
Following *CIPPh* (I, 208), this word incised on a small cup is very likely a PN related to the fem. Αουα, attested in a Gr. inscription from Isauria (*KPN* 111 § 125–1). On the other hand, Bayun and Orel (1988a, 197) equated it to *avum*, read in G-144.
CIPPh I, 208; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 197.

αοινουν (verb?)
MPhr. 3pl.? αοινουν MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 4
Read in an obscure epitaph: βλασκον κε τακρις κε λo̰ṵ̣|ị̣o̰ṵ̣ μροτις λαπτα ματι αοινουν... It has been considered a verb by Brixhe (2004a, 20) on the basis of its position in the sentence and its ending -ουν, very likely 3pl. (< PIE *-*nt*). He also suggested that it is a past form, despite the lack of augment (perhaps lost in contact with the initial α-). However, a pl. gen. cannot be ruled out. Either way, it remains unclear.
Brixhe 2004a, 16, 20.

ap (PN)
OPhr. *ap* G-162
Although it could be read as sinistroverse and considered a complete PN (*pa* is attested in G-258, see also Πας in the Gr. inscriptions from Isauria and Cilicia, *KPN* 419 § 1213–1) or an abbreviated PN, *CIPPh* (I, 145) preferred the dextroverse reading because of the strokes of ⟨p⟩. In that case, it is an abbreviation of one of the many Phrygian PNs with this beginning (*KPN* 70–74 § 66).
CIPPh I, 145; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 199.

apaktneni (?)
OPhr. *apaktneni* B-01 l. 8
An obscure word read in the conclusive sentence of an inscription engraved on a cult niche: *oyvos aey apaktneni* | *pakray evkobeyan epaktoy*. Orel (1997a, 145, 414) considered *apaktane* a verb in 3pl. opt. derived from the PIE verbal root *$h_2eǵ$- 'drive' (*LIV*^{2} 255–256, *IEW* 4–5), attested in Gr. ἄγω 'lead, carry, fetch, bring' and Skr. *ájati* 'to drive, propel, cast', with a preverb *ap-* (unattested in Phr.). Following his suggestion, it may be translated as 'bring away, take away'. However, this interpretation is ungrounded and has not been followed in the literature. As a phonetic note, Lubotsky (1997, 121; also in Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 186 = 2018, 1822) considered that ⟨tn⟩ is the Phrygian notation of [n̥:] (geminated voiceless nasal).

Bayun and Orel 1988a, 198; Orel 1997a, 145, 414; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 186; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1822.

ape (PN)
OPhr. *ape* G-336
It could be considered an abbreviated PN in the light of *apel*, *apelan* and *apelev*. However, according to Brixhe (2002a, 90) it can be also considered a complete PN, since the Lallnamen Απ(π)ας and Απ(π)ης are found in the Gr. inscriptions from Phrygia (see *KPN* 70–74 § 66). In this case, *ape* is an *e*-stem PN in nom. sg. without the ending *-s*.
Roller 1987a, 21, n° 2A-73 and 39, n° 2B-27; Brixhe 2002a, 89–90.

apel (PN)
OPhr. *apel* G-342
Abbreviated PN incised on a sherd. Very likely related to *apelan* and *apelev*.
Brixhe 2002a, 96.

apelan (PN)
OPhr. *apelan* M-05
Because of its position in an inscription on a rock-cut pediment, it is very likely a PN in sg. nom. (similar to *iman*, *imenos*), qualified by the adj. *mekas*: *apelan mekas tevanọ*[---]. It is perhaps related to *ape*, *apel* and *apelev*, but it clearly appears to be the same Gr. PN found across the whole of Anatolia as Ἀπελλα(ς). It is very likely related in some way to the Gr. DN Ἀπόλλων, especially to variants such as Dor. Ἀπέλλων and Pamph. Ἀπέλῡνα (Brixhe 1976, no. 3).
CIPPh 1, 25; Burkert 1985, 144–145; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 93; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 180; CIPPh 1, 24–25; Orel 1997a, 27, 414; Brixhe 2002, 89–90, 96; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 78; Woodhouse 2006, 161; Woudhuizen 2008–2009, 183 § 17.

apelev (PN?)
OPhr. *apelev* B-07
It is read in an anthroponymic sequence on a funerary stele: *s≀manes iyungidas manitos apelev porniyoy esṭ*[..]|[..]*es va ḳnais manuka odeketoy*... It is very likely related to *ape*, *apel* and *apelan*, found in contexts where PNs are also expected, and to the the Gr. PN Ἀπελλα(ς) (well attested in Anatolia, see *apelan*). Since *apelev* follows the sg. gen. *manitos*, it could be also a gen. However, its ending recalls the spelling *-iv* found in B-05: *tubetiv* (a verb in 3sg.) and *deṛaliv* (?).
Brixhe 2004a, 79.

αργμενα[.?] (?)
NPhr. αργμενα[.?] 16.1 (116)
It occurs once in an obscure curse read on a funerary stele: ις αργμενα[.?] | ọ̣παρικο οαν οεαυταιις κε εṿ | τοισ̣ινιοι κνουμαν τιαν τε[.]||[.]μαρ̣ι ιδετοι οινις. It is possible that a letter was lost after the final letter, although very little space was available on the stele. Consequently, its ending is not clear. It could be an *a*-stem fem. noun, but a participle with the suffix *-*mh₁no*- cannot be ruled out. Brixhe and Neumann (1985, 180) suggested a possible relation with αργου (1.2 and 37.2) and εναρκε (also in 16.1) or even with *arkiaevais*, with a secondary voiced stop developed in this context (in the light of Gr. δόγμα and παράδειγμα). The word remains unexplained.
Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 180; Orel 1997a, 133, 415; Liborio and Lubotsky 2013, 192.

αργου (noun used as posposition?) 'on account of, for the sake of'?
NPhr. sg. gen.? αργου 1.2 (98), 37.2 (30)
In both inscriptions where this word is attested, it follows ευκιν, considered a Gr. borrowing εὐχήν 'vow', and seems to conclude the non-imprecative part of the inscription: 1.2 δακαρεν πα|τερης ευκιν | αργου and 37.2 [.....] δ̣ουδας ακαλας ευκιν αργου. There is no clear identification of its origin. While Haas (1966, 111) equated it to Gr. ἀλφή 'produce, gain' (< PIE *h_2elg^{uh}-), Orel (1997a, 329, 415) adduced the Gr. ἀρχή 'beginning, origin', ἀρχός 'leader, chief', and other derivatives of ἄρχω 'be first, begin, rule' (with an unclear etymology, see *EDG* 145 and *DELG* 119–121). However, none of these proposals fits well as a funerary formula. Following Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 189 = 2018, 1825), its ending seems to be a thematic sg. gen. (although a sg. dat. cannot be ruled out), so it is very likely a noun. The same authors also interpreted the meaning of this word as 'because of, as a' (similarly to Haas 1966, 111), which is very suitable in this context. Indeed, it appears to be a thematic noun used as postposition similar to the Lat. gen. + *gratia* / *causa* 'on account of, for the sake of'.
Haas 1966, 111; Brixhe 1993, 341; Brixhe 1999, 298; Brixhe 2002b, 258; Orel 1997a, 329, 415; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 189; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1825.

ạrẹ̣?.[---] (?)
OPhr. *ạrẹ̣*?.[---] or *ạrạ*?.[---] G-170
Bayun and Orel (1988a, 182) read it in the light of *areyastin*. However, the context is completely different and the reading of G-170, a graffito incised on a sherd, is not clear enough for any conclusion to be reached.
CIPPh 1, 149; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 182, 200.

αρεοπαδε see αδενπατης.

areyastin (epithet) 'from (the mountain) Areya'
OPhr. sg. acc. *areyastin* W-01a
It follows the DN *materan*, in agreement with it: *bonok akenanogavọṣ materan areyastin vrekun tedatoy*... According to Berndt-Ersöz (2006, 84; also Yakubovich 2007, 143), its origin is to be found in the Luw. **ariyatt(i)-* 'elevation, mountain', a derivative of *ari(ya)-* 'raise; check, restrain', Hitt. *arā(i)-* 'id.', "cognate of Lyc. *erije-* 'raise, levy'" (see *CLL* 27). However, the presence of *-st-*, also found in other Phrygian DNs (see, e.g., Αγδιστις), means that *areyasti-* cannot be considered a direct borrowing from the Luw. **ariyatt(i)-*. Very probably, this *i*-stem epithet is a Phr. formation derived from a pre-Phrygian oronym (very likely Luwic), as is commonly observed (see *kubeleya*). A parallel formation is found in Ἄγδιστις (Paus. 7.17.12, acc. Ἄγδιστιν Str. 10.3.12 and Paus. 7.17.10), derived from the oronym *Agdus* (Arn., *Adversus Nationes* 5.5.1).
Lubotsky 1988, 11; Orel 1997a, 36, 414; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 84; Yakubovich 2007, 143.

arkiaevais (patronymic) 'Son of Arkias'
OPhr. sg. nom. *arkiaevais* M-01a
Its sole attestation agrees with the PN *ates* in sg. nom.: *ates arkiaevais akenanogavos midai lavagtaei vanaktei edaes*. It has been considered a title, 'chief, official', an ethnic or a patronymic. The first proposal was given by Bayun and Orel (1988a, 175) in light of the other words with the same ending: *memevais* and *kanutievais*. They also equated it to Gr. ἀρχή. Since in *arkia-* there is a voiceless stop, this origin is only defensible if we assume a Gr. borrowing in Phrygian. However, the Gr. itacism is not expected so early. The ethnic interpretation (not ruled out by Brixhe 2014a, 78) is not very convincing because of the lack of a fitting toponym. Indeed, the best interpretation is to assume that it is a patronymic derived from the Gr. name Ἀρχίας borrowed in Phrygian as *arkia-*. On its ending, Brixhe (2004a, 77–78) suggested that it shows the shift **-evans* > *-evais*, parallel to the sg. acc. ending **-an-s* > *-ais*. According to him, **-ev-an-s* are two suffixal sequences in which the second element is equated to Gr. -ᾱν / -ᾱνος (see, e.g., Ἕλλην / Ἕλλαν, Ἕλληνος / Ἕλλανος), used in this language to create ethnics and patronymics. Recently, Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 189) considered that Phr. *-evais* is an ancient *t*-stem suffix: **-u̯n̥ts* > **-u̯ans* > **-u̯ais* (see § 4.2.1.1.5.2).
Huxley 1959, 86; Haas 1966, 189; CIPPh 1, 8; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 175; Brixhe 1991, 43; Innocente 1997, 40; Orel 1997a, 10; Brixhe 2002c, 60; Brixhe 2004a, 77–78; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 187, 189; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1820, 1825.

arma.ạ (PN)
OPhr. *armam* or *arma.ạ* G-277
The last letter of this complete graffito incised on the bottom of a vase is difficult to read. Brixhe (2002a, 37) prefers the reading *arma.ạ*, without ruling out *armam*. In any case, it seems to be a PN, perhaps abbreviated. On its origin, without ruling out the possibility that it could be a Phrygian PN (unattested elsewhere), Brixhe also suggested that it contains the Anatolian DN *arma-* 'moon(god); month' (HLuw. [DEUS]LUNA+*MI-sa* /armas/ 'moon[god]', Lyd. *armτa-* adj. 'belonging to Arma [?]', Lyc. *arm̂ma-* 'moon'), found in theophoric names such as Hitt. or Luw. ^{m}*Armapiya* (Αρμαπιας in Gr. inscriptions from Lycia and Cilicia; see *KPN* 92 § 97–3, once as Ερμαπιας in Lycia, *KPN* 169–170 § 355–320; see also Adiego 2007, 331) and ^{f}*Arma-wiya* (*LNH* 40 § 140).
Brixhe 2002a, 37–38; Brixhe 2004a, 51.

aros (PN)
OPhr. sg. nom. *aros* W-12
Read on a stone fragment with other two PNs: *sitoros aros* | *ispas*. Since *sitoros* and *ispas* seem to be PNs, *aros* would appear to be another PN, despite the lack of parallels.
Bilgen, Brixhe and Coşkun 2011, 148

art (preposition) 'around'
OPhr. *art* B-05 l. 8
According to Gorbachov (2008, 96–98), who rejected Neumann's (1997, 23) first equation of this word with Gr. ἄρ(α); see also the Lith. adverb *artì* 'nearby; nearly, almost'. It is a preposition inherited from the PIE noun *$*h_2er$-t-* 'fitting' (*LIPP* II, 290) attested in the Lat. noun *ars*, *artis* 'art, skill', in the Arm. adverb *ard* 'just now', and in the Gr. ἄρτι 'just, exactly', but also in the Lithuanian adverb *artì* 'nearby; nearly, almost', which developed prepositional usages: 'about, near, beside'. So, a similar meaning can be given to Phrygian *ạrt* followed by the sg. acc. *sin≀t imenạn* in an imprecative apodosis: *yos niy ạrt sin≀t imenạn kạkạ oskạvos kạkey* | *kạn dedạsitiy*… 'whoever does harm around this monument…'. It fits well with the Gr. protasis of the same stele: Ὅστις περὶ | τὸ ἱερὸν κακουρ⟨γ⟩ετήσαι…
Neumann 1997, 23; Brixhe 2004a, 59; Gorbachov 2008, 96–98; Hämmig 2013, 146: LIPP II, 290.

aṛtimitos (DN) 'Artemis'
OPhr. sg. gen. *aṛtimitos* B-05 l. 3
A clear *t*-stem DN also found in Gr. Ἄρτεμις, -ιδος (Dor. Ἄρταμις, -τος, Myc. *a-te-mi-to* /*artemitos*/ sg. gen., see *EDG* 142), Lyd. *artimus* (Gusmani 1964, 63–64; 1980, 34–35; 1986, 126) and Lyc. *ertẽmi* (Neumann 2007, 72). Its origin remains unclear (*EDG* 142). In the Phrygian text it agrees with the adj. *krạniyạs* (an epithet): *vrekạn vitạrạn artimitoṣ krạniyạs* [---], 'the relief? of Artemis Kraniya'.
Neumann 1997, 20–21; Gusmani and Polat 1999b, 155–156; Brixhe 2004a, 55–56; Brixhe 2006, 40; Gorbachov 2008, 98.

ar[---] (?)
OPhr. *ar*[---] T-03 a II
Beginning of a unknown word in a fragment on a severly damaged stele: [---]*sn*|*a*[---] | [---]*ed*|*eia*[---]*ọ*?*r*↑*e*|*s* ⋮ *ar*[---].
Brixhe 2004a, 97.

as (preposition) 'in, at, by'
OPhr. *a* B-01 l. 3
NPhr. ας 7.1 (99), 7.3 (14), 20.2 (128), 40.3 (31), 46.1 (53), 62.2 (33), 62.4 (35)
α 62.5 (36)
A clear preposition governing acc.: e.g., B-01 l. 3 *matar kubeleya ibey a duman ektetoy*..., 7.1 τιτετικμενος | ας τιαν ε̣ιτου, 20.2 με δδεω με ζεμε|λος τιτετικμενος | ειτου | ας βαταν ορουεναν κε and 40.3 ας σεμουν κνουμαν αδιθρερακ. Its final sibilant sometimes assimilates to the following letter and the resulting geminates are simplified: ας βαταν (20.2) > *αβ βαταν > α βαταν (62.5). In one case it is found with dat.: 62.4 ας ανανκαι οι παντα κενα | ⟨ι⟩ννου. However, it can be considered the common hesitation between -α, -αν and -αι attested in NPhr. *a*-stem. Brixhe (2004a, 62) considered that it is also found in B-05 l. 11, but Hämmig 2013 preferred the segmentation *aseṇan*. The preposition ας has two functions: it expresses a position in the space, 'in' (ας σεμουν κνουμαν 'in this tomb'), and it identifies the agent of the sentence (τιτετικμενος ειτου ας βαταν 'let him be accursed by Bas'). On the origin of ας, Lubotsky (1988, 24 fn. 13 and 1989a, 84 fn. 31) and Brixhe (1997, 52, as a working hypothesis; see also *LIPP* II, 226) considered it the Phr. outcome of the PIE preposition *$*h_1ens$* with a compensatory lengthening: *$*h_1ens$* > *$*ēs$* > *as*. Nevertheless, since this lengthening is not identified elsewhere in Phrygian, it is easier to accept Heubeck's analysis (1958, 20 and 1987, 79; see also *LIPP* II, 10), which classifies this preposition as a variant of *$*h_2ed$* (see αδ): *$*h_2ed$*-*s* > ας (on the drop of the dentals before -*s*, see **nepots* > *nevos*).
Heubeck 1958, 20; Haas 1966, 119; Heubeck 1987, 79; Lubotsky 1988, 24 fn. 13; Lubotsky 1989a, 84 fn. 31; Brixhe 1997, 50–53; Brixhe 2004a, 62; LIPP II, 10 and 226.

asakas (PN)
OPhr. sg. nom. *asakas* G-150 c
An *a*-stem PN incised on a pithos with other independent graffiti: capacity marks, the PN *olgiavos* (G-150 a) and some unreadable strokes (G-150 b). Perhaps it is related to [-?-]*p²asakas* W-101. Its origin is possibly Iranian according to Lejeune (1970, 74) and Orel (1997, 194, 416). Schmitt (1982, 35) also considers this possibility, although he is far from convinced. If this identification is correct, the word goes back to OP **asa-* 'horse' with the hypocoristic suffix *-ka-*, a form attested in Elamite *Áš-šá-ka*$_4$ (see Tavernier 2007, 118).
CIPPh 1, 137; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 93; Lubotsky 1988, 19; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 194; Orel 1997a, 194, 416; Tavernier 2007, 118; Bilgen, Brixhe and Coşkun 2011, 145.

ασγ (?)
NPhr. ασγ 47.1 (51)
Unparalleled sequence read after a damaged but clear NPhr. curse: [ιος σεμ]ον ρε|ϰτεοῦ [ϰαϰου]ν αδα|ϰε, ατε[τιϰμενο]ς ατ τ[ι] | αδει[του ....] ąσγ. Orel (1997a, 338) read ας π[---], where the first element is a preposition. Despite the fact that a word boundary is not expected after a gamma (the inscription is lost so we cannot know whether the text continued), Orel's interpretation of ασπ̣ is far from certain.
Calder 1911, 194–195; Orel 1997a, 338.

asenąn (noun) 'harm, damage' or 'grave'?
OPhr. sg. acc. *asenąn* B-05 l. 11
Because of its position in an imprecative protasis (the object of the verb *dąket*), Hämmig (2013, 147–149, followed by Simon 2014a, 141–142) suggested that its meaning is similar to ϰαϰουν 'harm', by comparing B-05 †*iv*† *imun inmeney ąsenąn dąket torvetun* ↑*irąy*... with ιος νι σεμονυν ϰνουμανει ϰαϰουν αδδαϰετ. Although her analysis is very likely, the meaning and origin of *asenąn* remain unexplained. Brixhe (2004a, 62), on the other hand, suggested that *as enąn* is the preposition followed by a pronoun inherited from PIE **h*$_1$*eno-* (in sg. ac. fem.) and equated this Phr. phrase to the Gr. εἰς ἔνην 'the day after tomorrow' (where ἡμέραν 'day' was elided). However, this interpretation does not fit with the imprecative context. Due to the Lyd. influence on Hellespontine Phrygia, a possible solution is to consider *asenąn* a borrowing from the Lyd. noun *asinas* '(part of the) grave' (no. 4, formerly transcribed as *aśina-*, see Gusmani 1964, 67). According to this suggestion, †*iv*† ⟨*s*⟩*imun inmeney ąsenąn dąket*... means 'whoever puts a grave in this shrine...'.
Neumann 1997, 18; Brixhe 2004a, 62; Hämmig 2013, 147–149; Simon 2014a, 141–142.

ask[---] (?)
OPhr. *ask*|[---] G-01b
Read in a severely damaged inscription on a stone block: [ ]*ita.*[ ]*ṭerkeya ask*|[---]. It is the beginning of a unknown word. Orel's restoration *lavạ*[*get*]*ạs voykay* (1997a, 198) is ungrounded.
CIPPh 1, 84; Orel 1997a, 158.

ạṣḳ²ịạḍoṣ (PN)
OPhr. *ạṣḳ²ịạḍoṣ* or *ạṣu²ịạḍoṣ* G-161
Graffito incised on the broken bottom of a cup. Although it looks like a PN, its ending could be a thematic sg. nom. *-os* or a *d*-stem sg. gen. Because the bottom of the letters has been lost, it is impossible to know if the third letter was *k* or *u*. Despite the fact that Bayun and Orel (1988a, 197) equated it to the Gr. DN from Pysidia Μὴν Ἀσκαηνός and Ασκαιος. In addition, Orel (1997a, 198) compared it to the Thracian Ασκιπρασις. These names are not a good fit with the Phrygian occurrence. Consequently, this PN remains unparalleled.
CIPPh 1, 144; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 197; Orel 1997a, 198.

asna (noun?)
OPhr. *as*|*na* NW-101 b
Read on the obscure terracotta disc from Dorylaion: *de*⩛*eti* | *to*⊤*i a tiei* | *as*|*na isnou*. According to Brixhe (2002a, 10), it seems to be a noun in pl. nom.-acc., which here works as the subject of the verb *isnou* in light of its ending *-a*. However, its meaning and etymology remain unknown.
Brixhe 2002a, 10.

aspẹ[---] (PN)
Olphr. *aspẹ*[---] P-102
Broken graffito read on handle dated to the seventh c. BC: [---]*ia aspẹ*[---]. This graffito seems to be a bimember PN, where *aspẹ*[---] is the second element. On its origin, *CIPPh* (I, 145) suggested that it was Iranian. Indeed, it could be a PN derived from the Median word for 'horse', *aspa-*. By contrast, Orel (1997a, 303) considered that there was no basis to defend this origin and equated *aspẹ*[---] to the Lat. verb *sperno* 'sever, separate, remove' and Gr. ἀσπαίρω 'pant, gasp, struggle', considering it an imperfect. However, his interpretation is ungrounded.
CIPPh 1, 145; Orel 1997a, 303.

ąṣṭąị (pronoun or adj.?)
NPhr. sg. dat. fem. ąṣṭąị 17.5 (91)
pl. nom. masc. αστοι 9.1 (87)
In the last imprecative apodosis of 9.1, the only certain occurrence of this word, it agrees in sg. nom. with παρτης after the verb: ... κε ισνου αστοι παρτης. In light of this occurrence and early reading, the second word of this form can be identified in the protasis of 17.5: [ιος νι σε]μον [κνουμανει] | [κ]ąκoụ[ν α]ββε-ρετοι α⟨ι⟩νι | ąṣṭąị σα μ[ανκ]ε... Brixhe (2004a, 47), on the other hand, read it as ąṣṭąṭ and considered a verb inherited from the PIE root **steh$_2$-* 'stand, erect' (*LIV*^{2} 590–592, *IEW* 1004–1008). However, only a pronoun is expected here. According to this review, it is a word that agrees in sg. dat. fem. with σα μ[ανκ]ε.
Brixhe 2004a, 47.

ąṣṭąṭ and αστοι see ąṣṭąị.

assụ$^{?}$[---] (?)
OPhr. *assụ*$^{?}$[---] or [---]*ụ*$^{?}$*ssa* G-213 c
Fragmented inscription on a sherd, where an isolated *n* and a gammadion cross were also incised. Despite the fact that even the direction of the reading is unclear, the presence of two *s* is a good evidence for a word boundary. However, the inscription remains unparalleled.
CIPPh I, 174.

ąṣụ*$^{?}$*įąḍoṣ see *ąṣḳ*$^{?}$*įąḍoṣ*.

as[---] (PN?)
OPhr. *as*[---] G-187
Broken graffito read on sherd. It is very likely the beginning of a unknown PN.
CIPPh I, 159.

ατ see αδ.

ata (PN)
OPhr. sg. nom. *ata* G-107, G-118, G-224a, G-234, HP-111
sg. dat. *ątai* W-10
sg. nom. *atas* G-128; *atas* Dd-101; [-?-]*ąṭaṣ* G-119, G-221
An *a*-stem PN whose nom. is attested both with and without the ending *-s*. It is a clear Anatolioan Lallname found elsewhere in Anatolia but especially in Gr. inscriptions from Phrygia as Ατ(τ)ας (see *KPN* 105–106 §119). In Phrygian,

its nom. is often found as the whole text on pottery. Indeed, only two texts are longer: Dd-101 *pser²keyoy atas* and G-221 (where it could originally be the variant [*t*]*atas*, as well as in G-119) [-?-]*a.i̯y*[-?-] | [-?-]*ke²no²*[-?-] | [-?-]*atas* | [-?-]*aratap²ạ*[-?-] | [-?-]*obata²m²*..[-?-]. Its dat. is found once in a dedication on a rock: *ạtai edae lel/ravo* | *vi↑e atevo atoios*...

CIPPh 1, 55, 102–103, 110–111, 180, 186; Lubotsky 1988, 23; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 183; Brixhe 1991, 43; Brixhe 1996, 134; Janda 1997, 276; Brixhe 2004a, 51; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 80; Brixhe and Summers 2006, 127–128; Draycott and Summers 2008, 73.

atai see *ata*.

ataniyen (PN)

OPhr. sg. nom. *ataniyen* W-01c

PN parallel to *tataniyen*. It agrees with *kuryaneyon* in the inscription where it is read: *ataniyen* ⁝ *kuryaneyon* ⁝ *ta*|*n egertoy*. Recently, Brixhe (in Brixhe *and* Summers 2006, 128) suggested the segmentation *ata niyen* by considering *ata* as the common Lallname. He also compared *niyen* with Gr. νειός, νεός 'fallow-land' as a working hypothesis. The problem here is the presence of the interpunction. Consequently, we must assume either that we are dealing with an error or that this word is an encl. one (very improbable if it were the direct object in sg. acc.). Also, the presence of *kuryaneyon*, a nominative singular that agrees with this anthroponym, would be strange after the direct object. Therefore, this must be an unappealing sg. nom. in *-en*.

Brixhe and Summers 2006, 128.

atas see *ata*.

atatas (PN)

OPhr. sg. nom. *atatas* M-01c, HP-01

A clear masculine *a*-stem PN, variant of *ata*(*s*). In M-01c it agrees with *ṃ²onokaua*: *mateṛ*.. *atatas ṃ²onokaua*. In the inscription HP-01, published by Borker-Klähn (1994), *atatas* appears isolated in an orthostrat from Karkamiš where a previous monumental HLuw. inscription was engraved (KARKAMIŠ A29p).

CIPPh 1, 12; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 95; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 178; Borker-Klähn 1994; Bernd-Ersöz 2006, 74, 85.

ατεαμα (noun) '(part of the) monument'

NPhr. ατεαμα 15.1 (120), l. 2; ατ̣ι̣αμα 11.2 (18) l. 5; ατεαμας 7.3 (14) l. 8–9, 10.1 (112) l. 7; α[τεαμας] 21.2 (43) l. 3–4?; τεαμα 6.2 (131); τεαμας 25.1 (115) l. 2; τιαμας 9.1 (87) l. 2–3

With the sole exception of 11.2 (18), this noun occurs in the protasis of the NPhr. curses: e.g., ιος νι σεμουν κνουμανει κακουν αββερετοι αινι ατεαμα (6.2 = 131). Therefore, it must refer to the funerary monument or to one of its parts. This word is often quoted as ατεαμα(ς), but the duplicity of forms beginning with or without α- is debated. Although it can be a mere apheresis, this is not so an easy question. On the one hand, it has been explained through the identification of α as the preposition αδ also present as a preverb in αδδακετ (Brixhe and Drew-Bear 1997, 89), the common verb of the protasis in which τε/ιαμα- mainly occurs. However, it is the sole occurrence of this preposition reinforcing the IO. On the other hand, Lubotsky (1998, 414 fn. 3 and fthc.) considers that this word was uninflected and perhaps a borrowing from the same source of Greek Gr. ἀδάμας 'hard, hard metal, stone' (also in Lat. *diamas* 'diamond') before the Phrygian devoicing. The sequence KOTAṬIAMA read in the still obscure context of 11.2 (18) is difficult to explain. Lubotsky's segmentation κο τα ṭiαμα (*TITUS*) is very likely because it points out the pronoun τα also used with the other following nouns κνουμεν ταν ε|[-]τας ταi κολταμανει. Nonetheless, the form κο remains unclear. Perhaps it is better to analyse it as κ≠οτ, where κ stands for κε apostrophed before a vowel and οτ is a phonetic variant of ατ. If this were the case, αṭiαμα could stand in the dat. and would have dropped the final -ι of its ending -αι, as in μανκα, l. 9. As with other *a*-stems, the dative and gen. seem to occur interchangeably for phonetic reasons. Finally, the hesitation *e* / *i* is known in other Phrygian words (e. g., δεως / διως) and has been explained as an effect of hiatic (Brixhe 2008, 75) or pretonic position (see Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1821). Regarding its meaning, all occurrences show that it must be a component of the tombs because of its position in the protasis (e.g., 7.3 ιος νι σεμουν κνο|υμανει κακιν αδα|κετ αιν' αδ ατεαμ̣ας), and in 11.2 it appears before other nouns related to it: κνουμεν and κολταμανει. It has been interpreted both as an inherited word equated with Gr. σῆμα 'sign, mark, token' and as a borrowing from CLuw. *ti̯i̯amm(i)-* 'earth' (Orel 1997a, 463). Nevertheless, the first possibility is very unlikely, even more so if the Greek word is equated, despite the semantic difficulties, with Skt. *dhyāman-* 'thought', because the consequent PIE root *$d^{h}i̯eh_2$- does not fit with Phrygian *tia-*. The Luw. form *ti̯i̯amm(i)-* 'earth', which goes back to PIE *$d^{h}ǵem$- (*NIL* 86–99; some phonetic details are still unclear, see Kloekhorst 2008, 860–861) is actually an attractive proposal (referring to the portion of earth sacred to the tomb, i.e., the burial plot?), but it does not explain the forms beginning with α- .

Brixhe and Drew-Bear 1997, 89; Orel 1997a, 463; Lubotsky fthc.

atevo see *ates*.

ates (PN)

OPhr. sg. nom. *ates* M-01a, W-08, HP-103, HP-104, HP-105, HP-106, HP-107, HP-108; [-?-]*ates* G-123; [-?-]*ateṣ²*[-?-] G-124?; [-?-]*ạtes* G-148?

sg. gen.? *atevo* W-10

A clear PN, variant of the Anatolian Lallname *atas* / Αττας, well attested both in Phrygian and in Gr. inscriptions from Phrygia as Αττης (*KPN* 107 § 119–110, also attested in literary sources as Ἄττης) and in Lyd. under the possessive adj. *atelis* 'of Ates' (Gusmani 1964, 69). Commonly, this Phrygian name appears incised alone on *instrumenta* (metal bowls and pottery), but it is also attested as the subject of monumental inscriptions on rock: M-01a *ates arkiaevais akenanogavos midai lavagtaei vanaktei edaes* and W-08 [-?-] *ates agomoi saϘ²ta tedaes*. In some instances, it is not clear whether the name is *ates* or its variant *tates* because of damage to the inscription (W-08, G-123, G-124 and G-418). The form *atevo* W-10 looks like the gen. of this PN: *ạtai edae lel/ravo* | *vi↑e atevo atoios*… However, this would imply that here *-o̰o-* has not been simplied to *-o-*, as is expected.

Neumann 1986a, 83; Varinlioğlu 1992; Vassileva 1997, 268; Orel 1997a, 417; Lancellotti 2002, 32–40; Brixhe 2004a, 77, 110; Brixhe 2006, 43; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 189; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1824.

ατετιϰμενος see τιττετιϰμενος.

ατιαμα see τεαμα.

ạtikv²ạiu see *ạtikr²ạiu*.

ạtikr²ạiu (verb?) 'to say'?

OPhr. 1sg. pres. ind. act.? *ạtikr²ạiu* or *ạtikv²ạiu* B-05 l. 8

This word was considered a verb by Neumann (1997, 22, nuanced by Brixhe 2004a, 59, but still in *LIPP* II, 93), who also suggested that it was a 1sg. pres. ind. act. because of its ending *-u* (< PIE **-ō*). He also considered its beginning, *ati-*, a preverb, but the possible parallels have already been ruled out. Since its etymology has not been identified, this proposal is based on the position of the word. Indeed, it is read at the end of a clear sentence followed by the first imprecation of this inscription: *kelmis ke umnịset evrạduṣ dạḳerạịṣ key iverais* [..] | *ạtikrạiu*… Even the reading is not at all clear. Neumann read *ạtikv²ạiu*, while Brixhe proposed *ạtikr²ạiu*. Moreover, Brixhe compared this sentence with the Gr. inscription *MAMA* IV 282 found in the sanctuary of Apollo Lairbénos (Phrygia): παρα⟨γ⟩έλω μηδὶ|ς καταφορνήσει ἐπεὶ τ|ὼ χῳ̣[ρ]εὶ Ἀπ̣[όλ]λωγος | Λειμη[νοῦ] 'I

presage: nobody upon the earth will despise Apollo'. However, this part of B-05 is far from being understood, so both the word and the whole sentence remain unclear.

Neumann 1997, 22; Brixhe 2004a, 59; Sowa 2007a, 74; Sowa 2008, 93.

αττιτιχμενος see τιττετιχμενος.

atoios (PN)

OPhr. sg. nom. *atoios* W-10

A thematic PN, very likely a variant of *ates* / *atas* with the suffix *-i̯o-*. It is the subject of the sentence in which it is read: *ạtai edae lel/ravo* | *vi↑e atevo atoios*, | *alụs si↑eto das*.

Brixhe 1983, 124; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 94; Vassileva 1997, 268; Wittke 2004, 305.

ạtriyạs (PN)

OPhr. sg. nom. *ạtriyạs* B-05 l. 2

Although it seems clear that this word is a PN and the subject of the sentence in which it is read, *sin=t imenạn kạliyạ ti tedạt*[...]*edekm*[...]*mẹ̣ạ̣ṣ² ḍ²u²mịḍ* | *iben edạtoy dạkerạn ạtriyạs dạvoi okimạḳịyạ*[---]..., it remains unparalleled and, to complicate matters further, is not found in the Gr. summary of this long inscription. On its origin, Brixhe (2004a, 55) suggested as a working hypothesis that it is a non-attested Gr. PN *Ἀτρίας derivative from ἦτρον / ἆτρον 'abdomen' or ἤτριον / ἄτριον 'warp' because *Kaliya* is identified with the Gr. Καλλίας in the same text. Nevertheless, there is another Gr. explanation for this PN, according to which it was borrowed from Ἀτρέας (related to the famous PN Ἀτρεύς, according to West 2001). However, an Anatolian formation cannot be ruled out in light of the HLuw. *atri*(*ya*)- 'personal, soul' (ALEPPO 6 § 3 COR-*i-sa*) and the city *Atriya* (attested in the Hitt. text *CTH* 181, the Tawagalawa letter dated to around 1250 BC).

Brixhe 2004a, 55.

†ατω see αδενπạṭṇς.

αυτος (emphatic and anaphoric pronoun) 'the very one, the same'

OPhr.	sg. dat. fem.	*avtay* W-01b
	sg. dat. masc. or pl. nom. masc.	*avtoi* T-03b
NPhr.	sg. dat. fem.	αυταη 37.2 (30)
	sg. acc. masc.	αυτον 2.2 (130)
	sg. nom. masc.	αυτος 58.1 (72), 62.2 (33), 62.5 (35)
	sg. dat. masc.	αυτω 37.2 (30)

This pronoun is used in two different ways, emphatic and anaphoric. The first is attested in curses where the god previously quoted in the same inscription is again mentioned as keeper of the monument: W-01b *yos esai≠t materey eveteksetę̓y ovevin onoman da⋎et, lakedo key venavtun avtay materey* and 2.2 τιττετι|[κ]μενος ειτου εικαδ αυτον μεκ|αν τιαν. It appears as anaphoric in the apodoses, in correlation with the protases, where the desecration is mentioned: 58.1, [αι] κος ̣κ[ακον αδα]κκιτορ, | [.] κε [.....]ε αυ̣|τος ειτου, 62.2 αυτος κε ουα κε' ροκα γεγαριτμενος ας βαταν τευτους and 62.5 αυτος κ' ου|α κ' οροκα [γ]εγ[αριτ]με[ν]ο|ς α βαταν τ|ευτους. T-03b, [---]*o̤i* ⁝ *avtoi* ⁝ *eptuve*[---]|[---]*itan mę̣*|[---]*p̣ʔis* ⁝ [---], is too fragmentary for any conclusion to be reached. However, since *avtoi* follows a possible thematic sg. dat., it is perhaps used as emphatic adjective. Finally, in 37.2 it seems to occur in an imprecative apodosis; however, its meaning remains unclear: [.....] ουεβαν εγερετοι αυτω αυταη κε ταν ειυ̣ν̣ο̣υ̣. With regard to origin, it seems a clear cognate of the Gr. pronoun αὐτός, ή, ό 'self, the same', so a PIE formation **h*$_2$*eu̯-to-* (**h*$_2$*eu̯-to-* in *LIPP* II, 344). In Phr. It is also attested in the compound reflexive pronouns *venaventun* and οεαυται. According to Hämmig (fthc. a), the form 43.1 ατω, sometimes considered a variant of this pronoun, is a bad segmentation of the PN Αδε|ν⟨π⟩ατω.
Haas 1966, 195 and 197 (with a confusion); CIPPh I, 40–41; Orel 1997a, 418; de Lamberterie 2013, 42–43; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 184; LIPP II, 344; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1822; Hämmig fthc. a.

αυτω see αυτος.

αωρω (adj.) 'untimely'
NPhr. sg. gen. αωρω 6.1 (88)
A clear borrowing from Gr. ἄωρος, -ον 'untimely, unseasonable', which qualifies the daughter of the promoters, ουεναουιας, a clear *a*-stem sg. gen, in an imprecative protasis: ιος νι σεμουν κνουμανει κακε αδδακετ αωρω ουεναουιας 'whoever does harm to this tomb of the untimely (dead) Venavias'. It is also found in the Gr. part of this epitaph, but it qualifies two people: Αππῃ καὶ Οὐεναουιη τέκνοις ἀώροις 'for Appes and Venavia, (their) untimely (dead) children'. The use of this adj. is very common in Gr. epitaphs dedicated to children in Anatolia.
Brixhe 2002b, 253.

ay see *ai*.

ayniy see *aini*.

B (*b*) – B β

[-?-]***ḅạ***[-?-] (PN?)
OPhr. [-?-]*ḅạ*[-?-] G-329
Despite the bad conservation of this graffito incised on a potsherd, the two remaining letters can be considered the beginning of a PN such as *baba* or *babas*. However, a PN *abas* cannot be ruled out.
Brixhe 2002a, 83–84.

baba (PN)
OPhr. sg. nom. *baba* M-01b, G-121; *bba* M-02
sg. nom. *ḅạḅạṣ* G-06?; *babạ*[-?-] W-08; *bạḅạ*[-?-] G-184; *bab*[---] G-253
A masc. Lallname very common throughout Anatolia (see *KPN* 113 §133–1, Βαβας). In Phr. this name shows a hesitation between the forms with or without the ending *-s*. Since *baba* M-01b and *bba* M-02 bear the same patronymic and title (*memevais proitavos*), they probably refer to the same person and, consequently, *bba* is a mere "lapsus du lapicide" of *baba* (Lejeune 1969a, 28 fn. 42). In both inscriptions it is the subject of the sentence: M-01b *baba memevais proitavos kΦiyanaveyos sikeneman edaes* and M-02 *bba memevais proitavo*[*s*] *k↑ianaveyos akaragayun edaes*. In W-08 this PN occurs after another PN, *bateles*, and the formula *alus si↑eto*. Note also that in this inscription the letter *b* is 8-shaped. In the other instances of this PN, *baba* is the only readable word and, with the exception of G-06, the occurrences are graffiti incised on potsherds (the owners?). Only in G-121 is it known to be complete, and *baba* isolated.
Lejeune 1969a, 28 fn. 42; CIPPh I, 10, 19, 91, 113, 157, 197–198; Brixhe 2004a, 51.

babas and ***bab***[---] see *baba*.

bagun (noun) 'idol'
OPhr. sg. acc. *bagun* G-136
This word written after two PNs, *tadoy iman bagun*., on a small alabaster eagle refers clearly to the object given to *tado-* by *iman*, probably the eagle itself. The first hypothesis on the meaning and origin of this word was given by Lejeune (1969b, 293), who translated it as 'present' by considering it a derivative from PIE *$*b^heh_2go$-*. Also, he adduced the gloss Βαγαῖος. Ζεὺς Φρύγιος, 'B.: Phrygian Zeus', because he considered that its meaning was δοτήρ ἑάων 'giver of goods'. Although Sowa (2008, 28) also adopted this view, the proposed etymology must be rejected because the preservation of the PIE stop as voiced is not expected. This is why Lubotsky suggested two alternative etymologies. Although the second one, which takes *bagun* back to PIE *$*b^heh_2ǵ$-*u*- 'lower arm, elbow' (see, e.g.,

Gr. πῆχθς 'forearm, arm' or Skt. *bāhú-* 'lower arm, arm, foreleg of an animal'), fits well phonetically, its meaning is unlikely for this short text. Nevertheless, Lubotsky's first proposal, a word meaning 'idol' borrowed from OP *baga-* 'god', is very attractive. The chronology of this artefact fits perfectly because it was found in a building from Persian times (perhaps the sixth c. BC), and the eagle could be an early representation of the emblem of the later well-known Ζεὺς Βροντών.

Lejeune 1969b, 293; CIPPh I, 125; Lubotsky 2004, 231; Matzinger 2006, 194–195; Sowa 2008, 28.

babi̯.[---] (PN?)

OPhr. *babi̯*[---] G-138

Fragmented graffito on a potsherd. It may be considered a derivative from a PN such as *baba*(*s*) through the suffix *-*i̯o-*, similar to *imeneia* with regard to *iman*. However, there is no evidence to choose between a fem. form of the PN (as *imeneia*) or an adjectival one, although the adduced parallel favours the former hypothesis.

Brixhe 1984, 126.

βας (DN) 'Bas'

OPhr.	sg. acc.	*batan* T-02 b; *bata*$^{?}$*n*$^{?}$ G-121?
	sg. acc.	*bạto*$^{?}$*ạn* B-04?
NPhr.	sg. nom.	βας 1.1 (48), 7.1 (99), 7.2 (111), 8.1 (86)
	sg. acc.	βαταν 20.2 (128), 62.2 (33), 62.5 (35)

A clear *t*-stem DN whose inflexion is the same as *nevos*. Both OPhr. occurrences are obscure. Indeed, the context of T-02 b is very fragmented, but it seems to be a stele erected by Midas: [---]*n* ⋮ *a*↑*ios* ⋮ *mi*[---] | [---]*n* ⋮ *batan* ⋮ *e*.[---]. B-04 is another possible OPhr. occurrence, which presents a very dubious *o*. This unexpected letter is only shown out by Brixhe (2004a, 38 and 41), but he tended to consider it an accident of the stone. Either way, the context is far from clear: *y*$^{?}$*ạ.oe*$^{?}$*ạp.eạr vi*$^{?}$*s*$^{?}$*.*$^{?}$*bạto*$^{?}$*ạn tẹ*. The NPhr. contexts are clearer. With the exception of 1.1, they represent four different imprecative apodosis. The first one is read in 7.1 (perhaps 56.3 is to be read in light of it) με κε οι τοτοσσειτι βας βεκος, where the DN works as agent. The second is represented by 7.2 and 8.1: βας ιοι βεκος με βερετ. The third apodosis appears in a more common curse where ας βαταν replaces the expected ατ τιαν: με δδεω με ζεμελος τιτετικμενος ειτου ας βαταν ορουεναν κε. Finally, the last apodosis read in 62.2 and 62.5 shows the same prepositional phrase but in a different context: αυτος κε ουα κε οροκα γεγαριτμενος ας βαταν τευτους. However, its etymology has been interpreted in different ways. However, Haas suggested the similarity with the

root *b^heh_2- 'to speak' (*LIV*^{2} 69–70, *IEW* 105–106, see Gr. φημί, φάναι, llatí *for*, *fari*), he preferred an interpretation that must be rejected because of his segmentation of the occurrences. Nevertheless, Diakonoff and Neroznak (1984, 97) followed his proposal, and Brixhe (2004a, 38 and 41) considered it a suggestive hypothesis. More recently, Lubotsky (1997, 123) rejected a proposal by Witczak (1992–1993, 267–268), which equated this word to Myc. *pa-de-i* and *pa-de* (which he read as *Φας, Φαδος), Old Polish *Boda* and, tentatively, Old Indian *Bhadrā*, and reconstructed a root *b^had- 'lucky, happy, proper, good' for all of them. Finally, some old and new proposals equated this name to Gr. γῆ 'earth' (see Hämmig fthc. a). However, the Gr. word does not show a dental inflexion, the occlusive correspondences cannot be accepted, and the etymology of γῆ is not clear. Consequently, although this is a very attractive possibility in terms of meaning, it must be rejected. A new hypothesis has been suggested by Obrador-Cursach (2017), who considered it a derivative of the PIE root *b^heh_2- 'to shine' (*LIV*^{2} 68–69, *IEW* 104–105; see Gr. φάος 'light'). If this is the case, it is a formation *b^hoh_2-*t*- / *b^heh_2-*t*- parallel to Gr. φῶς, φωτός 'man, mortal, hero'. The vocalism of the root in the Phr. nom. must be considered a levelling from the other forms, unlike the Gr. word, where the strong vocalism was spread to the other forms. According to this theory, βας 'the shining one' is an epiclesis of Zeus, who in Phrygia presides over the fertility of the fields, and this name could be a calque of Tarhunt's epithets *piḫaim*(*m*)*i*-, *piḫam*(*m*)*i*- and *piḫaššašši*- 'splendorous, shining, *vel.sim.*'.

Haas 1966, 95; Panagl and Kowal 1983, 192–193; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 97; Bayun and Orel 1988b, 136–137, Brixhe 1991, 42; Witczak 1992–1993, 267 and 68; Brixhe 1993, 331; Brixhe 1997, 51 fn. 32; Lubotsky 1997, 123; Brixhe 2004a, 38, 41; Drew-Bear, Lubotsky, and Üyümez 2008, 115; Hämmig 2013, 136 fn. 12; Obrador-Cursach 2017.

bastidages (PN?)

OPhr. *bastidages* HP-101

Since it seems to follow the probable preposition *per* (note that the segmentation is not at all clear), it cannot be considered a word in nom. (see PN as *ates*). Brixhe (2004a, 103–106) suggested a fem. gen. in *-*es*, still not identified in Phrygian. In any case, this inscription, read on a clay cylinder from Lydia, remains unexplained.

Dinç and Innocente 1999; Brixhe 2004a, 103–106.

batan and βαταν see βας.

bateles (PN)
OPhr. sg.nom. *bateles* W-08
Inscription read on a rock: [-?-] *ates agomoi* | *saꝰta tedaes* | *alus si*↑*eto* | *bateles bab*.[-?-]. This hapax follows the formula *alus si*↑*eto*, which is the last complete sentence in the inscriptions W-09 and W-10, both on rocks. Consequently, it seems probable that it is not syntactically related. Moreover, the first three lines are written in boustrophedon, but the fourth, where this sequence is read, is not. So the relationship between this and the preceeding lines is surprusing. Also, the *b* of *bateles* and the following *babạ*[-?-] are written 8-shaped. In terms of interpretation, *bateles* has been taken as an *e*-stem anthroponym in the nominative. Although no parallel can be adduced, this explanation is likely because the following sequence is considered to be the well attested PN *baba*(*s*).
Brixhe and Drew-Bear 1982, 78; Orel 1997a, 48, 419; Morante Mediavilla 2000, 235–236; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 188; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1824, 1825.

bạtoꝰạn see βας.

bꝰay̰ (PN?)
OPhr. *bạy̰* or *ṛay̰* G-251
Its first letter is difficult to read. This graffito on a potsherd is probably the abbreviation of a PN or merely a sequence written in order to identify its owner.
CIPPh I, 196–197.

bba see *baba*.

be (PN?)
OPhr. *be* G-333
Probably an abbreviation of a PN or a complete *e*-stem Lallname in nominative without the ending *-s*.
Brixhe 2002a, 87–88; Brixhe 2004a, 51.

bevdos (noun) 'statue, image'
OPhr. nom.-acc .sg. *bevdos* B-01, B-08
Neut. *s*-stem word inherited from PIE **bʰeu̯dʰ-os-* 'perception', derived from the root **bʰeu̯dʰ-* (*LIV*² 82–83, *IEW* 150–152) found, e.g., in Gr. ἀπευθής 'ignorant' and the Av. *baoδah-* 'perception'. Lubotsky (2008) identified this Phr. word in B-01, misread by the previous editors, through a new reading and the comparison with Gr. βεῦδος 'dress' in Sappho but also 'garland' and 'statue', according to the glosses στέμμα τι, καὶ ἱμάτιον γυναικεῖον καὶ πόλις. καὶ ἄγαλμα 'a garland, and a feminine dress, and city, and statue' (Hsch. β 542) and Βεῦδος· Πόλις, καὶ γυναι-

κὸς ἱμάτιον πολυτελές· παρὰ Ἑρμησιάνακτι δὲ καὶ ἄγαλμα 'B.: A city, and a costly feminine dress. Also statue in Hermesianax' (*EM* 195.53). This word, previously considered an Asian borrowing (see, e.g., *DELG* 174), can now be identified as a Phr. loanword. In B-01 it appears in a niche where a statue of the mother goddess was expected to be placed: *si bevdos adi*..[..] *kạyarmọyo imroy edaes etovesniyo* 'Adi..[..] made this statue for this field…'. Recently, it has been also read in B-08, found near B-01; however, the context is severly damaged, and we only know that it is followed by *key* 'and' (Brixhe and Vottéro 2016, 134–136, withough considering Lubotsky 2008). At least two cities from Phrygian seem to be named after this word (*KON* 121 § 149): Παλαιὸν Βευδος (Ptolemy, *Geography* 5.5.5; *Beudos quod vetus appellant* 'Beudos called the old' in Liv. 38.15.14; pl.gen. ethnic Παλαιοβευδηνῶν in coins dated to Hadrian times) and *Βευδους Οἶκος, only attested under the ethnic Βευδουσοικειναῦ (gen. sg.; Haspels 1971, I, 300, n° 14). It may also occur in Τιειοβευδηνῇ (fem. sg. dat. ethnic), of the mother goddess (in Drew-Bear 1978, 43,11 = *SEG* 28.1188).

Orel 1997a, 139–140; Lubotsky 2008; Brixhe and Vottéro 2016, 134–136.

βεκος (noun) 'bread'

NPhr.	sg. nom.-acc.	βεκος 7.1 (99), 8.1 (86), 11.2 (18), 15.1 (128), 53.1 (76), 54.1 (108), 62.2 (33); β⌜ε⌝κος 7.2 (111); βε⟨κ⟩ο|ς 11.2 (18);
Glosses		βεκός […] Φρύγας καλέοντας τὸν ἄρτον Hdt. 2.2.3
		βεκός· ἄρτος. [ἢ ἄβητος]. Φρύγες Hsch. β 472

After originally being identified as a possible borrowing from an unknown language (see Lejeune 1979, 221–223), this neut. *s*-stem is now thought to go back to *b^hh_1g-ós- (*$b^hh_1ǵ$-ós- in Lubotsky 2004, 233, who improved the first identification given by Panagl and Kowal 1983, 186–187). Its PIE root, *b^heh_1- 'to warm' (*IEW* 113), shows the same enlargement *-g-* found in Gr. φώγω 'bake' (< *b^hoh_1g-, *EDG* 1600, *DELG* 1236), ON *baka* 'id.', OHG *bahhan* 'id.', Russ. *bažítь*, *bažátь* 'wish, want, whereupon starve', etc. (note that *LIV*^{2} 67–68 reconstructs a root *b^hoh_3g-). Alternatively, it can be derived from PIE *b^heg- 'to break' (*LIV*^{2} 66–67, *IEW* 114–115), cf. Arm. *bekanem* 'to break' (on it, see Martirosyan 2010, 174–175). On its contexts, βεκος always occurs in different imprecative apodoses and some instances related to the god Bas: 7.1 με κε οι τοτοσσειτι βας βεκος (perhaps 56.3 is to be read in light of it), 7.2 and 8.1 βας ιοι βεκος με βερετ, 11.2 βε⟨κ⟩ο\|ς ιοι με τοτος σ' ευγισαρναν, 15.1 [.....]ụ̣ọ̣ịς γ̣ε̣ṿṭị β̣ẹ̣p̣ạị κε p̣ạρτης β̣ẹ̣κος and 53.1, 54.1, 56.3? and 62.2 οι βεκος ακκαλος τιδρεγρουν ειτου.

Lejeune 1979, 221–223; Panagl and Kowal 1983, 186–187; Lubotsky 2004, 233; Matzinger 2006, 198–199.

benagonos (PN)
OPhr. sg. nom. *benagonos* G-116
This PN, read on a pithos from the sixth c. BC, has been considered a compound, but both forms are still discussed. Lejeune (1969b, 294) equated the first element, *bena-*, to the Zeus epithet Βέννιος. However, the origin of this adduced word is not clear. The links to Gr. εὐθενέω 'thrive, flourish' (given by *DGE* s.v.) and PIE *$g^{u}enh_2$- 'woman' (also suggested by Lejeune 1969b, 294) are phonetically indefensible. Regarding to *-gonos*, it has been equated with Gr. compounds in -γονος (Lejeune 1969b, 294, followed by Neumann 1988, 9), but the Phrygian voiced stop of *gonos* does not fit this etymology. Two alternatives are given by Lubotsky (2004, 232): it could go back to *$-g^{u^h}onos$ (Gr. -φονος 'murderer') or *$-dǵ^{h}onos$ (Gr. -χθονος 'ground, earth').
Lejeune 1969b, 294; Brixhe 1982, 239; CIPPh I, 108–109; Roller 1987a, 65; Neumann 1988, 9; Lubotsky 2004, 232; Matzinger 2005, 380; Matzinger 2006, 195–196.

βẹ̣̈πᾳ̣ι (noun or adjective?)
OPhr. pl. nom. or sg. dt.? βẹ̣̈πᾳ̣ι 15.1 (128)
Brixhe and Drew-Bear (1997, 86–91) categorised it as a pl. nom. However, since it follows the word γẹ̣ν̣τι̣, βẹ̣̈πᾳ̣ι could be an adj. that agrees with it in dt. sg. On the other hand, it could also agree with π̣αρτης in pl. nom. In its context βẹ̣κος is the only clear word, but an imprecative apodosis is expected: [.....]υ̣οις γẹ̣ν̣τι̣ βẹ̣̈πᾳ̣ι κε π̣αρτης βẹ̣κος,
Brixhe and Drew-Bear 1997, 86–91.

βερετ see αββερετ.

βιλαταδεναν (noun?)
OPhr. sg. acc. βιλαταδε|ναν MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 1
Its case could be governed by the preposition εν. A segmentation βιλατα δεναν is possible, although it seems to be a compound with a second element derived from a deverbative adjective in *$-d^{h}h_1$-*nós* 'made of *bilata*'. Its meaning and segmentation are as obscure as its context in the MPhr. epitaph: μανκα μεκας σας κιυιν εν κε βιλαταδε|ναν νεκοινουν...
Brixhe 2004a, 15.

βλασκον (noun or verb?)
MPhr. βλασκον MPhr-01 MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 3
Its context is still obscure: ϙ̣α̣ σοροι ματι μακραν : βλασκον κε τακρις κε λο̣υ̣ν̣|ι̣ο̣υ̣ μροτις. This unparalleled word is therefore difficult to interpret. Brixhe (2004a, 18–19) categorised it as a verb in 1sg. or 3pl. due the presence of the possible

suffix *-sk-*. Nevertheless, a sg. acc. (even a sg. gen.) noun cannot been ruled out. This word has yet to be satisfactorily explained.
Brixhe 2004a, 18–19.

bonok (PN)
OPhr. sg. nom. *bonok* W-01a
This PN name agrees with the title that follows it: *bonok akenanogavọṣ materan areyastin vrekun tedatoy*… Its origin is obscure and no parallel can be adduced to it. A common, old explanation (in *IEW* 473, still followed by Woudhuizen 2008–2009, 184) equated this word with Aeol. βανά or Cypr. βονά 'wife', but these are phonetically incompatible because they go back to PIE *$*g^u(e)n$-h_2-, attested in Phrygian as *knays*.
Lubotsky 1988, 12; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 63, no A7; Janda 1997, 272; Orel 1997a, 33–36; Brixhe 2004a, 51; Wittke 2004, 203; Bernd-Ersöz 2006, 72; Sowa 2012, 50; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 192; Opfermann 2017, 68 fn. 73; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1829.

ḅonokauą see *ṃonokauą*.

bo.[---] (?)
OPhr. *bo.*[---] G-130
Beginning of a damaged word read in a sequence incised on a potsherd: *servas bo.*[---]. The first letter was corrected after writing a *p*.
CIPPh I, 120.

braterais (noun) 'brother'
OPhr. pl. acc. *ḅṛąterąis* B-04
NPhr. sg. dat. βρατερε 40.3 (31)
This word is clearly inherited from PIE *$*b^hréh_2tēr$ (*NIL* 38–41, *IEW* 163–164), see, e.g., Lat. *frāter*, Skt. *bhrā́tar-* and Gr. φράτηρ 'member of a community'. The NPhr. form is a clear sg. dat.: μανκαν ιαν εσταες βρατερε | μαιμαρηαν. It is attested in the last line of the inscription: *.$^?$ ląkẹṣ$^?$ ḅṛąterąis pątriyio$^?$is$^?$ k*(*e*). The older interpretation, given by Orel (1997a, 56, 420, followed by Blažek 2005, 20 and Woudhuizen 2008–2009, 184), considered it a pl. dat. However, Brixhe (2004a, 42) suggested the possibility that we are dealing with a pl. acc.: PIE *$*b^hréh_2tern̥s$ > **braterans* > *braterais*. The following word seems to be inflected in the same case.
Brixhe 1996, 131; Orel 1997a, 56, 420; Brixhe 2004a, 24, 42; Blažek 2005, 20; Woudhuizen 2008–2009, 184; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 190; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1826.

βρατερε see *ḅṛąterąis*.

βρειτ (verb) 'break'?
NPhr. 3sg. pres. act. βρειτ 29.1 (114)
Brixhe and Drew-Bear (1997, 79) considered an inherited verb from a PIE root **breH-* / **briH-* 'to cut' (*LIV*^{2} **breu̯H-*, *IEW* 166–167), attested, e.g., through Lat. *frio* 'to rub, break or crumble into small pieces', Skt. *bhrīṇánti* 'to hurt' and OCS *briti* 'shave'. There were doubts as to the segmentation, but the preceding κε has finally been interpreted as the conj.: ιος κε βρειτ περβεδαν... It is clearly the verb of this imprecative protasis.
Brixhe and Drew-Bear 1997, 79.

βροκειω (?)
NPhr. βροκειω 40.3 (31)
It was suggested to be the EN 'Phrygian' by Haas (1966, 104). However, due to the context, [... Ξ]ευναν αι δμως βροκειω | [.....] δεκμουταης ιου, and the phonetic correspondence, this must be rejected. Orel (1997a, 334, 421) considered it an adj. in sg. nom. meaning 'weaker, more stupid' "borrowed from or identical with Gr. [*]βροκίων", based on the gloss βροκός· μωρός, Ἕλληνες 'b.: stupid, Greeks'. Nevertheless, this explanation cannot be accepted because it is based on poorly attested documentation and the assumption that this sentence is a curse, which clearly it is not. This word, then, remains unexplained.
Haas 1966, 104; Kowal 1984b, 184; Orel 1997a, 334, 421.

bu̯gnos (PN?)
OPhr. *bu̯gnos* P-02
It is followed by a PN and its title in gen., *sest bu̯gnos vasos kanutiievanos*, and *sest* looks like a pronominal sequence *ses≠t* (Neumann 1988, 7). It seems to refer some element of the monument. On the basis of *ses≠t*, it has been interpreted as a noun in pl. acc. referring to the monument itself, "hos lapides" (Neumann 1988, 7 fn. 12 and Neumann 1997, 119), or sg.nom. However, it has also been classed as a PN by Orel (1997a, 421). It is unparalleled both as a noun and an anthroponym. Nevertheless, the pl. acc. is expected to be *-ois*, so it may be a sg. nom. In that case, it could be a PN and the whole text can be translated as 'This is Bugnos (the son) of Vasus (the grandson) of Kanutî'.
Neumann 1988, 7; Neumann 1997, 119; Orel 1997a, 421.

𐌂 (*g*) – Γ γ

ga (PN)
OPhr. *ga* NW-131
Although this complete graffito incised on the bottom of a cup can be considered an abbreviation of a PN, Brixhe and Sıvas (2009, 133–134) do not rule out rule out the possibility that it may be a complete PN, in the light of Γα, found in the north of Phrygia and Pisidia (*KPN* 131 § 202–201 and 202–202). In this case, *ga* is an *a*-stem PN in sg.nom without the ending *-s*.
Brixhe 2004a, 51; Brixhe and Sıvas 2009, 133–134.

γαμενo̯υ̯ (participle?)
MPhr. γαμενo̯υ̯ MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 2
It occurs in an epitaph, although the text is still unclear: ποκραιου κη γλουρεος γαμενo̯υ̯ | ṣ̯α σοροι ματι μακραν… Because of the presence of the suffix -μενο- (< *-*mh*$_1$*no*-), γαμενo̯υ̯ can be considered a perfect participle in sg. acc. masc. or sg. nom.-acc. neut. In any case, its meaning and etymology remain unknown.
Brixhe 2004a, 17–18.

garḍ[---] (?)
OPhr. *garḍ*[---] G-198
Incomplete graffito incised on the handle of a vase. Although in such a context PNs predominate, it may be equated to the Pisidian ethnics Γαρδιβιανος and Γαρδυβιανος (attested in Gr. inscriptions from the north of Pisidia, *KON* 134 § 195). Moreover, it seems to share its root with Γόρδιον, the name of the most famous Phrygian city (where this graffito was found), and with *Manegordo* (located in Galatia, near Ancyra, *Itinerarium Antoninum* 142.5), or with Luw. *gurta-* 'city' (on it, see Simon 2016 and 2017b). In any case, if *garḍ*[---] is related to these words, the *a*-vocalism may indicate its Pisidian origin.
CIPPh I, 165.

garies (PN)
OPhr. sg. nom. *garies* or *paries* G-224 b
Graffito incised with other PNs on a marmite: *ata* | *garies* or *paries* | 𐌕*uv*. Therefore, it can be considered an *e*-stem PN, although clear parallels are lacking. Despite the problematic reading of the first letter, Orel (1997a, 224, 452), adducing a similar but not equivalent PN gathered by Gindin (1981, 56), worked with a reading *ṗaries*. If indeed it is to be read as *paries*, it can be related to the first element of the Hitt. PN *Pariziti* (*LNH* 137 § 942). Nevertheless, this remains a mere possibility.
CIPPh I, 180; Orel 1997a, 224, 452.

gata[-?-] see *vata*[-?-].

γεγαριτμενος (participle) 'devoted to, cursed'

NPhr.	3sg. nom. masc.	γεγαριτμενος 62.2 (33); [γεγ]ạριτμ|[ενος] 59.3 (79); [γ]εγ[αριτ]με[ν]ο|ς 62.5 (36)
	3sg. nom. masc.	τιγγεγαριτμενος 6.1 (88)

A reduplicated perfect participle read in three different imprecative apodoses. The first is attested in two inscriptions from Sinanlı where γεγαριτμενος agrees with αυτος: 62.2 αυτος κε ουα κο[?]ροκα γεγαριτμενος ας βαταν τευτου≠ς and 62.5 αυτος κ' ου\|α κ'οροκα [γ]εγ[αριτ]με[ν]ο\|ς α βαταν τ\|ευτου≠ς. The other two apodoses are unparalleled but simpler: 6.1 τιγ\|γεγαριτμενος ιτου and 59.3 … τος τυ.\|[.. γεγ]ạριτμ\|[ενος ειτου]. The etymology of γεγαριτμενος is the same as Gr. χαρίζω 'gratify or indulge, give graciously', which goes back to the PIE root **ǵʰer(H)-* 'desire, enjoy' (*LIV*[2] 176–177, *IEW* 440–441), also attested, e.g., in Skt. *háryati* 'to find pleasure, enjoy, like' and Lat. *horitur* 'urge, exhort'. Note that the Phrygian root shows the extension *-i-*, also found in these examples. According to Lubotsky and Ligorio (2013, 183 = 2018, 1823), the *a*-vocalism of the Phrygian γεγαριτμενος (also found in the OPhr. adj. *agariṭoi* 'devoted') is explained as the vocalisation of **r̥*: **ǵʰr̥Hit-*. The form τιγγεγαριτμενος (6.1) shows the preverb τις with assimilation. Finally, in some inscriptions from Anatolia the Gr. participle κεχαρισμέν\|ος is used as a calque of Phrygian γεγαριτμενος: compare, e.g., ἔστω κεχαρισμένος Δεὶ Εὐροδ[αμηνῶ] 'let him be devoted to Zeus Eurodamenos' (*MAMA* IV 184, from Phrygia) and ἐνκεχαρισμέν\|ος ἤτω (*MAMA* VII 402, from Galatia), with NPhr. τιγ\|γεγαριτμενος ιτου (6.1).

Haas 1966, 209; Brixhe 1982, 245; Lubotsky 1989b, 148; Orel 1997a, 252–253, 431; Lubotsky 2004, 230; Matzinger 2005, 380; Woodhouse 2006, 162; Sowa 2007a, 90–91; Lubotsky and Ligorio 2013, 182, 183; Lubotsky and Ligorio 2018, 1822, 1823.

γεγρειμεναν (participle) 'written'

NPhr.	sg. acc. fem.	γεγειμεναν 62.2 (33)
	sg. acc. fem.	γεγρειμεναν 53.1 (76), 60.1 (59), 60.2 (60), 62.1 (32), 62.2 (33), 62.3 (34), 62.5 (36), 62.6 (105); γεγρειμε[ναν] 54.1 (108); γεγρ̣[ειμεναν] 56.3 (64)
	sg. acc. masc.	γεγρειμενον 59.4 (106)
	sg. acc. masc.	γε|γρι|με|νο|ν 56.2 (58)

This perfect participle is commonly found in a formulaic protasis, where it agrees with ουταν: e.g., 53.1 … γεγρειμε̣να\|ν εγεδου τιος ουταν 'let him experience the written curse of Zeus'. The masc. form read in 59.4 agrees with a masc. variant of ουταν: 59.4 …γεγρειμενον κ' εγεδου ορουενος ουτον. Finally, in 56.2 γεγριμενον (with itacism in the root) appears in a non-imprecative sentence: μοναν

μροτιη ιον εγεσι|τ γε|γρι|με|νο|ν. In the form γεγειμεναν 62.2, the onset cluster γρ- seems to be simplified in γ-. Regarding its etymology, Haas (1966, 86–87) equated γεγρειμεναν to Gr. χρίω 'graze, spread, (be)smear, enqueue, anoint, plaster' and, consequently, suggested that the root of γε-γρει-μεναν goes back to the PIE verbal root *$g^{h}reiH$-*s*-, commonly reconstructed as *$g^{h}reiH$- 'strike' (*LIV*^{2} 203, *IEW* 457).

Haas 1966, 86–87; Bayun and Orel 1990; Orel 1997a, 377; Lubotsky 2004, 230; Sowa 2007a, 90–91; EDG 1650; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 184, 185, 192; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1822, 1823, 1828.

γεγρειμενον and γεγριμενον see γεγρειμεναν.

ǧeies (PN)
OPhr. nom. sg. *ǧeies* or *ṭ̓eies* G-125
A word read after the verb *eneparkes* in a potsherd. Although *ṭ̓eies* was the common reading, *CIPPh* (I, 116) preferred to read *ǧeies*. It is very likely a PN in nom. sg. and the agent of *eneparkes*, despite its unusual position after the verb: [---]*rono.oy eneparkes ǧeies*.
CIPPh I, 116.

γεντι (?)
NPhr. γεντι 15.1 (120)
An obscure word read in an unparalleled and damaged apodosis: ις τιε τι|[ττε-τικ]μ̣ε̣ι̣ος ειτυ ουελας κοννου κ' ηνκ|[.....]υ̣ο̣ι̣ς̣ γ̣ε̣ι̣τ̣ι̣ β̣ε̣π̣α̣ι̣ κε π̣αρτης β̣ε̣κος̣.

γερεν see εγερετοι.

γλουρεος (adj.) 'golden'
MPhr. sg. nom. masc. γλουρεος MPhr-01 (W-11), l. 2
Gloss γλούρεα· χρύσεα. Φρύγες καὶ γλουρός · χρυσός (Hsch. γ 659)
Although the context of this word remains obscure, ... ποκραιου κη γλουρεος γαμενο̣υ̣ι̣ | ǧα̣ σοροι ματι μακραν..., the meaning of this word is transmitted by the gloss γλούρεα· χρύσεα. Φρύγες καὶ γλουρός· χρυσός 'γ.: golden things. Phrygians. Also γ. gold' (Hsch. γ 659). So, it is easily analysed as an adj. derived from the PIE root *$ǵ^{h}l̥h_{3}$- 'green, yellow' parallel to Gr. χλωρός 'greenish-yellow, pale green', also attested, e.g., in Lat. *helus*, (*h*)*olus* 'green plants, vegetables, cabbage'. Skt. as *hari-* 'fallow, greenish' (used in compounds). According to Brixhe (2004a, 17), γλουρεος contains the derivative suffix *-*eio*-. The lack of the glide may be a consequence of using the Gr. script. In any case, Phrygian γλουρεος must be

derived from the noun *γλούρος, which occours in Besantius's *Bomos* calligram (second c. BC, transmitted by the *Gr. Anthology* 15.25, vv. 7–8): ἐς γὰρ βωμὸν ὁρῇς με μήτε γλούρου | πλίνθοις 'thou seest in me an altar not composed of gold bricks' (in sg. gen., see *EDG* 277).
Brixhe 2004a, 17; Sowa 2007a, 159; Sowa 2008, 31, 50, 88; EDG 277; de Lamberterie 2013, 26; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 185, 186; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1823, 1824.

γονιον (noun) 'child'?
OPhr. sg. acc. γονιον 16.1 (116) l. 8
A thematic noun attested in an obscure epitaph: ọ̣μ̣ọ̣υσασαι ποσεκανες ακα[.?]|-ḍ̣εο ποκ γονιον τευτωσι ιε[.]|γọ̣υταις εδαες. Its case is governed by the preposition ποκ (< ποσ with assimilation with γονιον). Its meaning remains unknown, although a borrowing from the diminutive *γόνιον of the Gr. noun γόνος 'child, offspring' cannot be ruled out (compare ἔγγονον from ἔγγονος 'grandson').
Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 176–177; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 187.

†γουμ see γουμειε.

γουμειε (noun)
NPhr. sg. dat.? γουμειε 2.2 (130) l. 7 and 10
It appears in two equivalent sentences: l. 5–7 αινι ουεβαν δεδασσιννι πατρες σεμουν κορο[υ]μανη σως κη γουμειε… and l. 9–10 αινι κος κακην αδδακετ κορο[υ]-μανη σως κη γουμειε… On the basis of its contexts, γουμειε is very likely a sg. dat. noun coordinated with the other dat. noun κορο[υ]μανη by the conj. κη. Consequently, although its etymology and specific meaning remain unclear, γουμειε must refer to a part of the monument or its location: αινι κος κακην αδδακετ κορο|[υ]μανη σως κη γουμειε… 'if someone does harm to this plot and to its? γου-μειε…' Avram (2015, 211), the first editor of 2.2, segmented γουμειε in two words: γουμ ειε (Avram 2015, 211). Nevertheless, the resulting ending -μ is unattested and unexpected in Phrygian (PIE *-*m*# yields -*n*# in Phrygian). Finally, Avram (2015, 211) also suggested that its root can be related to εγọ̣υννου.
Avram 2015, 211.

guvatis see *ṭuvatis*.

Δ (*d*) – Δ δ

d (mark)
OPhr. *d* G-282
Mark incised on the underside of the base of a bowl.

ḍ[-**?**-] see *a*[1].

dạ[---] (PN?)
OPhr. *dạ*[---] G-303
Potter's stamp with the beginning of a probable PN.
Brixhe 2002a, 63.

dabati (verb)
OPhr. 3sg. pres. ind. act. *dabati* B-08; *dạ*[*b*]*ati* B-01 l. 5
A verb found in the two large incriptions from Germanos. Although we know that they are cultic texts, their contents are still unclear and the fragments in which both occurences appear are eroded: B-01 [..]*toyo*[.]*is* [.]*erktẹvoys ekey dạ*[*b*]*ati* | *opito* [*k*]*ey* and B-08 *si tadila*[---] | [---] *bevdos key* [---] | [---] *key dabati* [---]. Note that B-01, previously considered a form related to *daket* 'he does', is restored in light of B-08. Its meaning and origin remain unknown.
Brixhe and Vottéro 2017, 138.

daguvạs (PN)
OPhr. sg. nom. *daguvạs* G-293
Graffito incised on the bottom of a bowl. According to Brixhe (2002a, 53–55), *daguvạs* is likely a PN, although its origin is unclear. He suggested two possibilities. Perhaps *daguvạs* is the same PN found as *Takuwa* in Hittite (*LNH* 170–171 § 1219), although de initial voiced stop is not expected. The second equates it to Gr. ταχύς 'swift, fast' and considers *daguvạs* a PN name derived from a PIE adj. **dʰn̥gʰ-u-* 'id.'. However, the etymology of the Gr. form is still problematic (see *EDG* 1456–1457) and the vocalisation does not fit as Phrygian.
Brixhe 2002a, 53–55.

δαδιτι (noun?)
NPhr. sgd. dat.? δαδιτι 22.1 (9)
It is attested in an epitaph without imprecation: υς δουμ[?]ετ[ι]ου πασε δεκμουταις κινο[υ]μα ẹτι μ⟨α⟩νκαν οπεσταμẹ̣ṿạṿ δαδιτι Νεν[υε]ρια παρτυς ουβρα. The Gr. part of this inscription seems to provide different information: Κόϊντος Ῥούφου τῇ ἰδί|ᾳ γυναικὶ Νενυεριᾳ μν|[ήμη]ς ᾰ̓[ϊδ]ιότατον ἵνεκα 'Quintus Rufus for his wife

Nenueria in memoriam'. Despite the Gr. text, the Phr. part remains obscure since the two versions do not fit word for word. Consequently, two different interpretations have been suggested. The first considers δαδιτι a verb, which could be in 3sg. ind. pres. act. (see ραδιτι), and was suggested by Lubotsky (1989a, 79), who translated a part of this sentence as "'made a grave and a standing monument for Nenueria" *uel sim*." Consequently, to this possibility, δαδιτι is somehow to *d^heh_1- (*LIV*^{2} 136–138, *IEW* 235–239; see αδδακετ). However, δαδιτι seems to be in 3sg. ind. pres. act. (see ραδιτι), and the expected Phr. form in such a context is εδαες (3sg. ind. aor. act.). On the other hand, Orel (1997a, 75, followed by Woudhuizen 2008–2009, 211) argued that the root of this supposed verb is the PIE *deh_3- 'give' (*LIV*^{2} 105–106, *IEW* 223–225). This interpretation must be rejected in light of the recent identification of this root in τοτοσσειτι 'gives'. A second analysis considers δαδιτι in the light of the Gr. phrase γυναικὶ Νεννυεριᾳ 'to (his) wife Nenueria' and considers this Phrygian word a noun in sg. dat. First suggested by Calder (in *MAMA* IV, 7), it was followed by Haas (1966, 103–104), who equated it to Gr. τηθίς, -ίδος 'aunt', and Woodhouse (2006, 166), who agrees with Haas's proposal and adduces parallel semantic changes such as Alb. *motër* 'sister' from PIE *$méh_2tēr$ 'mother' (see Demiraj 1997, 279). However, 'wife' in NPhr. occurs as κναικαν (sg. acc.).

Haas 1966, 103–106; Lubotsky 1989a, 79; Orel 1997a, 75; Woudhuizen 2008–2009, 211.

δαδου (PN?)

NPhr. sg. gen.? δαδου 11.2 (18)

A possible *o*-stem PN in sg. nom. or sg. dat. attested in a non-imprecative part of an epitaph: [---]οι κνουμα ετι δεᾳδᾳ μανκαν μιμογαδις ακε̣ʔνικου οκαυγοσι μιδακας δαδου λευκιωι δακαρ λευκις μιμογας κε ματαρ ευγεξαρναι̯ κ' οτ ατι̣αμα κνουμεν ταν ε[.]τας ται κολταμανει... Since it follows the PN μιδακας, δαδου is verly likely a sg. gen. used as patronymic. Wouhouse (2006, 171) considered that δαδου was a common noun, 'grandfather', inherited from a PIE *$d^hēd^hos$ adducing Gr. τήθη 'grandmother' and Slavic *$dědъ$ 'grandfather'. However, it is easier to consider it a variant of the Lallnamen Δαδα, Δαδας, Δαδης, Δαδων, Δαδδος, etc. commonly found across all of Anatolia (*KPN* 139–141 § 244; see also NPhr. δαδων).

Bayun and Orel 1988c, 142; Orel 1997a, 82, 421; Wouhouse 2006, 171.

δαδων (PN)

NPhr. sg. nom. δαδων 43.1 (69) l. 12
sg. dat. δαδωνε|ι 43.1 (69) l. 7–8

An *n*-stem Lallname found twice in an obscure epitaph: ειν̣εᾳ̣ μ|δους, ξευ|νε πειρ α|ρεοπ αδε|ν⟨π⟩ατω κν̣ο̣υ|μαν [ο]υ̣εκρ|ω δαδωνε|ι ονουειᾳ ει|ροι τᾳ̣ αᾳ̣δ̣ενπ|ᾳ̣τ̣ης δεουᾳ̣|ιας μᾳ̣νεις | δαδων κε | οκκαυγοι | ουργουσαε|ν. It is also attested in Gr.

inscriptions from Phrygia as Δαδων, Δαδωντος (*KPN* 141 § 244–7), although in this language it follows the *nt*-inflection.

KPN 141 § 244–7; Orel 1997a, 346 and 421.

δαδωνει see δαδων.

davoi (PN)

OPhr. sg. dat. *davoi* M-06; *dạvoi* B-05 l. 2

A PN engraved on a rock-cut "altar" (M-06) and in the non-imprecative part of the Vezirhan stele: M-06 [*v*]*?ẹrekun deiatiteeạ.?* *davoi iman* and B-05 *iben edạtoy dạkeraṇ ạtriyạs dạvoi okiṃạḳịyạ*[---] | *vrekạn vitạraṇ artimitoṣ krạniyạs* [---]. Its relation with Gr. Δᾶος, Δαῦος and Lat. *Dauus* (e.g.), a common PN for slaves, especially in drama (see, e.g., Terentius, *Andria* 1, 2, 24 *Dauus sum, non Oedipus* 'I am Davus, not Oedipus'), seems evident. The sequence *-vo-* can be considered an epenthetic glide also found in *devun*. However, if one considers that most Phrygian PNs are borrowed from Anatolian languages, it is perhaps better explained as a reflex of non-Phrygian origin. Ramsay (1895, 360) connected the Pisidian PN Γδαβος with Gr. Δᾶος (the OPhr. forms had not yet been found) and considered that the Pisidian form was the reflex of the Gr. one. However, Pisidian Γδαβος (N12), the gen. of Γδαβα (N10, N11 [*bis*], N27), is now interpreted as inherited from Proto-Luwic **hanta-wa-* 'belonging to the front side', the same root is found in the Pisidian PN in gen. Γδεβετις, cognate of Lyc. noun *xñtawat*(*i*)- 'ruler' and Luw. *ḫandawat*(*i*)- 'id.' (see Simon 2017a, 31–32, with references). Consequently, Γδαβος cannot be defined as the Pisidian rendering of Δᾶος.

Bayun and Orel 1988a, 181; Vassileva 1995a, 270; Orel 1997aa, 422; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 76–78; Brixhe 2004a, 55; Hämming 2013, 139 fn. 30.

δακαρ see *dạker*.

δακαρεν and ***dạ*[*k*]*ati*** see αδδακετ.

dạker (noun)

OPhr.	sg. nom.?	*dạker* B-05 l. 5
	pl. acc.	*dạḳerạiṣ* B-05 l. 7
	sg. acc.	*dạkeraṇ* B-05 l. 2
NPhr.	sg. nom.?	δακαρ 11.2 (18) l. 3
	pl. nom.	δ[α]|ḳερης 16.1 (116) l. 9–10

An *r*-stem noun without a clear meaning. It is found three times in the non-imprecative part of the Vezirhan stele: B-05 *sin=t imenạn kạliyạ ti tedạt*[...]*ed-*

ekm[...]*mẹąṣ*$^{?}$ *ḍ*$^{?}$*ụ*$^{?}$*ṃịḍ* | *iben edątoy dąkerąn ątriyąs dąvoi okiṃąḳịyą*[---] | *vrekąn vitąrąn artimitoṣ krąniyąs* [---] | *pąntą vebrąṣ ądun p*$^{?}$*os key estąt pator.*$^{?}$*ike*[...]*ẹ*-[..] *ąndąti* | *vąy niptiyąy dąker kąrątu enpsątus meką*[---]*ąsiyą..*$^{?}$ | *nidus ąd kąliyay kąrątụ pąnąto ąndo popostois kḷąniv* | *kelmis ke umniṣet evrąduṣ dąkerąiṣ key iverais* [..] | *ątikrąiu*... It is also found in the non-imprecative part of two epitaphs completely written in Phrygian: 11.3 [---]οι κνουμα ετι δεᾳδᾳ μανκα|ν μιμογαδις ακε$^{?}$νικου οκαυγοσι | μιδακας δαδου λευκιωι δακαρ | λευκις μιμογας κε ματαρ ευγεξα|ρναι κ' οτ ατ̣ιαμα κνουμεν ταν ε|[.]τας ται κολταμανει and 16.1 ομ̣ρυσασαι ποσεκανες ακα[.$^{?}$]|δ̣εο ποκ γονιον τευτωσι ιε[.]|γ̣ρυταις εδαες πινκε τας δ̣[α]|ϰερης ονομανιαις μ̣ιρου ιϰ[.] | ϰ̣ναικαν εδαες. Of the two sg. nom. forms, the expected one is δακαρ, in light of the inflection of *matar*. Then, despite its antiquity, *dąker* can be a secondary form which levelled its last vowel from the other forms. As Brixhe (2004a, 54) suggested, this noun very likely derives from the verb (αδ)δακετ.

Brixhe 2004a, 54.

δ̣[α]ϰ̣ερης, ***dąḳerąiṣ*** and ***dąkerąn*** and see *dąker*.

dąket, δακετ, ***dakor***, †***dąpitiy*** and ***da*ᛉ*et*** see αδδακετ.

das (?)

OPhr. *das* W-10

An obscure word attested in an unclear text engraved on a sheer lone rock: *alụs si*ᛏ*eto das*. The same phrase without the element *das* is found in W-08 *alus si*ᛏ*eto*$^{?}$ and W-10 *alụs si*ᛏ*eto das*. Although Orel (1997a, 51, 421) considered it a PN in sg. nom. (also Avram fthc.), the subject of the sentence is clearly *alụs*, if *si*ᛏ*eto* is a verb. In that case, this interpretation does not fit the context. However, the status of *si*ᛏ*eto* is not clear and an anthroponymic sequence cannot be ruled out.

Brixhe and Drew-Bear 1982, 86; Orel 1997a, 51, 421; Avram fthc.

†***dabpulaịsini*** see *da8pula* and *isini*.

dabpula (noun)

OPhr. pl. nom. acc. *dabpula* P-101

A graffito incised on the bottom of a pot: *ąini dabp*$^{?}$*ula ịsini*. Although this obscure text has been discussed and even its segmentation was unclear, Hämmig (fthc. b) has recently equated it to the NPhr. 2.2 αινι ουεβαν δεδασσιννι and concluded that *dabpula* is the object of the verb *ịsini* as well as ουεβαν of δεδασσιννι. Unfortunately, the meaning of this word remains unknown.

CIPPh 1, 244–254; Orel 1997a, 302, 421; Hämmig fthc. b.

𐐝𐐝𐐓𐐔 see 𐐝𐐓𐐔.

***de*[1]** (PN?)
OPhr. *de* G-341
Very likely this graffito incised on a sherd is an abbreviation of a PN, as is common in such inscriptions.
Brixhe 2002a, 95.

†***de*[2]** see *dedasity*.

𐐝𐐓𐑁𐐝𐑁 (?)
OPhr. 𐐝𐐓𐑁𐐝𐑁 11.2 (18) l. 1
Read in a non-imprecative part of an obscure epitaph: [---]οι κνουμα ετι 𐐝𐐓𐑁𐐝𐑁 μανκα|ν μιμογαδις ακε̣ʾνικου οκαυγοσι μιδακας δαδου λευκιωι δακαρ… The two interpretations of 𐐝𐐓𐑁𐐝𐑁 must be rejected. Orel (1997a, 81, 422) considered that it was a chain of clitics, *de≻ai≻de*, where 𐐝ε was an unidentified particle and 𐐝𐐓α the Phr. cognate of the Gr. διά 'through'. However, this last particle occurs in Phr. as τι-, making this solution phonetically impossible. On the other hand, Woodhouse (2006, 171 fn. 24) segmented 𐐝ε αδα and equated the second element to Gr. ἤδη 'already, by this time', but this can again be ruled out because a voiceless stop would be expected in the Phr. outcome. Consequently, this word remains to be explained.
Orel 1997a, 81, 422; Woodhouse 2006, 171 fn. 24.

[-?-]***deḍ***[?][---] (PN?)
OPhr. [-?-]*deḍ*[?][---] NW-116
Although it is very likely a Lallname with a similar structure to *nana* or *baba* (see Brixhe 2002a, 21), the bad preservation of this pot graffito do not allow to give any conclusion.
Brixhe 2002a, 21.

†***dedapitiy***, 𐐝𐐓𐐝𐐔𐐔𐐒𐐒𐐒 and ***dedasitiy*** see 𐐀𐐝𐐝𐐀𐐒𐐓.

deỵǫs (noun) 'god'

OPhr.	sg. nom.	*deỵǫs* P-03
	sg. acc. / pl. gen.?	*devun* B-07
NPhr.	pl. dat.	𐐝𐐓𐔖 3.1 (97), 10.1 (112), 17.6 (119), 19.1 (96), 20.1 (63), 20.3 (62), 24.1 (40), 27.1 (92), 32.1 (93); [𐐝]𐐓[ως] 17.2 (3); [𐐝]ε[ω]ς 21.1 (42); 𐐝ιως 12.1 (121), 18.1 (4), 18.2 (5), 22.2 (118); 𐑁[ιως] 35.1 (25)?; 𐐝𐐓ος 17.3 (7), 18.3 (6); 𐐝ιος 30.1 (39); 𐐝υως 10.2 (113); 𐐝𐐝𐐓ω 20.2 (128)

All the NPhr. forms appear in the basic formula, with many variants studied by Lubotsky (1998): με δεως κε ζεμελως κε 'in the sight of gods and men'. According to Lubotsky (1998, 419), this noun is the Phr. outcome of PIE *$d^{h}h_{1}$-*s*-*ó*- 'god' (*NIL* 102), a cognate of Gr. θεός 'id.'. The previous proposal (Brixhe 1983, 115 and 117), a noun derived from PIE *$deiu̯ōs$ (*NIL* 71–72, attested in Skt. *devá* 'god' and Lat. *deus* 'id.'), was ruled out because the simplification *$ei̯$- > /e:/ is difficult to defend in Phrygian and the presence of a voiced stop is unexpected in the Phr. word. The most common form is the NPhr. pl. dat. δεως (< *-*ōis*), with some trivial variants: διως and διος, which present the hesitation /e/ ~ /i/ (see § 4.1.1), δυως, where upsilon is used instead of ipsilon because of the influence of the Gr. itacism, and δεος and διος, which shows the loss of vowel length differentiation between /o:/ and /o/. The form *deẏọs* is clearly the sg. nom. because of its context. Indeed, in the text where it is read, engraved on a stone block, it agrees with the adj. *meḳạs* where *vasous iman mekas ḳanutieivạịs deẏọs ke meḳạs*. Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 186) explain its non-etymological *-v-* as an epenthesis parallel to *tovo*. OPhr. *devun*, which also shows this epenthesis, is less clear, since its ending can be considered a pl. gen. *-*ōn* (according to Brixhe 2004a, 83) or a sg. acc. *-*on* and its context remains obscure: *yos tiv*[.]|[.?]*n ke devụṇ k umnotan ordoineten*.

Brixhe 1983, 115 § 4.1; CIPPh 1, 234; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 101–102; Brixhe 1990, 77; Orel 1997a, 293, 422; Lubotsky 1998, 419; Brixhe 2004a, 83–84; de Lamberterie 2013, 35–36; Lubotsky 2013, 186; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1822.

deiatiteeạ[.?] (?)

OPhr. *deiatiteeạ*[.?] M-06

Attested in a text engraved on a small rock-cut monument: *ṛekun deiatiteeạ.? davoi iman*. Bayun and Orel (1988a, 181) considered *deiati* a verb in 3sg. derived from the PIE verbal root *$d^{h}eh_{1}$- 'to do' (*LIV*^{2} 136–140, *IEW* 235–239). However, the sequence *-ia-* is not expected. There is very likely a word boundary between the contiguous *e*: *deiatite eạ*[.?], although this remains unclear.

CIPPh 1, 26; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 181; Orel 1997a, 29 and 423.

devun see *deẏọs*.

δεκμουταης see δεκμουνταις.

δεκμουταις (?)

OPhr.		*dekm*[---] B-05 l. 1?
NPhr.	pl. acc.	δεκμουταης 40.3 (31)
	pl. acc.	δεκμουταις 22.1 (9)

It is found in two NPhr. epitaphs: 22.1 υς δουμ$^{?}$ετ[ι]ου πασε δεκμουταις κινο[υ]μα ẹτι μ⟨α⟩νκαν οπεσταμẹ̣ṿạ̣ δαδιτι Νεν[υε]ρια παρτυς ουβρα and 40.3 [... ξ]ευναν αι δμως βροκειω | [.....] δεκμουταης ιου | [.....] προ τοσου. The possible occurrence in the Vezirhan stele (Brixhe 2004a, 53 and Sowa 2007a, 80–81) is unclear since this part of the text is badly damaged: compare Brixhe's 2004a, 65 reading of the line *sint imenạn kạliyạ ti tedạt*[...]*e dekm*[...]*mẹ̣ạṣ*$^{?}$ *ḍ*$^{?}$*ụ*$^{?}$*mịḍ*... with Neuman's (1997, 18) *sint imenan kaliya titedaṭ* [...]*ẹ. ẹḳmọ . ṃenana . a*..., where the restoration [*t*]*ẹḳmọ*[*r*] is suggested (attested in P-04, also in Gorbachov 2009, 92). δεκμουταης and δεκμουταις are two variants of an *a*-stem noun in pl. acc., where ⟨αη⟩ stands for /ai/ (see, however, Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 183). Its meaning and etymology are unknown, since attempts to identify them must be refuted. Neumann (1986, 84) suggested that it was the ordinal number 'tenth' derived from PIE **déḱm̥-* 'ten' (also Orel 1997a, 74 and 422–423, Blažek 2005, 30). However, the presence of the voiced dental stop in the Phr. form is unexpected. The same can be said of Woudhuizen's proposal (2008–2009, 184 and 211), a word parallel to Gr. δεκάτη 'tenth part, tithe', also derived from PIE **déḱm̥-*. Finally, it also rules out the interpretation given by Haas (1966, 103–105), Calder (1911, 169) and Woodhouse (2006, 163), who equated δεκμουταις to the Gr. formula μνήμης ἀιδιότατον είνεκα 'always in memory', and considered it to be a compound made up of the numeral **déḱm̥-* and **μ̥étos* 'year', whose meaning is suggested to be 'decade'. On the other hand, Diakonoff and Neroznak (1985, 35, 117) considered it a deverbative adj. which goes back to PIE **g$^{\mu}$em-* 'to step' (*LIV*^{2} 209–210, *IEW* 464–465; see, e.g., Gr. βαίνω, Lat. *uenio*), giving it the perfective meaning 'passed away, dead': **d$^{(h)}$e-g^{w}mō-t-o- > *dekmuto-*. Nevertheless, the first element of this formation is difficult to explain and it is an *ad hoc* etymology.

Haas 1966, 103–105; Neumann 1986a, 80, 84; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 35, 117; Orel 1997a, 74, 422–423; Brixhe 1999, 301; Brixhe 2002a, 68; Brixhe 2004a, 53; Woodhouse 2006, 162–163; Woudhuizen 2008–2009, 184, 211; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 183; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1826.

dekm[---] and see δεκμουνταις.

†**δεοποκγονιον** see ακα[.$^{?}$]δεο, *pos* and γονιον.

δεος see *devos*.

δεουẹ̣ιας (PN)
NPhr. sg. gen.? δεουẹιας 43.1 (69)
Read in an obscure epitaph: ειν̣εα̣̣ μ|δους, ξευ|νε πειρ α|ρεοπ αδε|ν⟨π⟩ατω κ̣ṿọ̣υ|μαν [ο]ụ̣εκρ|ω δαδωνε|ι ονουειạ̣ ει|ροι τẹ̣ α̣̣δ̣̣ενπ|ạ̣τ̣ης δεουσ̣|ιας μ̣ạ̣νεις | δαδων κε | οκκαυ-

γοι | ουργουσαε|ν. It is often read as δεουσιας since the central stroke of the epsilon is lost. However, because of the presence of ⟨ου⟩, which could stand for /w/, δεουε̣ιας /deweias/ (or /dewias/) is preferable (see ουεναουιας /wenawias/). Despite the lack of parallels, since it follows the PN αδ̣ενπ|α̣τῃς (nom.) it can be considered an *a*-stem, PN in sg. gen., used as a patronymic (though *KPN* 145 § 269 is considered a fem. PN).
Haas 1960, 64; KPN 145 § 269.

†δεουσιας see δεουειας.

(†)***deṛagiv*** see *deṛaliv*.

deṛaliv (?)
OPhr. *deṛaliv* B-05 l. 9
Obscure word read in the imprecative part of the Vezirhan stele: *sin≈t imenạn kạkạ oskạvos kạkey kạn dedạsitiy tubetiv oy ḳevos deṛaliv mekạṣ key koyis ạbretoy nun ibey neyotạn ṇiptiyan sirun mireyun*. According to Neumann (1997, 23), who read it as *deragiv*, its unclear ending is found in the preceding *tubetiv*. However, *tubetiv* is a verb in 3sg. and *deṛaliv* remains unclear. See Hämmig's analysis (2013, 140 and 142–143) for the comparable words found in its position in the other analogous curses of this inscription.
Neumann 1997, 23; Brixhe 2004a, 61; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 184; Hämmig 2013, 140 and 142–143; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1819.

deritoy (verb)
OPhr. 3sg. subj. pres. med. *deritoy* B-05
A verb read in an imprecative apodosis of the Vezirhan stele: †*iv*† *imun inmeney ạsenạn dạket torvetun* ↑*iṛạy ạyniy oy tubnuv nevos, me deritoy kovis ke ạbretoy nun oy nev*⟨*otan*⟩. It has been considered *mederitoy* as a verb with preverb; however, in the apodosis only verbs in imperative or in subj.pres. with *me* are expected, see, e.g., 7.1 με κε οι τοτοσσειτι βας βεκος. For the same reason, the aor. *m-ederitoy* suggested by Gorbachov (2008, 94, fn. 4) can be ruled out. The meaning and the etymology of *deritoy* remain unknown.
Neumann 1997, 25; Brixhe 2004a, 63; Sowa 2007a, 74; Gorbachov 2008, 94, fn. 4; Hämmig 2013, 140, 142–143.

ḍẹṣ[---] (prep.?)
OPhr. *ḍẹṣ*[---] B-06
The begining of a word read on a damaged stele: *sṭaḷ²a ke* : ↑*ekṃ²*[*at*]*ẹṣ keɣ*[---]*ạ²yọ²*[---]|*ḍẹṣ*[---] : *ẹvent noktoy* : *ẹṃetẹṭariyois* | [---]*y*... Orel (1997a, 152 and

422) equated it to the Gr. particle δή 'now, so, then', and Brixhe (2004a, 71) suggested the presence of a prep. δη followed by the beginning of an unknown word *s*[---]. However, the first proposal can be ruled out because the voiced stop is unexpected and the suggested prep. δη is an erroneous segmentation of θαλαμειδη.
Vassileva 1995, 27–34; Brixhe 1996, 125–136; Orel 1997a, 152, 422; Brixhe 2004a, 71.

δετουν (noun) '(funerary) monument'
MPhr. sg. acc. δετοṵṇ MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 7
NPhr. sg. acc. δετουν 40.3 (31); δετον 16.1 (116) l. 1
The three instances of this word are found in funerary stelae: MPhr-01 ιος κοροαν δετοṵṇ ϙοṵν ομαστα ομνισιτου≠ς, 16.1 ξ̣ευνε ιοσος κε δετοṇ [ο?υ]ψοδ̣αν κε τ̣ᾳν σαυναμαν [.?] κ̣νο̣υμαν κ' ακροδμαν κε λο̣δ̣ιμον μειομον ριδιτι... and 40.3 πουκρος μανις|[ο]υ ενεπαρκες δετουν... In terms of etymology, it is commonly accepted that δετουν is a cognate of the Gr. adj. θετός 'placed, set', which goes back to the form **d*^{h}*h*$_{1}$*-to-* (*NIL* 102–103), derived from the verbal root **d*^{h}*eh*$_{1}$- 'to do, to put' (*LIV*^{2} 136–140, *IEW* 235–239). Consequently, it has been considered to mean 'inscription' or, preferably, '(funerary) monument'.
Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 170; Lubotsky 1993a, 131; Orel 1997a, 152, 423; Brixhe 2004a, 23; Sowa 2007a, 91; Woudhuizen 2008–2009, 184 §34; de Lamberterie 2013, 35; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 186; Avram 2016, 128; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1823.

de*Ψ*eti see αδδακετ.

δεως see *devos*.

†δη see θαλαμειδη.

di (PN?)
OPhr. *di* or *id* C-103
Complete graffito incised on a lekythos. It is very likely an anthroponymic abbreviation. Although the reading direction is unknown, because of the proximity to the handle it is most likely dextroverse. Then, *di* is the most probable reading (*CIPPh* I, 222).
CIPPh I, 222.

dide (PN)
OPhr. sg. nom. *dide* HP-112
An *e*-stem PN incised on a bronze bowl found in Bayındır (East Lycia). Despite the lack of the ending *-s*, it is a sg. nom. (see, e.g., *voine* G-228). It is a variant of

the Lallnamen Δηδης, Δηδις, Διδας, etc. (from Phrygia, Bithinia and Lydia, *KPN* 146 § 278, 282).
Varinlioğlu 1992, 13 and 15 no. 10; Orel 1997a, 319–320 and 423; Brixhe 2004a, 116–117.

διισιν (?)
NPhr. διισιν 50.2 (55)
Found in a damaged imprecative apodosis: ιο[ς νι σεμ]ουν | κ[νουμα]νει | κ[ακουν] αδδα|κ[ετ, ..]ι οι που|σ[....]ι διισιν. This seems to be why Haas (1966, 93) and Orel (1997a, 261, 422) considered it a variant of δεως. Orel also explained it as "an unusual orthographic variant [...] with the ending of dat. pl. in its unreduced form going back to *-*oisi*. Note ν ἐφελκυστικόν in the auslaut." However, it is *ad hoc* explanation and this word remains unclear.
Haas 1966, 93; Brixhe 1968, 318; Orel 1997a, 261, 422.

dile.[?] (PN)
OPhr. *dile.*[?] G-246
Graffito incised on a bowl. The last sign is difficult to read, perhaps a ligature of several letters or a non-alphabetic mark. Despite the lack of parallels, it is very likely to be a PN.
Brixhe 1984, 193.

διουνσιν (DN) 'Dionysus'
NPhr. sg. acc. διουνσιν 6.1 (88)
According to Calder (1928, 217, followed by Gusmani 1958, 902 and Lubotsky 1989b, 147, 152), this is a loanword from Gr. Διόνῡσος 'Dionysus' (on Greek variants se García Ramón 1987). Indeed, it appears in an imprecative apodosis, where a god is expected to be the keeper of the monument: πουρ ουανα|κταν κε ουρανιον ιστ[?]εικετ διουνσιν... 'he will have to do with the heavenly king Dionysos' (translation suggested by Lubotsky 2004, 235). Although this identification is obvious, two details are to be explained. According to Gusmani (1958, 902), the unexpected spelling of διουνσιν with regard to Διόνῡσος is the result of a syncope, however Lubotsky (1989b, 153) suggested a scribal error which corrupted the form *διονυσιν. The second unexpected feature is its ending, where -ιν was engraved instead of the more predictable -ουν. Lubotsky (1989b, 153) explained it as a spelling mistake also found in the variant σεμιν (53.1, 61.1) of the common pronoun σεμουν (*pace* Brixhe 1999, 308, who did not rule out a "théonyme autochtone").
Calder 1928, 217; Gusmani 1958, 902; Lubotsky 1989b, 147, 153; Orel 1997a, 111, 424; Brixhe 1999, 308; Brixhe 2002b, 62.

dis (?)
OPhr. *dis* G-11 b
Attested in an obscure inscription engraved on a trapezoidal block: *sit kraroẏ veao yọẏ*[.?] *dis*. Brixhe (2002a, 37) equated it to Gr. δίς, which goes back to PIE **dṷis* 'twice, doubly' (Skt. *dvis* and Lat. *bis*). However, it does not fit with the Phrygian form, where a voiceless stop is unexpected. Indeed, PIE **d(u̯)is* yields the Phrygian preverb τι(τ)- (see τιττετικμενος). Consequently, *dis* remains unexplained.
Brixhe 2002a, 37.

διος and **διως** δεως.

δμως (noun?)
NPhr. δμως 40.3 (31)
Attested in an incomplete epitaph: [... ξ]ευναν αι δμως βροκειω | [.....] δεκμουταης ιου|[.....] προ τοσου. Although Orel (1997a, 334, 424) considered it a borrowing form Gr. δμώς 'slave taken in war', the context is obscure and this possibility cannot be corroborated. Indeed, Gr. δμώς never occurs in Gr. inscriptions from Phrygia.
Neroznak 1978, 126; Orel 1997a, 334, 424.

δοκετ see αδδακετ.

δορυκα[νος] (PN)
NPhr. sg.nom. δορυκα[νος] 2.1 (15)
A PN attested in a funerary stele: ξευνη ταν ειξα υψο|δαν προτυς σ[ε]σταμ|ẹ̣ναν μανκαν αμι|ạ̣σιαν ιοι αναρ δορυκα|[νος ---]. It was restored by Haas in light of other occurences of this PN. Indeed, it also appears in a Gr. inscription from Galatia (dat. Δορυκανωι *MAMA* I no. 308) and one from Hierapolis (see *KPN* 152 § 302–1, as well as on a coin from the same city, *RPC* 2936, dated to 10/9 BC). In the Phrygian text, δορυκα[νος] therefore very likely occurs in apposition to the noun αναρ 'man, husband'. Because of the presence of δορυ- it may be considered a Gr. PN.
Haas 1966, 106; Innocente 1997, 28; Orel 1997a, 78, 424; Avram fthc.

δουδας (PN)
NPhr. δουδας 37.2 (30)
A-stem Lallname well attested in Phrygian (*KPN* 156–154 § 306-1–306-11). It occurs in an incomplete epitaph: [.....] ḍ̣ουδας ακαλας ευκιν αργου. It can be considered a sg. gen., although a sg. nom. cannot be ruled out.
Orel 1997a, 329 and 425.

δουμε see *duman*.

δουμ$^{?}$ετυου (PN)
NPhr. δουμ$^{?}$ετυου 22.1 (9)
An *o*-stem PN borrowed from Lat. *Domitius*, attested in Gr. as Δομίτιος (in Phrygia it occurs in a door-stele from Sinanlı, Waelkens 1986, no. 613), Δομήτιος (Str. 4.2.3) and Δουμέτιος (in inscriptions from Epeiros and in Str. 14.1.42). This PN occurs in a bilingual epitaph, and in the Gr. part of the text a man bearing a Lat. name is also found, Κόϊντος Ῥούφου 'Quintus (the son) of Rufus'. However, the two texts do not contain the same information. In addition, the Phrygian text remains obscure, υς δουμ$^{?}$ετυου πασε δεκμουταις..., and the reading of δουμετ̣υου is not unanimously accepted. For instance, Calder (1911, 169) tried to read here Δουμ[μ]ετ[α]ου in light of Δουμεταῳ attested in Lycaonia (Sterrett 1883, 203 no. 2015), althought he preferred to read δουνετυου in *MAMA* IV (6–7 no. 18, see photograph in Pl. 14).
Calder 1911, 169.

duman (noun) '(religious) community, association'?
OPhr. sg. acc. *duman* B-01 l. 3
NPhr. sg. dat. δουμε 1.1 (48)
Both occurrences are found in cultic contexts: the OPhr. form in a niche engraved on a rock devoted to the mother goddess, B-01 *matar kubeleya ibey a duman ektetoy*, and the NPhr. in an inscription related to a religious community, δουμε κε οι ουε|βαν αδδακετ ορου|αν. Its meaning has been identified in light of the Gr. word κώμη 'unwalled village' read in in the Gr. part of the quasi-bilingual 1.1. and the Gr. noun δοῦμος 'religious community', considered a borrowing from Phr. This last word is found in Gr. inscriptions from North-East Lydia, Pisidia, one from Phrygia (Neumann 2002) and another from Thracia (*IGBulg* IV 1925,b), as well as in Gr. poems (e.g., Hipponax 40.2 and Philodemus AP 7.222). It also occurs in Lat. inscriptions as *dumus* (in Lancia, Hispania, see Aldea Celada 2013) and in the compound *dumopireti* 'the fire-kindlers of the *dumos*' (= Gr. *δουμο-πύραιθοι, in a dedication from Novae, Moesia Inferior; see de Jong 1997, 144–145, with references). The inflection of *duman*, δουμε is parallel to [ξ]ευναν (sg.acc.), ξευνε (sg. dat.). On its etymology, we can tentatively identify a relationship with Gr. θωμός 'heap' and Go. *doms* 'judgment', which seem to go back to a derivative from the the PIE root $*d^{h}eh_{1}$- 'put' (*LIV*^{2} 136–140, *IEW* 235–239). However, the Phr. *m*-stem (clearly, the word is *dum*-) remains unexplained. Consequently, its etymology is an open question.
Kretschmer 1900; Haas 1961, 80; Haas 1970, 28; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 104–105; Masson 1987b; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 187; Bayun and Orel 1988b, 148; Fauth 1989, 197–198; Lubot-

sky 1997, 124–125; Orel 1997a, 141, 425; Neuman 2002; Lubotsky 2004, 233; Polito 2004; Polito 2005; Woodhouse 2006, 177–178; Woudhuizen 2008–2009, 183 §42; EDG 350; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 189; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1825.

†***dumas*** see *dumasta*.

dumasta (title?) 'leader of a *duman*'?
OPhr. sg. nom. *dumasta* G-131; *ḍumastaʔ* G-245
A word only read in two sherds from Gordion: G-131 [-?-] *dumasta eia*[---] and G-245 *ḍumastaʔ ν*.[-?-]. According to Bayun and Orel (1988a, 198, followed by Lubotsky 1997, 125), it is a religious title derived from the noun *duman*.
CIPPh 1, 193; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 198; Lubotsky 1997, 125; Orel 1997a, 183, 425.

†***dumastaeia***[---] see *dumasta* and *eia*[---].

†***ḍumastaʔν.***[-**?**-] see *dumasta*.

dumeyay (adj.)
NPhr. sg. dat. fem. *dumeyay* G-01a
It occurs in a very damaged text engraved on a slab: [---]*ọʔlavị*[---]*isvolkay* | ⁝ *dumeyay* ⁝ [---]*ḍeḍa*[---]. It is likely an adj. derived from *duman* that agrees with [---]*isvolkay*. Orel (1997a, 157, 425) considered it an epithet of the mother goddess. However, the text does not provide any information on this possibility.
Lejeune 1969b, 293; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 198; Lubotsky 1997, 125; Orel 1997a, 157, 425.

ḍʔupratoy (verb)
OPhr. 3sg. pres. med. *ḍupratoy* or *ṗupratoy* B-05 l. 13
Neumann (1997, 25), who read it as *pupratoy*, identified this verb, although Brixhe (2004a, 64) preferred the reading *ḍupratoy*. It is the verb of an imprecative protasis: *yos isekosos ↑emeney ḍʔupratoy vebạn ituv*. On its meaning and etymology, Gorbachov (2008, 102–106) suggested a borrowing from "Hitt[ite] *paprezzi* or a closely related from" and translated it as 'defiles'. However, Simon (2015, 20–21) argued convincingly against this proposal and posited that it may mean 'to read' by assuming that B-05 l. 13 is rendered in the Greek blessing of B-05: τôι ἀναγινώσκοντι ἐνθ|άδε ἤχοντι πολὰ καὶ ἀγαθά. Sowa (2015, 186–190) also worked with the comparison with the Greek blessing and equated *pupratoy* to Gr. πέπρωται perf. of πόρω 'furnish, offer, give', but the vocalism of Phr. *pupratoy* is incompatible with the Greek verb. The presence of *vebạn* makes difficult any comparison between both the Phrygian and the Greek sentence.
Neumann 1997, 25; Brixhe 2004a, 64; Sowa 2007a, 74; Gorbachov 2008, 102–106; Hämmig 2013, 151; Simon 2015, 26; Sowa 2015, 186–190.

δυως see *devos*.

𐤄 (*e*) – E ε

e (mark)
OPhr. *e* NW-125; *ẹ*[?] NW-113
Two isolated letters incised on sherds. NW-113 can be also read as *ν*[?].
Brixhe 2002a, 19–20; Brixhe and Sıvas 2009, 131–132.

ea.[---] (?)
OPhr. *ea.*[---] T-02c
Read on a fragment of a broken stele from Tyana: [---] | ⋮ *ea.*[---]|[---].*na.*. Because it is preceded by a possible interpunction, it is a clear beginning of a word.
CIPPh I, 267.

εαυταιι see *venavtun*.

εγδαες (verb)
NPhr. εγδαες 11.2 (18) l. 7
Although εγδαες looks like a verb in 3sg. ind. aor. act. like *edaes*, it occurs in an imprecative protasis where a verb in pres. is expected: ιος νι ουκρα|ον λατομειṇ εγḍαες μουρσą αινι κος σεμουν κνουμανει κακουν αδδακετ αινι μανκα... *LIPP* (II, 204) suggests a derivation from PIE *(h_1)*ég^h*- 'from, from within' (with the meaning "hat ausgeführt"). In any case, this hapax remains unclear.
Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 191; LIPP II, 204; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1827.

εγεδου see *egeseti*.

εγερετ see εγερετοι.

egertoy (verb) 'take, bring'?
OPhr. 3sg. ind. aor. med. *egertoy* W-01c
NPhr. 3pl. ind. pres. act. γερε[τ/ν] 28.1 (71)
3sg. ind. aor. med. εγερετοι 37.2 (30)
A verb attested in three different contexts: W-01c *ataniyen kuryaneyon tan egertoy*, 28.1 τις κε γερε[ν], τιττετικμ[ε]νοι ιννου and 37.2 [.....] ουεβαν εγερετοι αυτω αυταη κε ταν ειṿṇọṵ. Because of the position of *egertoy* at the end of a sentence, and morphological traces such as a possible augment *e-* and a mid-

dle ending *-toy*, it has been interpreted as a verb by Lubotsky (1988, 24). Since in the inscription W-01c interpunction is used, the preceding sequence *tan* has been considered by some scholars to be part of the same word. Nevertheless, according to Lubotsky (1988, 24), the best segmentation is *tan egertoy*, in which where the first element is the fem. pronoun *tan*. Consequently, *ataniyen kuryaneyon tan egertoy* must mean something like 'Ataniyen, the commander, …ed her (*Matar*)'. The form in 28.1, found in an imprecative protasis, is problematic because the last letter of the ending is lost and the analysis is ambigious. Ligorio and (Lubotsky 2013, 191) prefered the restoration γερε[ν], considering it a 3pl., because the apodosis is plural. However, the pronoun that introduces the protasis, τις, seems to be in sg. So, one must assume that the problem stems from the pronoun or the congruence between protasis and apodosis. If γερε[ν] is preferred, τις κε γερε[ν], τιττετικμ̣[ε]νοι ιννου may be translated as 'they who γερε[ν], let them become accursed'. But, if γερε[τ] is preferred, τις κε γερε[τ], τιττετικμ̣[ε]νοι ιννου may be translated as 'and whoever γερε[τ], let them become accursed'. Finally, although the context of εγερετοι in 37.2 (a broken funerary door stele) is incomplete and unparalleled, in the light of the imperative ending of ειννẏọụ, it seems to be a curse. On its segmentation, εγερετοι has also been considered εγερετ οι, but this passive ending is attested in forms such as αββερετοι. If the whole sentence is considered a curse, the presence of aor. is unexpected and, consequently, a segmentation ουεβανε γερετοι (a sg. dat. followed by the verb in 3pl. ind. pres. med.) cannot be ruled out. The origin of this verb remains unclear, since Orel's suggested etymology (1997, 250, 426), which equates it to the ἐγείρω 'to awaken, rouse, raise', is not possible because the voiced stop of the PIE verbal root **h*$_1$*ger-* 'awake' (*LIV*^{2} 245–246, *IEW* 390) would be expected to become voiceless in Phrygian. Also, Woodhouse's (2006, 163) suggestion that the initial *e-* is a preverb instead of the augment is impossible.

Lubotsky 1988, 24; Orel 1997a, 250, 296, 426; Woodhouse 2006, 163 n. 13; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 191.

egeseti (verb) 'hold, experience'

OPhr.	3sg. subj. pres. act.?	*egeseti* P-04a
NPhr.	3sg. impv. pres. med.	εγεδου 53.1 (76), 59.4 (106), 60.2 (60), 62.1 (32), 62.2 (33), 62.3 (34), 62.5 (36), 62.6 (105); 60.1 ε|γεδ[ου] (59)
	3sg. ind. pres. act.?	εγεσιτ 56.2 (58)
	3sg. impv. pres. act.	εγουννου 2.2 (130)

This verb is found three different contexts. The OPhr. form is the verb of an elusive imprecative protasis: P-04a *ios ni ąḳenan egeseti, ọ$^{?}$ḳ$^{?}$irterḳọ*[..]. *tekmoṛ ot.*[....]*seti vebru*. The NPhr. forms are read in two different texts. The impera-

tive εγεδου (ending parallel to Gr. -σθω) is the verb of an apodosis read ten times, see, e.g., 62.1 γεγρειμ̣ενα|ν εγεδου τιος ουταν 'let him experience the curse of Zeus'. In light of the Greek text of 2.2 (130), Avram (2015, 211) considered εγουννου a borrowing from Gr. ἔγγονον 'descendant', but its position shows that it must be the verb of its apodosis: αινι ουεβαν δεδασσινν̣ι πατρες σεμουν κορο[υ]μανη σως κη γουμειε, καρπυς ειλικρινη εγουννου. Consequently, its can be analysed as *-*ntō* > -ννου (Šorgo fthc.). The last form, εγεσιτ, appears in a non-imprecative sentence: 56.2 μοναν μροτιη ιον εγεσιτ γεγριμενον. The interpretation of the ending of the forms *egeseti* and εγεσιτ is not at all clear and the continuity of the intervocalic *-s-* is unexpected (is it a secondary restoration?). On its root, Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 185) suggest that it follows the inherited PIE **seǵʰ-* 'to hold, to overpower' (*LIV*² 515–516, *IEW* 888–889; Gr. ἔχω 'have, hold', Skt. *sáhate* 'overwhelm, defeat'). The same root occurs in *-ogavos*, in the title *akenanogavos* 'the holder of the *akenan*'. Previous interpretations such as that of Orel (1997, 426), who considered it an inherited verb from the PIE root **h₂eǵ-* 'drive' (*LIV*² 255–256, Gr. ἄγω 'lead', Lat. *ago* 'drive' and Skt. *ájati* 'drive, propel, cast'), must be rejected because a voiced stop is not expected in Phrygian and the meaning does not fit.

Brixhe 1982, 245; Lubotsky 1988, 12–13, 21; Brixhe 1990, 91; Orel 1997a, 426; Sowa 2007a, 84–85; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 185; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1828; Šorgo fthc.

εγεσιτ see *egeseti*.

εγουννου see *egeseti*.

edae and ***edaes*** see αδδακετ.

edaie (verb?)
OPhr. *edaie* HP-02
Read on a damaged stone slab found in Kocagür (14 km far from the ancient Parion): [-?-] | *tanarị*[---] | [---]*ḷiake* | *edaie* [-?-]. According to the first editors, it seems to be a 3sg. of a preterite verb with augment. As a working hypothesis, they also equated it to δαίω 'light up, kindle'. However, since this verb goes back to PIE **deh₂u-* 'kindle, burn' (*LIV*² 104–105, *IEW* 179–181), this possibility must be ruled out. Indeed, if it is an inherited word, the voiced dental stands for PIE **dʰ* (see αδδακετ). Unfortunately, no alternative identification can be given. It is perhaps related to *eḍạvi̯y*. The unusual ending is also attested in *etlnaie* (P-04), and this parallel suggests that, despite the place where it was found (Mysia on Hellespont), the text is indeed Phr. (the alphabet is clearly Phr.).

Brixhe and Keleş 2011, 158.

eḍạvịy (verb?)
OPhr. *eḍạvịy* B-04
An unparalleled word attested in the precariously read block from Üyücek (often considered Mysian before Brixhe 2004a, 21): *ṃ²ọp²tov²a↑ịy · ạ²ẹ² lavọy · ue | eḍạvịy p²is² · ạṇernevey | ỵ²ạ.oe²ạp.eạrvi²s² ·² bạto²ạntẹ…* According to Brixhe (2004a, 21), it could be a noun in dat. or a verb. However, the latter option must be preferred, since the dat. athem. ending is expected to be written as *-ey* (see *materey*). Its root is possibly also attested in *edaie*. Nevertheless, its meaning and morphological details remain unclear.
Brixhe 2004a, 21.

eḍạtoy see αδδακετ.

eia[---] see *eies*.

ειδου see ειτου.

†ειε see γουμειε.

eies (PN)
OPhr. ? *eia*[---] G-131
sg. nom. *eies* G-108
Although G-131 is broken, both graffiti read on sherds seem to be PNs related to Ειας (masc.) / Ειᾱ (fem.) or Ιας (masc.) Ιᾱ (fem.), attested in Bithynia, Pontos, Phrygia and Pisidia (*KPN* 157 § 319). They are very likely variants of Ιας (masc.), Ιᾱ (fem.), attested in the same regions (Ιᾱ also in Cylicia; see *KPN* 188–189 § 447). In G-108 *eia*[---] follows the word *dumasta*.
CIPPh I, 102 and 120–121.

ειλικρινη (adj.) 'pure'
NPhr. ειλικρινη 2.2 (130) l. 6
Although Avram (2015, 14–15) does not rule the possibility that we are dealing with a patronymic, since there are many Gr. loanwords in the text where ειλικρινη is read, he concludes that it is very likely a borrowing from εἰλικρινής, -ές 'unmixed, without alloy, pure'. Note that in its sentences it is surrounded by another Gr. word: αινι ουεβαν δεδασσιννι πατρε|ς σεμουν κορο[υ]μανη, σως κη | γουμειε, καρπυς ειλικρινη εγο|υννου. Following Avram, it seems to agree with καρπυς (better dat. pl. than pl. nom.), similarly to the Gr. text from the same altar ἱεροῖς ἐνὶ καρποῖς 'among this holy fruits'; however, the endings of ειλικρινη and καρπυς are not clear.
Avram 2015, 14–15.

ειvεα (PN?)
NPhr. sg. nom.? ειvεα 43.1 (69) l. 1
Taken from an epitaph whose reading and meaning are unclear: ειvεᾳ̣ μ|δους, ξευ|νε πειρ α|ρεοπ αδε|ν⟨π⟩ατω κ̣ῳ̣υ|μαν [ο]ῳ̣εκρ|ω δαδωνε|ι ονουειᾳ̣ ει|ροι τᾳ̣ αᾳ̣-ενπ|ᾳ̣τῃς δεουᾳ̣|ιας μᾳ̣νεις | δαδων κε | οκκαυγοι | ουρῳ̣ουσαε|ν. Because of its position, at the beginning of a non-imprecative text of a funerary stele, it is very likely a PN in sg. nom. attested in Gr. as Ιννεας (from Pisidia-Lycia, *KPN* 200 § 471–6). Recently, Hämmig suggested a reading Σ[?]ΙΝΕΜ[?]Α[?]|ΔΟΤ[?]Ε̣[?], but because of the lack of parallels and interpretations the old reading is still defensible.
Hämmig fthc. a.

ειϗ (adverb?)
NPhr. ειϗ or ειϗαδ 2.2 (130)
It occurs once in a variant of the common imprecative apodosis: τιττετι|[ϗ]-μενος ειτου ειϗαδ αυτον μεϗ|αν τιαν. A segmentation ειϗ αδ, where the second word can be the preposition governing αυτον μεϗ|αν τιαν, is perhaps more defensible. In any case, ειϗ(αδ) remains unclear because it does not seem to play an important role in the sentence. Perhaps it is an adverb.
Avram 2015, 212; Obrador-Cursach 2016, 180.

ειϗαδ see ειϗ.

ειξα (noun?)
NPhr. sg. acc.? ειξα 2.1 (15)
Hapax read in a sequence of nouns and adjectives in acc. describing the monument, where it follows the pronoun ταν and precedes the adverb υψοδαν: Ξευνη ταν ειξα υψο|δαν προτυς σ[ε]σταμ|ε̣ναν μανκαν αμι|ᾳ̣σιαν ιοι αναρ Δορυκα|[νος ---]. Its meaning and lexical category are obscure, but most likely it is a noun in acusative (with the loss of the nasal).
Lubotsky 1993a, 131–132.

ειος see ιος.

ειροι (noun) 'hero'?
NPhr. pl. nom. ειροι 17.3 (7); ει|ροι 43.1 (69) l. 8–9
It is read in two different funerary texts: 17.3, in an imprecative apodosis, [ιος σεμου]ν κνουμανι κακα | [αδδακ]εν, δεος κε ζεμ[ελως κε] | [---] ᾳ̣κε οι ειροι α τιε τιττ[ε|τικμενοι ειττ]νου, 43.1 in the description of the text, ειvεᾳ̣ μ|δους, ξευ|νε πειρ α|ρεοπ αδε|ν⟨π⟩ατω κ̣ῳ̣υ|μαν [ο]ῳ̣εκρ|ω δαδωνε|ι ονουειᾳ̣ ει|ροι τᾳ̣ αᾳ̣ενπ|ᾳ̣τῃς δεουᾳ̣|ιας μᾳ̣νεις | δαδων κε | οκκαυγοι | ουρῳ̣ουσαε|ν. Although Orel (1997a, 71 and

429) classified it as a thematic sg. dat, in light of 17.3, where it seems to be the subject of the sentence, it is better to consider it a pl. nom. (as Woodhouse 2007, 193 did). Orel also equated it to the gloss ἐρέας· τέκνα, Θεσσαλοί 'E.: children, Thessalians' (Hsch. ε 5681). Nevertheless, the gloss is not related to Phrygian. A feasible interpretation is to take it as a borrowing from Gr. ἥρως, ἥρωος with the common funerary meaning of 'deceased'. Either way, the segmentation of 43.1 is unclear.

Bayun and Orel 1988c, 161; Orel 1997a, 71, 429; Brixhe 1999, 301; Woodhouse 2007, 193.

ειτου, ειττνου and ειτυ see *ituv*.

evẹmẹmesmeneya (adj.) 'well-remembering'?

OPhr. sg. nom. fem. *evẹmẹmesmeneya* B-01 l. 6

According to a suggestion by Lubotsky (1988, 15 n. 6 and 1993b, 97), this word is an epithet of *Matar* meaning 'well-remembering', classified as a reduplicated sg. nom. fem. perfect participle of the verb *men-* (< PIE **men-* 'to think'; *LIV*^{2} 435–436, *IEW* 726–728, Gr. μαίνομαι 'be mad, angry', Skt. *mányate* 'to think, believe, imagine') with the prefix **h$_1$su-* > *ev*(*e*)- 'well' (*LIPP* II, 299–300, Gr. εὐ- 'id.', Skt. *va-* 'id.'). So the word can be separated as follows: prefix *eve-* + reduplication *-me-* + verbal root *-mes-* + middle-passive participle suffix *-men-* (< PIE **-mh$_1$no-*) + fem. suffix *-eya*. Although this is a very attractive interpretation, there are some problematic details, such as the unexpected presence of an *-s* after the verbal root, the presence of the vowel *e* after *ev-* (note that the reading of the letters is not clear according to *CIPPh* I, 64–65) or the suffix *-eya* instead of *-a*. Nevertheless, Lubotsky's approach is preferable to Orel's suggestion (1997, 144, 430, 444): a segmentation *evememes meneya*, where the first word is considered a verb meaning 'speak favourably, declare' and the second word, also considered a *Matar* epithet, is related to Gr. εὐ-μένεια 'goodwill, favour'. Also, Haas's interpretation (1969, 77–78) must be rejected: according to him it is an anthroponymic sequence, 'Minnis (the daughter) of Minneos'. Either way, the context remains obscure, although it seems to be an imprecative part of the inscription: … *opito* [*k*]*ey oy evẹmẹmesmeneya anato* (*.*?*) | *kavarmoyun matar otekonov* (*.*?*) | *kesiti*…

Haas 1969, 77–78; CIPPh I, 64–65; Lubotsky 1988, 15 n. 6; Lubotsky 1993b, 97; Orel 1997a, 144, 430, 444; Lubotsky 1997, 121; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 85; LIPP II, 299–300.

ẹvent (verb?)

OPhr. *ẹvent* B-06

Read on a damaged funerary stele: *sṭaḷ*$^{?}$*a ke* : *ꜛekm*$^{?}$[*at*]*ẹṣ keɣ*[---]*ạ*$^{?}$*yọ*$^{?}$[---]|*ḍẹṣ*[---] : *ẹvent noktoy* : *ẹmetẹtariyois* | [---]*y* … According to Brixhe (2004a,

71–72), it could be a verb in 3pl. where the dental is preserved (in contrast to forms such as *vitaran*). Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 186 = 2018, 1822) offer the segmentation *ẹventnoktoy*, although the NPhr. νουκτον is clearly segmented in another text. In any case, the root of such a verb and its meaning remain unclear.

Brixhe 2004a, 71–72; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 186; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1822.

†***ẹventnoktoy*** see *ẹvent* and *noktoy*.

eveteksetę́y (adj.?)

OPhr. sg. dat. *eveteksetę́y* W-01b

The reading of the ending is not at all clear; only the higher horizontal stroke was engraved in the last ⟨e⟩, so Hämmig (fthc. a) has recently argued that it is indeed a mistake and it stands for ⟨i⟩ (following the common readings published before *CIPPh* and Lubotsky 1988): *eveteksetiy*. She also considered it a verb. However, the sentence in which it is read is a protasis and *daϒet* is a more suitable verb: *yos esai≀t materey eveteksetę́y ovevin onoman daϒet, lakedo key venavtun avtay materey*. Indeed, as it follows the DN *materey* in sg. dat., *eveteksetę́y* has traditionally been considered an epithet of the goddess that agrees with *materey*. So, according to this interpretation, for some unclear reason the missing strokes of the the argued ⟨e⟩ were never engraved. Although it is not a satisfactory explanation, the reading ⟨e⟩ fits better because of the resulting ending and the position of the word. On its meaning, Lubotsky (1988, 20 and 1993b, 97) identified the beginning as the PIE prefix **h₁su-* > *ev*(*e*)- (*LIPP* II, 299–300; Gr. εὐ-, Skt. *su-*) but had nothing to add about this formation. Since its root is likely *tek-*, perhaps this is a secondary *t*-stem noun built on the PIE verb **teḱ-* 'to sire, beget' (*LIV*^{2} 618; Gr. τίτκω 'beget, give birth to, produce') with a meaning similar to 'well-parturient' (Woudhuizen 2008–2009, 185 suggested a similar interpretation). This is only possible if we consider that the root taken is *teks-* with a secondary *s*-aor. However, other roots (e.g., **deḱ-* 'to show, to point out'; *LIV*^{2} 108–109) cannot be ruled out. Consequently, the meaning remains unclear.

Lubotsky 1988, 20; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 182; Janda 1997, 273; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 85; LIPP II, 300; Hämmig fthc. a.

evkobeyan (adj.?)

OPhr. sg. acc. fem. *evkobeyan* B-01 l. 9

Despite Orel considering it an epithet of *Matar* meaning 'victorious', in light of OIr. *cob* 'id.', neither the segmentation (although it is the most likely solution) nor the parallel are clear enough to defend such an interpretation: [*k*]*ey oy eveṃemesmeneya anato* (.?) | *kavarmoyun matar otekonov* (.?) | *kesiti oyvos*

aey apaktneni | *pakray evkobeyan epaktoy*. The presence of the suffix **-e̯i̯o-* is shared with other fem. words such as *kubeleya* or *imeneia*.
Lubotsky 1993b, 97; Orel 1997aa, 430; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 85–86.

evṛaduṣ (noun or adj.)
OPhr. sg. nom.? *evṛaduṣ* B-05 l. 7
An obscure word read in an elusive context: *kelmis ke umniṣet evṛaduṣ daḳeṛaiṣ key iverais* [..] | *ạtikṛạiu*. Perhaps a *u*-stem noun or adjective. Neumann (1997, 22) preferred the segmentation *eṭevṛaduṣ*. However, Brixhe (2004a, 59) considered *-et* to be the ending of the preceding verb.
Neumann 1997, 22; Brixhe 2004a, 59.

evtevey (?)
OPhr. *evtevey* B-03 (*bis*)
Read twice on astone block, the context is highly obscure, but there are very likely to be two imprecative protases (only the last word of the first protasis remains) and one apodosis: *ẹṣḳ…a*[---] *a*.. […] | *evtevey ay̨ yosyos yenvṛạ* | *eti≠t evtevey me.oun laked̓ọ* | [-?-]. On its segmentation, Bayun and Orel (1988a, 190), Brixhe (2004a, 41) and Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 192 = 2018, 1828) assume *etitevtey* for the second occurrence. However, *eti* and *≠t* are found independently. Because of its ending *-ey*, it can be considered a sg. dat. athematic noun or adjective, although a verb (perfect, according to Lubotsky 1988, 18 and Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 192 = 2018, 1828) cannot be ruled out and is expected if *evtevey* is the last word of the first protasis. In any case, its root remains unexplained. Its beginning perhaps is related to the prefix **$h_1$su-* > *ev*(*e*)- 'well' (Gr. εὐ-, Skt. *su-*). Bayun and Orel (1988a, 190 and 1988b, 135) equated to Gr. εὐθύς 'straight, direct', but it does not fit with the Phrygian development of the inherited voiced aspirate. On the other hand, Woudhuizen (2008–2009, 185) hypothesised a Myc. form **ew*(*e*)*-diwija* 'good goddess' as the origin of the Phrygian form, but such an unattested formation is unjustified and does not fit the ending of *evtevey*.
Lubotsky 1988, 18; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 190; Bayun and Orel 1988b, 135; Lubotsky 1989a, 79 n. 2; Brixhe 1996, 131; Brixhe 2004a, 41; Woudhuizen 2008–2009, 185; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 192; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1828.

†***evteveyay̨*** see *evtevey*.

εκατηας (PN)
NPhr. sg. gen. εκατηας 16.1 (116) l. 6
A clear PN borrowed from Gr. Ἑκαταία. Note that ⟨η⟩ stands for /e/, the vowel resulting of from the monophthongation of /aj/ as in καί > κε. The same result is also attested for this name in *MAMA* VI 16 Ἑκατέα (= *SEG* 6.239, from Laodikeia, Phrygia). The Phrygian occurrence is in agreement with κναικο⟨ς⟩ 'wife' in sg. gen.: ται τοᾳ μᾳ ǫ̣ɣομανιας εναρκε ερμω[λ]ᾳǫ̣ς κναικο⟨ς⟩ εκατηας ǫ̣μǫ̣υσασαι ποσεκανες…
Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 175; Orel 1997a, 427; Brixhe 1999, 301; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 183; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1819.

ekey (adverb?) 'there'?
OPhr. *ekey* B-01
Bayun and Orel (1988a, 188) equated this to Gr. ἐκεῖ 'there' (considered likely by Lubotsky 1993b, 97). It seems to be inherited fromPIE *(h_1)e-ḱe(i̯). Nevertheless, its context is obscure: *ayni kin te*[*l*]*ẹmi* [..]*toyo*[.]*is* [.]*erktẹvoys ekey dạ*[*k*]*ati*. On the other hand, *key* could be take as the copulative conj.; however, the residual *e-* would remain unexplained.
Bayun and Orel 1988a, 188; Lubotsky 1993b, 97.

ekǫ.[---] (?)
OPhr. *ekǫ.*[---] T-03c
A badly damaged fragment of a stele from Tyana. It is clearly the beginning of a word because of the presence of interpunction: : [---]*u̯ṣ.t*[---]|[---]*n̥imoi* ⁝ *ekǫ.*[---].
Bayun and Orel 1988a, 188; Lubotsky 1993, 97.

e*𐤟*tạ[---] (PN)
OPhr. *e*𐤟*tạ*[---] G-112
Fragmented graffito incised on contigous sherds. The letter 𐤟 only occurs in this inscription and has been considered a variant of 𐤕. Orel (1997a, 172 and 428) read it as *epta-* and considered this word a DN parallel to Hitt. *Ḫé-pit*, the Lyd. mother goddess Ἴπτα / Εἴπτα (read in the Gr. inscriptions from Lydia) and Thracian compounds in *ept-*. However, this comparison is ungrounded and the form *ept-* is never found in Phrygia. It is more likely to be a PN, as many of the graffiti from Gordion are, perhaps a variant of *iktes* G-02a or *iketaios* W-02 (and the abbreviations *ik* G-285, *i̯ḳ*[---] G-273), PN related to Gr. Ἱκέτας, perhaps also attested in Lyc. as *i̯χtta* / Ικτας in the bilingual inscription *TL* 56 (see *KPN* 194 § 462 and Neumann 2007, 147).
CIPPh I, 105; Orel 1997a, 172, 428.

ektetoy (verb) 'possess'?
OPhr. 3sg. ind. aor. med. *ektetoy* B-01 l. 3
According to Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 191 = 2018, 1827), it is a verb inherited from PIE **tkeh$_1$-* 'rule, gain, acquire' (*LIV*^{2} 618–619, *IEW* 1057–1058), parallel to Gr. κτάομαι 'to acquire, win' (in perfect, 'possess'). Both the Gr. and Phr. forms show a metathesis in the root, pointing to the presence of *h_1 (on this point, see Beekes 2010, 789). In any case, the meaning of the sentence in which it occurs remains unclear: *matar kubeleya ibey a duman ektetoy* '(The statue of) Matar Kubeleya was acquired by the *duman* for themselves' (?) or *matar kubeleya ibeya duman ektetoy* 'Mother Kubeleya Ibeya has acquired (her) *duman*' (i.d. 'Matar Kubeleya possesses the *duman*', if the segmentation *Ibeya* is preferred).
Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 31; Orel 1997a, 141–142 and 438–439; Lubotsky 1997, 125; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 191; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1827.

ẹ$^{?}$lakes see *lakedo*.

ẹmetẹ see *ẹmetẹtariyois*.

ẹmetẹtariyois (noun?)
OPhr. *ẹmetẹtariyois* B-06
Read on a badly damaged funerary stele before the imprecative part of the epitaph in an obscure text: *stạl$^{?}$a ke* : *stạl$^{?}$a ke* : ↑*ekm$^{?}$*[*at*]*ẹs keɣ*[---]*ạ$^{?}$yọ$^{?}$*[---]|*ḍẹs*[---] : *ẹvent noktoy* : *ẹmetẹtariyois* [---]*y* .... The ending *-ois* shows that it is a pl. acc. (Brixhe 2004a, 72). Orel (1997a, 153) worked with the reading *ẹ*↑*etẹ tariyois* and considered that the first word was a verb in 2sg. person. However, such a verbal form is unattested in Phr. (it is only defensible as 3sg. ind. aor. act. *-e*⟨*s*⟩), and even the ending of the supposed *ẹ*↑*etẹ* is unexpected (unless it is not a PN in sg. nom., but this does not seem to be the case).
Bakir and Gusmani 1991; Vassileva 1995, 27–34; Brixhe 1996, 125–136; Orel 1997a, 153; Brixhe 2004a, 72.

***em.*[-?-]** (PN?)
OPhr. *em.*[-?-] G-211
eṃ$^{?}$.[-?-] or *en$^{?}$.*[-?-] G-175
Graffiti on sherds, very likely the beginning of a PN. In G-211 the remaining strokes point to *ạ* (as Orel 1997a, 218 and 427 preferred), or *ẹ*. In G-175, the second letter is not clearly read and is followed by unclear strokes.
CIPPh I, 152–153, 172; Orel 1997a, 203, 218, 427.

εν (preposition) 'in'
MPhr. εν MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 1
NPhr. εν 16.1 (116) l. 12
The segmentation in both occurrences is unclear: MPhr-01 μανκα μεκας σας κιυιν εν κε βιλαταδε|ναν νεκοινουν... and 16.1 ις κε εν | τοισ̣τινιοι κνουμαν τιαν τε[.]|[.]μαρ̣δι ιδετοι οινις. In MPhr-01 it is followed by an sg. acc. and in 16.1 by dat. or, perhaps, pl. acc. Its only certain occurrence is as a preverb in *eneparkes*. Regarding etymology, it seems to be inhereted from PIE *$h_1(e)n$ 'id.' (*LIPP* II, 221–222; parallel to Gr. ἐν).
Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 182; Brixhe 1990, 93–94; Brixhe 1997, 49; LIPP II, 222.

enạn see *asenạn*.

εναρκε (verb?)
NPhr. 3sg. ind. aor. act. εναρκε 16.1 (116) l. 5
Read in a non-imprecative part of a funerary inscription: ται τοᾳ̣ μ̣ε̣ ǫ̣ỵǫμανιας εναρκε ερμω[λ]ᾳ̣ǫ̣ς κναικο⟨ς⟩ εκατηας... According to Brixhe and Neumann (1985, 173–174), it is a verb in aor., where ε- is the augment, -ναρκ- the root and -ε the ending (instead of -ες; engraver's mistake?). They also considered the analysis εν-αρκ-ε, but this is less probable because the augment is expected (see εν-ε-παρκ-ες). In any case, its meaning remains unclear. Orel's reading and interpretation (1997, 130), εναρ κε as a variant of αναρ 'man', must be rejected because there are no parallels for such a hesitation.
Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 173–174.

eneparkes (verb) 'inscribe'
OPhr. 3sg. ind. aor. act. *eneparkes* G-125; *eneparkes*$^{?}$ M-01dI; [*e*]*n̥*[*e*]|*p*|*arkes* G-01c
NPhr. 3sg. ind. aor. act. ενεπαρκες 40.3 (31)
All occurrences are the same form of this verb: M-01d *midas s≈materan tvemes eneparkes*$^{?}$, G-01c [--- *e*]*n̥*[*e*]|*p*|*arkes v*[---], G-125 [---]*ronoṭ*$^{?}$*oy eneparkes ṭ*$^{?}$*ei*$^{?}$*es* and πουκρος μανισ[ο]υ ενεπαρκες δετουν. Its root was identified by Lejeune (1969b, 291–294), who considered it a derivative of the PIE **perḱ-* 'engrave, rip' (*LIV*^{2} 475, *IEW* 821; only surely attested in Lith. *peřšti*, *peršéti* 'to hurt sharply'). The vocalisation goes back to a long-grade **pērḱ-* > παρκ-. Finally, it bears a preverb and the augment, as happens in aor.
Lejeune 1969b, 291–294; Brixhe 1982, 236; CIPPh 1, 116; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 128–129; Heubeck 1986, 78; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 178; Lubotsky 1988, 17; Lubotsky 1989b, 152; Orel 1997a, 427; Lubotsky 1997, 123–124; Gorbachov 2005; Sowa 2005, 617; Sowa 2007a, 77–79; Sowa 2008, 100–101; Woudhuizen 2008–2009, 193; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 191; LIPP II, 222; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1827.

eniyẹ[---] (?)
OPhr. *eniyẹ*[---] K-01 IV b
Read on a fragment of the severely damaged block from Kerkenes dağ: ... | *eniyẹ*[---] | [---].*pa* ʿ *uva* ʿ .[---] | [---] ʿ *ṃąsa u*|*rgitos dakor s*≈*vebrą*[---] | *tataniyeṇ*$^{?}$ *ẹḍaes* | [---]*le*.[---]|. The word, as well as its context, remains unclear.
Brixhe and Summers 2006, 120–121; Draycott and Summers 2008, 68–69.

enpsątus (noun?)
OPhr. sg. nom.? *enpsątus* B-05 l. 5
Unparalleled word read in a obscure, non-imprecative sentence of the Vezirhan stele: *vąy niptiyąy dąker kąrątu enpsątus meką*[---]*ąsiyą..*$^{?}$ | *nidus ąd kąliyay kąrątų pąnąto ąndopopostois kl̥ąniv*... Brixhe (2004a, 58) suggested as a working hypothesis that it was an action noun with the suffix **-teu*/*tu-* in light of the obscure word προτυς (also with παρτυς, but its ending is not related to this question).
Neumann 1997, 22; Brixhe 2004a, 58.

ενσταρνᾳ (verb?) 'to be appointed'?
NPhr. 3pl. ind. perf. med.? ενσταρνᾳ 1.1 (48)
Lubotsky (1997, 123–124) considered this word a verb 3pl. ind. perf. med. inherited from the PIE root **steh*$_2$- 'to stand (up)' (*LIV*^{2} 590–592, *IEW* 1004–1008), also attested in *estatoi* and εσταες. Moreover, he considered that the ending was a compound built with two different med. endings: **-r̥-ntaį̆*. On *-n* as 3pl., see δακαρεν (similar to Lat. *facerunt*). The meaning 'to be appointed' is given by Lubotsky on the basis of the contrast with the Gr. part of this text: compare μιτραφατα κε μας τεμρογειος κε πουντας βας κε ενσταρνᾳ to the Gr. part τοῖς προ|γεγραμμένοις θε|οῖς. This interpretation fits well with its context, but the vocalisation of **-r̥-* and the suffixal cluster **-r̥-ntaį̆* are unparalleled. Recently, *LIPP* (II, 238) has tentatively considered ενσταρνᾳ to be derived from **(h$_1$)enstr̥-na* 'in the middle' with the meaning 'therein, there'. However, such a form, which only occurs in Anatolian (Hitt. *ištarna*), must be rejected because of the unexpected vocalisation of *r̥* in αρ instead of ο(υ)ρ. A segmentation εν σταρνᾳ (prep. + noun) cannot be ruled out. This word remains unclear.
Lubotsky 1997, 123–124; Woodhouse 2007, 193; Sowa 2007, 77; Sowa 2008, 97.

enumąląy[-?-] (PN)
OPhr. *enumąląy*[-?-] G-321
Graffito read on a sherd. It is possibly a complete *a*-stem PN in sg.dat., although no parallel can be adduced. Brixhe (2002a, 76–789) showed the similarity of its beginning with the Lacedaemonian PNs in Ἐνυμα-, a variant of Ὀνομα-; see e.g.,

Ἐνυμαντιάδᾳ (*IG* V,1 97). However, such names are never attested in Anatolia and this comparison is unlikely to be of any significance.
Brixhe 2002a, 76–78.

en.[---] see *eṃ.*[---]?

epav²es (verb)
OPhr. 3sg. aor. ind. act. *epav²es* (B-08)
Found in severely eroded inscriptions related to the cult of the mother goddess: [---] *ḳavarmoyo* [---] | [---] *epav²es niyoy* [---] | [--- *mata*]*r ḳụbeleẏ*[*a* ---]... Despite the lack of a space between *epav²*es and *niyoy*, the word boundary is confirmed through comparison with *etovesniyo*[*y*?] (B-01). Brixhe and Vottéro (2016, 136–137), who do not rule out the alternative reading *epar²es*, consider it a verb in aor. In any case, the context is too fragmentary to provide any information.
Brixhe and Vottéro 2016, 136–137.

epaktoy (verb?)
OPhr. 3sg. aor. ind. med.? *epaktoy* B-01
Read at the end of the Germanos inscription (in an imprecative apodosis): *kavarmoyun matar otekonov* (.²) | *kesiti oyvos aey apaktneni* | *pakray evkobeyan epaktoy*. It is very likely to be a verb because of the presence of the possible augment *e-* and the middle ending *-toy*. The vocalism of the unidentified root (also attested in *apaktneni*?) is the result of a laryngeal or a strange long grade similar to *eneparkes*, although both may be the result of analogy.
Lubotsky 1988, 16; Orel 1997a, 146, 428.

επρι[-?-] (?)
NPhr. επρι|[-?-] 37.2 (30)
Unparalleled word read in a severely damaged part of a funerary text: [.....
....]ι επρι | [.....]ει ϗ' ονομα... Haas (1966, 111) worked with the segmentation]ιεπρι, but there are no reasons to defend επρι|[-?-] or]ιεπρι|[-?-]. It is even unknown whether the word boundary was at the end of the line or if the word continued on the following line.
Haas 1966, 111.

eptuve[---] (?)
OPhr. *eptuve*[---] T-03b
Read on a fragment of a "black stele" from Tyana: [---]*o̧i* ⁝ *avtoi* ⁝ *eptuve*[---] | [---]*i̧tan mȩ*| [---]*p²is* ⁝ [---]. According to Brixhe (1991, 43–44 and 2004a, 102),

it is a verb in 3sg. aor. ind. act., *eptuve*[*s*], where *e-* is the augment. However, this theory is difficult to accept since in its root (etymologically unexplained) an *e*-grade is expected (see *e-da-es* < *-d^heh_1-). The first proposal offered by Çınaroğlu and Varinlioğlu (1985, 10–11), 3pl. aor. ind. act. *eptuve*[*n*], could be a better fit (*pace* Brixhe), but the context is not clear enough to rule out a noun or a PN (see *ataniyen*). By contrast, Vassileva (1992, 3) and (Fol 1997, 262) considered it an epithet of the goddess *Matar* related to Ἴπτα/ Εἴπτα (attested in Thracia and Lydia in the Roman Imerial Age). Nevertheless, there is no reason to believe that this stele is devoted or even related to *Matar* (the only possible DN read in the stelae from Tyana is *batan*). Finally, Orel (1997a, 315, 428) suggested that we may be dealing with the preverb *ep*(*i*)-, which he equated to Gr. ἐπί 'upon', even though it is not attested elsewhere. In conclusion, the sole certainty about this word is its beginning, indicated by the presence of the preceding interpunction.

Çınaroğlu and Varinlioğlu 1985, 10–11; Heubeck 1986, 78; Varinlioğlu 1991, 30; Brixhe 1991, 43–44; Fol 1997, 262; Orel 1997a, 315, 428; Brixhe 2004a, 102; Sowa 2007a, 79.

ερα (adverb?) 'then'

NPhr. ερα 62.5 (36)

Read once in an imprecative apodosis: ερα γεγ|ρειμεν[α]ν εγεδο[υ] | τιος ουταν. The same apodosis is attested without this word: 62.3, γεγρειμεναν ε|γεδου τιος ουταν. Since it does not seem to agree with anything, but introduces the imprecation, Brixhe (1997, 62) considered it to be an adverb and equated it to Gr. ἄρα 'then' (expressing consequence) and, in particular, to the Cypr. variant ἔρα or ἔρ. However, the relationship between the Gr. forms is not clear: while the first goes back to *$h_2(e)r$, the Cypr. form goes back to *$h_1(e)r$ (*EDG* 121, *LIPP* II, 289). So the Phrygian word, which also shows the addition of -α, can only be related to the second of these forms. Despite the discussion about the Greek forms, this meaning is very suitable for a word which introduces an apodosis ('if someone does…, then he will suffer…').

Brixhe 1997, 62; LIPP II, 289.

er²v²ot²s²ati (verb?)

OPhr. *er²v²ot²s²ati* P-04 b

Read on a stone block: *ios er²v²ot²s²ati kakuioi*. Although Lubotsky (1988, 13) equated it to verbal forms with *-ti*, is would be the only 3.sg. with *-ati* instead of *-eti*. However, it is followed by another verb, *kakuioi*, in an imprecative curse and *ios er²v²ot²s²ati* could be the protasis and *kakuioi* the apodosis (*kakoioi* is attested only in the protasis of another curse, G-02). In any case, its meaning remains unclear (contrary to Woudhuizen 2008–2009, 199), as does its root.

CIPPh I, 239; Lubotsky 1988, 13; Woudhuizen 2008–2009, 199.

ερμω[λ]ᾳ̣ǫ̣ς (PN)
NPhr. sg.nom. ερμω[λ]|ᾳ̣ǫ̣ς 16.1 (116) l. 5–6
A masculine PN borrowed from Gr. Ἑρμόλαος (well attested in Anatolia): ται τοᾳ̣ | μ̣ε̣ ǫ̣ỵομανιας εναρκε ερμω[λ]|ᾳ̣ǫ̣ς κναικο⟨ς⟩ εκατηας. It does not seem to agree with anything, since κναικο⟨ς⟩ agrees in sg. gen. with εκατηας.
Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 174; Bayun and Orel 1988c, 155; Orel 1997a, 130, 428.

ẹ̣sagas (adj.?)
OPhr. sg.gen.fem.? [-?-]*ẹ̣sagas* W-07
Read in a very damaged text related to a cult niche [---]*ṭ*[---] ⁝ [---]*ṇ*[---] *ẹ̣sagas* ⁝ *akenạ̣ṣ* [---]. It seems to be a sg. gen. fem. adj. that agrees with the noun *akenạ̣ṣ*. Nevertheless, it is unclear whether its beginning is preserved or not. On the other hand, Orel (1997a, 46) read [*eda*]*es agas*, where *agas* is considered to be a PN in sg. nom. borrowed from Hitt. *Agga*, which is unlikely.
CIPPh 1, 51; Orel 1997a, 46.

esai (demonstrative pronoun) 'this'
OPhr. sg. dat. fem. *esai* W-01b
NPhr. sg. dat. acc. εσ$^{?}$αν 40.3 (31)
A compound of the pronoun *e-*, which goes back to the PIE anaphoric *$(h_1)e$- (*LIPP* II, 179–182, found, e.g., in Greek ἐκεῖνος 'that'), and the demonstrative PIE **so-* / *to-* or, better, **ḱi-* (see σεμουν). As well as the simple form, it can be complemented with the particle *t* (related to the anaphoric τος), as *esai≻t* shows: *yos esai≻t materey eveteksetẹ̣$^{?}$y ovevin onoman da⋎et* 'whoever puts his own name in this Mother E.'. The NPhr. εσ$^{?}$αν is a reading proposal by Neumann (1986, 81) instead of ειαν: εσ$^{?}$αν | μανκαν ιαν εσταες βρατερε | μαιμαρηαν 'this stele which [(s)he] put for the brother as monument'.
Neumann 1986, 81; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 190; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1826.

ẹ̣ṣk…a[---] (?)
OPhr. *ẹ̣ṣk…a*[---] B-03
B-03 is a severely damaged text read on a stone block and no parallel can be adduced to supply it: *ẹ̣ṣk…a*[---] *a*.. […]. Although Orel (1997a, 149) suggested the reading [---]*es kuria*[---] and related the alleged second word to *kuryaneyon*, the remaining strokes are not clear enough to substantiate such a tentative proposal.
CIPPh 1, 70–71; Orel 1997a, 149.

estaes (verb) 'put, erect'

OPhr.	3sg. ind. aor. act.	*ẹṣtạẹṣ* M-11
	3sg. ind. act.?	*estạt* B-05 l. 4
	3sg. ind. aor. med.	*estatoi* G-144
NPhr.	3sg. ind. aor. act.?	ε|[.]τας 11.2 (18) l. 5–6?
	3sg. ind. aor. act.	εσταες 40.3 (31)
	part. fem. sg. acc.	σ[ε]σταμ|εναν 2.1 (15)

Forms of a Phr. verb inherited from PIE **steh$_2$-* 'stand, erect' (*LIV*^{2} 590–592, *IEW* 1004–1008), attested in Gr. ἵστημι 'make, stand', Latin *sto* 'stand, stay', Skt. *tíṣṭhati* 'id.'. The singular form is *estạt* B-05 l. 4, with augment and a secondary ending *-t*, instead of *-es* attested for the aor.: B-05 *pạntạ vebrạṣ ạdun p*$^{?}$*os key estạt pator.*$^{?}$*ike*[...]*ẹ*[..]*ạndạti*... Because of this feature, Brixhe (2004a, 57) thought it an imperfect, but no other occurrence has been identified. The other forms (except σ[ε]σταμ\|εναν) are a common aor. However, M-11 is difficult to read and the context is lost: M-11 [---]*ṣ ẹṣtạẹṣ*. Indeed, only 40.3 has a more extensive context, μανκαν ιαν εσταες βρατερε | μαιμαρηαν, because G-144 is a short graffito: *estatoi avun*. The form ε\|[.]τας, is highly doubtful, since the reading and its affiliation with this verb are not clear. In its context, ε\|[.]τας is the only word that can be considered a verb: ... ματαρ ευγεξα\|ρναι κ' οτ ατι̣αμα κνουμεν ταν ε\|[.]τας ται κολταμανει. So, it is very likely that ε\|[.]τας is to be read ε\|[σ]τα⟨ε⟩ς. Note that sigma and epsilon show a similar quadratic shape, which could account for an engraver's mistake of this type; see the parallel case of κναικο⟨ς⟩. Finally, σ[ε]σταμεναν is read on a NPhr. funerary stele, in a sentence where the monument is described. Its agrees with the noun μανκαν: ξευνη ταν ειξα υψοδαν προτυς σ[ε]σταμ̣εναν μανκαν αμι̣ạσιαν... Since it is clearly a middle participle in sg. acc. fem., its second letter has been supplied by comparison with other participles, such as τεττιχμενος or γεγαριτμενος.

Lubotsky 1993a, 132; Lubotsky 1997, 123; Neumann 1997, 21; Brixhe and Stvas 2003, 72; Brixhe 2004a, 52, 57, 82; Sowa 2007a, 77–78; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 185, 191, 192; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1823 and 1827.

ε[σ$^{?}$]τας, ***estạt*** and ***estatoi*** see *estaes*.

†***estatoiavun*** see *estaes* and *avun*.

est*[....]*es (noun?)

OPhr.	pl. acc.?	*est*[..|..]*es* B-07

Read in the non-imprecative part of a funerary stele: *s=manes iyungidas manitos apelev porniyoy estṛ*[..] | [..]*es va ḳnais manuka odeketoy*... Following Brixhe (2004a, 79–80), it is a fem. PN in sg. nom. that agrees with va *ḳnais*: 'Est..., his

wife'. Since *manuka* is better explained as a PN, it is preferable to consider *es̨*[..] | [..]*es* the object of its sentences and, consequently, an athematic noun in pl. acc. It likely refers to the monument itself or the relatives. Nevertheless, a segmentation *est* [..|..]*es* cannot be ruled out (see σεμουν).
Brixhe 2004a, 79–80.

esuryoyoy (PN?)
OPhr. sg.dat.? *esuryoyoy* M-01f
Although considered a verb by Gusmani and Poetto (1981, 66), it is more likely a thematic PN in sg. dat because of its context. Compare M-01f [.ˀ].*as tuaveniy ae esuryoyoy totin ẹḍaẹ*[*s*] with *ates arkiaevais akenanogavos midai lavagtaei vanaktei edaes*.
Lejeune 1969a, 38 fn. 78; Gusmani and Poetto 1981, 66; CIPPh I, 17; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 135; Lubotsky 1988, 19; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 179; Orel 1997a, 22, 429; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 74.

eti (conj.?) 'and'?
OPhr. *eti* B-03
NPhr. ετι 11.2 (18); ετι 22.1 (9)
The OPhr. eti seems to be the same as NPhr. ετι. Nevertheless, both segmentations and their context are not clear: B-03 *evtevey ay yosyos yenvŗą* | *eti≠t evtevey me.oun laked*ˀ*ọ* | [-?-] and 22.1 υς δουμˀετ[ι]ου πασε | δεκμουταις κινο[υ]||μα ẹτι μ⟨α⟩νκαν οπεσταμ|ναν δαδιτι Νεν[υε]ρια | παρτυς ουβρα. In B-03, Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 192) preferred to read *etitevtevey*, but they only analysed its ending and *evtevey* appears without *etit* at the beginning of the line. If *eti* is considered an independent word, it can be equated to Gr. ἔτι, Lat. *et*, Skt. *áti* and Go. *iþ* and thus inherited from PIE **h*$_1$*eti* (*LIPP* II, 260–261).
Orel 1997a, 150, 429; LIPP II, 261.

etit see ετι.

†***etitevtevey*** see ετι and *tevte*.

etlnaie (verb?)
OPhr. *etlnaie* P-04 a
The ending of this word is only found in the also obscure *edaie*, and both forms seem to have the augment *(*h*$_1$)*e*-. According to Brixhe and Keleş (2011, 158), in the root *etlnaie* an apocope worked, although they do not identify the verb. Its context (non-imprecative) is still too elusive for any evidence of its meaning to be found: *otuvoi vetei etlnaie*.
Brixhe and Keleş 2011, 158.

†***etovesniyo*** see τοτοσσειτι and *niyoy*.

εττετικμενος see τιττετικμενος.

ευγεξαρναι (?)
NPhr. sg. dat.? ευγεξαρναι 11.2 (18) l. 4–5
sg. acc.? ευγισαρναν 11.2 (18) l. 10?
An obscure word that seems to appear twice in the same inscription. Their endings are not necessarily what they seem to be in light of the common hesitations in the inflection of the *a*-stems. The contexts of both texts are different. In l. 4–5 it appears in a sentence that describes the monument: ματαρ ευγεξα|ρναι̣ κ' οτ α̣τ̣ι̣αμα κνουμεν ταν ε|[.]τας ται κολταμανει. However, in l. 10 it appears in an imprecative apodosis: β̣ε⟨κ⟩ο|ις ιοι με τοτοσσ' ευγι σαρναν. In this second case, since a similar imprecation is attested in another inscription, 7.1 με κε οι | τοτοσσειτι βας βεκος, Hämmig (fthc. a) suggested the new reading β̣ε⟨κ⟩ο|ς ιοι με τοτοσσειτι σαρναν, where σαρναν appears in the place expected for the god (see σαρναν). Consequently, the second occurrence of this word can be rejected. The first, meanwhile, is very uncertain, since -ξαρναι is very similar to σαρναν; however, the remaining ευγε- remains unclear. It has commonly been taken as a PN, although no parallel can be adduced. According to this interpretation, Orel (1997, 83, 429) considered it a compound with a first element parallel to Gr. εὖχος 'the thing prayed for, object of prayer, prayer, vow' and εὐχή 'prayer or vow' (< PIE **h*$_1$*eu̯g*$^{\text{wh}}$- 'to promise, to vow, to praise') and the second to *ξ̆ξαρνη 'negation' (not attested form based on ξ̆ξαρνος 'denying'). However, this is a hypothetical interpretation.
Lubotsky 1988, 20; Orel 1997a, 83 and 429; Avram 2016b, 74–78.

(†)**ευγισαρναν** see ευγεξαρναι and σαρναν.

ευκιν (noun) 'vow'
NPhr. sg. acc. ευκιν 1.2 (98), 37.2 (30)
A loanword from Gr. εὐχή 'vow', a common word in the Gr. inscription devoted to deceased from Anatolia (see de Hoz 2017). The Phrygian word shows the simplification of the Gr. voiceless aspirated stop into aplain voiceless stop in Phrygia and the Gr. itacism. In both occurrences it is followed by the obscure word αργου: 1.2 δακαρεν πα|τερης ευκιν | αργου and 37.2 [.....] δ̣ουδας ακαλας ευκιν αργου.
Haas 1966, 111; Brixhe 1983, 129; Orel 1997a, 329, 360, 429; Brixhe 1999, 298; Lubotsky 2004, 231; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 189; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1825.

ey̰.[---] (PN?)
OPhr. *ey̰.*[---] G-230
Incomplete graffito incised on a fragment of a pithos. Despite its bad preservation, since the third dubious letter consists of a vertical stroke, it seems related somehow to the also incomplete graffito *eyi̯y*[---] (G-314). Very likely the beginning of an unidentified PN.
CIPPh I, 184; Orel 1997a, 227.

eyi̯y[---] (PN?)
OPhr. *eyi̯y*[---] G-314
It could be a complete word (note the glide *-i̯y* in *ayni̯y*), but the inscription is broken and its meaning unknown. It is very likely to be a PN, perhaps related to *eies* (G-109).
Brixhe 2002a, 72.

eymi (?)
OPhr. *eymi* G-178
It has been interpreted as the copulative verb in 1sg. ind. act. 'I am' parallel to Att. εἰμί < PIE **h₁esmi*. Indeed, the context seems to corroborate this interpretation, since it is read on a "petite idole, grossièrement anthropomorphe" (*CIPPh* I, 154) whose complete inscription, *eymi̯ṿa̰ʾḳ̰ʾi̯ʾ*[---], is thought to mean 'I am Bacchus'. The supposed DN cannot correspond to Bacchus, although ⟨ey⟩ is sometimes used to note /e/ in the copulative conj. *ke*, *key* < **kʷe*. An etymological alternative is to consider *eymi* a form of *ituv* 'let become', inherited from PIE **h₁ei̯-* 'to go' (*LIV*² 232–233, *IEW* 293–296), Gr. εἶμι 'id.', Lat. *eo* 'id.', Skt. *eti* 'id.'. In any case, the whole text remains obscure and even the segmentation can be reconsidered in light of B-05, where the ending *-iv* is attested (*tebetiv* and *dereliv*).
CIPPh I, 154; Bayun and Orel 1992–1993, 10; Orel 1997a, 398; Sowa 2007, 73; Sowa 2008, 93; Blažek 2005, 21.

†***eymi̯ṿa̰ḳ̰i̯***[---] see *eymi* and *vaki*.

e.[---] (?)
OPhr. *e.*[---] T-02b
Beginning of a unidentified word which occurs on a fragment of stele from Tyiana: [---]*oitumen* ⋮ *mi̯di̯a*[---]|[---]*n* ⋮ *a*↑*ios* ⋮ *mi*[---]|[---]*n̰* ⋮ *batan* ⋮ *e.*[---].
CIPPh I, 266.

ẹ.gi̯.ṿạ (PN)
OPhr. *ẹ.gi̯.ṿạ* G-331
Complete graffito incised on a sherd. Brixhe (2002a, 86) does not rule out the relationship with *olgiavos* (G-150) despite the hesitation between *e-* and *o-*.
Brixhe 2002a, 86.

ε[..]γεντ̣ουμενος (verb)
NPhr. part. nom. sg. masc. ε[..]γεντ̣ουμενος or ε[..]γτεντ̣ουμενος 1.1 (48)
It occurs in an imprecative apodosis: [---]. ε[..]γεντ̣ουμενος νιοισιος ναδροτος ειτου. Although its beginning is lost and the second readable letter is dubious, it seems to be a middle participle because of the presence of the suffix *-meno-* < PIE **-mh₁no-*. However, the expected reduplications is lacking.
Orel 1997a, 98–99; Lubotsky 1997, 121.

ꟻ (*ṿ*)

ṿ (mark)
OPhr. *ṿ* G-257, NW-110; *ṿ*[?] NW-113
Graffiti incised on sherds. They seem to be used as an owner's mark and can be considered either the abbreviation of a PN or mere non-verbal marks. NW-113 can be also read as *ẹ*[?].
CIPPh I, 141; Roller 1987a, 37; Brixhe 2002a, 18, 19.

ṿa (poss. pron.) 'his'

OPhr.	sg. nom. fem.	*ṿa* B-07
	sg. dat. fem.	*ṿay* B-05 l. 5
NPhr.	sg. acc. fem.	οαν 16.1 (116) l. 12
	sg. nom. fem.	ουα 4.1 (2), 62.2 (33); ου|α 62.5 (36)
	sg. acc. fem.	ουαν 60.1 (59)

Inherited poss. pron. derived from from PIE **sṷ-eh₂* (*LIPP* II, 751–752) and parallel to Gr. ὅς, ἥ, ὅν 'his, her, its'. This poss. is mostly found before the noun it agrees with: B-05 *pator.*[?]*ike*[...]*ẹ*[..]*ạndạti* | *ṿạy niptiyạy dạker kạrạtu*..., B-07 *esṭ*[..]||[..]*es ṿa ḳnais manuka odeketoy*, 62.2 and 62.5 αυτος κε ουα κοροκα γεγαριτμενος ας βαταν τευτους. However, the noun is found twice before the poss.: 4.1 υκε ακαλα οουιτετου ουα and 60.1 γεγρειμεναν ε\|γεδ[ου τ]ιος ουαν. In one case it is not clear which is its noun: 16.1 ις αργμενα[.] | ϙαριϙο οαν οεαυται. In this last occurrence ⟨ο⟩ stands for /w/. The sg. acc. neut. *ṿin* is found in *ovevin* (W-01b).
Brixhe 2004a, 57–58; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 185, 192; LIPP II, 751; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1823, 1827.

vaki[---] (?)
OPhr. *vaki*[---] G-178
Because this word was engraved on a small idol after the word *eymi*, it was considered by Bayun and Orel (1998a, 196, followed by Orel 1997a, 205) to be the Lyd. DN *baki* (well known in Gr. as Βάκχος and Lat. as *Bacchus*). However, the Lyd. letter Ⲃ stands for /p/ and a confusion between ⟨v⟩ /w/ and ⟨f⟩ /f/ is never attested in this language. Consequently, such an interpretation must be ruled out. Even this segmentation is not at all clear: in light of *tubetiv* this text can be read as *eymiv aki*[---], although the ending in *-iv* is only clearly found in Bithynia.
CIPPh I, 154; Bayun and Orel, 1998a, 196; Orel 1997a, 205, 466.

vana (PN)
OPhr. sg. nom.? *vana* B-102
Complete graffito incised on a sherd, very likely a PN. Brixhe (2004a, 86–87) suggested the possibility of a sg. nom. without an ending *-s*. On its root, Brixhe (1996, 138) considered two possibilities. The first equates it to a series of PNs attested in Roman Phrygia such as Ουαναξος, Ουαναξων and Ουαναξιων (*KPN* 390 § 1138). If that is the case, this PN is built from the noun **u̯anak(t)*-, attested in Phrygian as *vanaktei* (very likely a Gr. borrowing). The second possibility is an Anatolian PN in light of *Wana*, *Wanni* (*LNH* 204 § 1488, 1489), derivatives from the noun *wanni* 'stone', also considered the origin of the Isaurian and Lykaonian PN Ουαναλις (*KPN* 389 § 1137–1). Following this latter interpretation, *vana* can be considered a complete PN (the same *Wana*) or an abbreviation (e.g., Ουανα-λις). Brixhe also states that, in such a scenario where several languages coexist, the same PN can be interpreted in different ways by each bearer.
Bakır and Gusmani 1993, 136–137; Brixhe 1996, 138; Orel 1997a, 153–154, 466; Brixhe 2004a, 86–87.

vanaktei (noun) 'king, lord'
OPhr. sg. dat. *vanaktei* M-01a
NPhr. sg. acc. ουανακταν 6.1 (88)
Because of the similarity between this word and Gr. ἄναξ, -κτος 'lord, master', its meaning is clear. However, its origin is disputed: while Brixhe (e.g., 1994, 176–177) held the Gr. and Phrygian words to have a common heritage, Cassola (1997, 145–146) and, more recently, Petrakis (2016, 104–105, who argued for a Mynoan origin for this word) prefer to interpret it as a Gr. loanword. Indeed, since other royal titles, *lavagtaei* and *kuryaneyon*, are thought to be borrowings, the Phrygian *vanakt-* is likely also to be one. On its inflection, it is a clear athematic noun. Its sg. nom. is attested in the compound *modrovanak* 'the lord of Modra/-

oi' (M-04), where *-*ks* became -*k* (see also *bonok*) and, as in the Gr. nom., the dental dropped. In M-01a it is the title of the king Midas, *ates arkiaevais akenanogavos midai lavagtaei vanaktei edaes*, but in 6.1 it is used with a DN, πουρ ουανακταν κε ουρανιον ιστ$^{?}$εικετ διουνσιν.

Brixhe 1990, 73–75; Brixhe 1993, 340–341; Brixhe 1994, 176–177; Orel 1997a, 11, 466; Brixhe 2002b, 257; Sowa 2008, 40 fn. 2; EDG 98–99; de Lamberterie 2013, 49; Ruppenstein 2015; Petrakis 2016, 104–105; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1821.

vasos and ***vasuos*** see *vasus*.

vasus (PN)

OPhr. sg. gen. *vas|os* P-02
sg. nom. *vasous* P-03
sg. nom. *vasus* P-05

A PN only found on stone blocks from Pteria That very likely refers to the same man (also qualified as *ḳanutieivạịs*): P-02 *sest bugnos va|sos kanutii$^{?}$evanoṣ$^{?}$*, P-03 *vasous iman mekas | ḳanutieivạịs | deẏọs ke meḳạs* and P-05 *vasus kanutiẹ*[---]. The inflection likely follows a *u*-stem, considering the form *vasus*. Its sg. gen. lost its -*u̯*- before the vowel *o*, **u̯asu̯-os* > *vasos* (parallel to **diu̯-os* > τιος). The form *vasous* shows a hesitation between /o/ ~ /u/ (perhaps a corrected mistake during the engraving of the text). The origin of this PN, according to Orel (1997a, 292, 466), is the PA word **wassu-* (sic) 'well' (**wósu-*, according to Melchert 1994, 260), attested in Palaic and CLuw. *u̯āšu-* and HLuw. *wasu* 'id.', as well as other PN from Roman times such as the Cilician Οασις and Ουασσης (from Cilicia) ο Ουασασας (from Lycia; *KPN* 394 § 1145-1–1145-7). Very likely, OPhr. *Vasus* is the hypocoristic of a Luwian PN such as *Wasurunti*(*ya*)- (MALATYA 1) or *Wasusarma*- (TOPADA § 2, *LNH* 207 § 1514).

Brixhe 1983, 117; CIPPh 1, 231; Brixhe 1990, 70–71; Lubotsky 1993b, 96 n. 2; Orel 1997a, 466; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 186; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1819.

v$^{?}$ata[-?-] (PN or adj.?)

OPhr. *v$^{?}$ata*[-?-] or *g$^{?}$ata*[-?-] G-236

Graffito incised on a late sherd. Because it is preceded by the PN *nana*, *CIPPh* (I, 187) suggested that this word is an adj. that agrees with the PN (similar to Gr. Γλυκὼ καλή) or a compound PN *nana v$^{?}$ata*[-?-] or *nana g$^{?}$ata*[-?-] (Orel 1997a, 229, 447). However, no parallel can be adduced for any interpretation and it is impossible to know whether the text is complete. Even the first letter is not clear, although ⟨v⟩ is the more likely reading according to editors.

CIPPh 1, 187; Orel 1997a, 229, 447.

vay see *va*.

va.[---] (PN?)
OPhr. *va.*[---] G-134
Damaged graffito incised on a sherd. Its third letter can be read as *u̯* or *ṣ*, although the remaining strokes are not clear enough to support a definitive reading (*CIPPh* I, 123). Bayun and Orel (1988a, 199–200) read it in light of *vanak-* (M-01a), though such a segmentation of *vanaktaei* is indefensible and the presence of ⟨n⟩ does not fit with the strokes. On the other hand, Orel (1997a, 185, 466) read it as *vaṣ*[---] and considered it another occurrence of *vasos* ("an epithet or a cultic term," as he stated). In any case, it is very likely an anthroponym, as is common in such graffiti.
CIPPh I, 123; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 199–200; Orel 1997a, 185, 466.

veaoyoy (verb?)
OPhr. *veao*|*yoy* G-11b + G-11c
Read on a stone block, the whole text is vague: *sit kraroy̨ veao*| *yo̯y*[.?] | *dis*. Because of its ending, Brixhe (2002, 36) suggested that it is a 3sg. opt. verb (compare with *kakoioi*), although its root remains unidentified. Nevertheless, a thematic adj. or noun in agreement with *kraroy̨* cannot be ruled out.
Brixhe 2002a, 36.

vebạn (noun) 'grave, memorial'
OPhr. sg. acc. *vebạn* B-05 l. 13
NPhr. sg. acc. ουεβαν 1.1 (48), 2.2 (130), 37.2 (30)
ουε̣[---] 27.1 (92)
Although Haas (1966, 98) considered the meaning 'harm', Lubotsky (1997, 127), in light of the quasi-bilingual 1.1, equated it to the Gr. μνημεῖον 'monument, tomb' read in the same inscription: 1.1 δουμε κε οι ουε|βαν αδδακετ ορου|αν, παρεθέμην τὸ | μνημεῖον τοῖς προ|γεγραμμένοις θ̣ε|οῖς κὲ τῇ κώμῃ… Indeed, the meaning 'grave' is expected in the NPhr. occurrences read in imprecative protases: 2.2 αινι ουεβαν δεδασσινι πατρε|ς σεμουν κορο[υ]μανη and 27.1 ιος νι σ[εμουν κνου]|μανε κακουν [αδακετ αι]|νι κορου ουε̣[βαν? or -βενος]. Perhaps the occurrence of 37.2 is also read in a (damaged) protatis: [.....] ουεβαν εγερετ οι αυτω αυταη κε ταν ειṿṿo̯ṿ. In the Vezirhan stele (B-05) this word is problematic because it appears in the apodosis: B-05 *yos isekosos ↑emeney ḍ?upratoy, vebạn ituv*. Dealing with this problem, Brixhe (2004a, 64) suggested that *vebạn* is a directive acc., not before identified in Phrygian. Following him, Avram (2016, 122–123) argues that the collation *vebạn ituv* means 'may he go in the grave' (= 'may he die') and refutes Gorbachov's interpretation 'may become *weban*' (2008, 102). Recently,

Simon (2015, 22–23) equated *vebạn ituv* to Gr. πολὰ καὶ ἀγαθά in the Gr. summary of this inscription and considered that it means 'good things'. However, the NPhr. occurrences make this meaning indefensible. Its etymology remains unclear. It can be derived from the PIE root **u̯eb^{h}*- 'to weave, braid' (*LIV*^{2} 658, *IEW* 1114), attested in Hitt. *u̯ep-*^{zi} 'to weave(?)' and *u̯epa-* 'woven fabrics (?)' (see Kloekhorst 2008, 1001–1002), Gr. ὑφαίνω 'to weave' (note that the Myc. fut.part. *e-we-pe-se-so-me-na* = ἐϝεψησόμενα points out a roo **h$_{1}$u̯eb^{h}*- according to Beekes 1969, 67 and *EDG* 1540–1541), ὑφή 'web', Skt. *vabh-* 'to bind, to fetter', OHG *weban* 'to weave' and ToA *wäp-*, ToB *wāp-* 'id.'. If this is the case, we are dealing with a neuter noun in **-ēn* > *-ān*, like *iman*, *imenos* 'shrine', or an *ā*-stem fem. in sg. acc. However, the semantic development must be explained.

Haas 1961, 80; Haas 1966, 98; Neumann 1997, 26; Lubotsky 1997, 127; Orel 1997a, 329–330 and 466; Brixhe 2004a, 64; Gorbachov 2008, 102, Hämmig 2013, 151; Simon 2015, 22–23; Avram 2016a, 122–126.

vebrạṣ (noun)

OPhr. *vebrạṣ* B-05 l. 4
vebru P-04a
vebra[---] K-01 VI+VII a2

NPhr. ουβρα 22.1 (9)
ουεβρα 15.1 (120)

An elusive noun. Bayun and Orel (1988c, 133) equated it to Gr. ὕβρις 'wanton violence, outrage', but this was subsequently rejected by Orel (1997a, 467). According to Brixhe (in Brixhe and Drew-Bear 1997, 89) Lubotsky suggested a preposition and considered παρτυς ουεβρα a phrase similar to Gr. μνήμης χάριν, but this was rejected by Brixhe (in Brixhe and Summers 2006, 126). Lubotsky's idea, however, was that *vebra* means something like 'memory' and contains the same root as *veban* 'memorial'. Its contexts are non-imprecative: B-05 *pạntạ vebrạṣ ạdun p$^{?}$os key estạt pator.$^{?}$ike*[...]*ẹ*[..]*ạndạti...*, K-01 VI+VII a2 [---] ʿ *ṃạsa u*|*rgitos dakor s≈vebrạ*[---] | *tataniyeṇ$^{?}$ ẹḍaes*, 15.1 [..... π]αρτυς ουεβρα and 22.1 μ⟨α⟩νκαν οπεσταμ|ναν δαδιτι Νεν[υε]ρια | παρτυς ουβρα. Only in P-04a is it found in a curse, after the verb of the apodosis: P-04a *ios ni ạḳenan egeseti* | *ọ$^{?}$ḳ$^{?}$irterḳọ*[..]. *tekmoṛ* | *ot*.[....]*seti vebru*. Moreover, this last form is morphologically different to the other occurrences, which seem to follow an *a*-stem paradigm. Brixhe (in Brixhe and Summers 2006, 126) considered that the form *svebra*[---] shows an etymological spelling. However, since **su̯-* became *v-* in Phr. (see *va* or *venavtun*) and the origin of this word has not been identified, it is more likely that we are dealing with the clitic pronoun attached to this noun: *s≈vebrạ*[---] (see, e.g., *s≈materan* M-01dI).

Bayun and Orel 1988c, 133; Brixhe and Drew-Bear 1997, 87–90; Orel 1997a, 296–297, 467; Brixhe 2004a, 56; Brixhe and Summers 2006, 126.

vebru see *vebraṣ*.

venavtun (reflexive pronoun) 'himself, herself, itself'
OPhr. acc. sg. masc. *venavtun* W-01b
NPhr. dat. sg. fem. οεαυταιι 16.1 (116) l. 12
Compound pronoun built by attaching the inherited PIE reflexive **sṷe* (Lat. *se*, Gr. ἕ, Lesb. ϝε, Skt. *sva-*) to the reflexive *avto-*, a parallel formation to Gr. ἑ-αυτοῦ, ἧς, οὗ. The first element in the OPhr. occurrence has been recharacterised by appending the sg. acc. ending *-n*. It appears in an imprecative apodosis without parallels: *yos esai≀t materey eveteksetę̣ʔy ovevin onoman da⅄et lakedo key venavtun avtay materey*. The NPhr. sg. dat. form occurs in an imprecative protasis (although unparalleled): ις αργμενα[.] | ǫ̣̇παρικο οαν οεαυται ις κε ε̣ι̣ τοιϙτινιοι κνουμαν τιαν τε[.]|[.]μαρδ̣ι ιδετοι οινις. Although the first editors of this text, Brixhe and Neumann (1985, 182), segmented this sequence as οανο εαυται and considered εαυται a Gr. borrowing, in οεαυται, OPhr. *venavtun* makes a borrowing improbable and ⟨ο⟩ can represent /w/.
Torp 1908, 213; Meister 1911, 24; Haas 1966, 195, 197; Brixhe 1978b, 12; CIPPh 1, 40–41; Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 182; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 183; Lubotsky 1988, 22; Janda 1997, 273; Morante Mediavilla 2006, 336; Woudhuizen 2008–2009, 191 § 161; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 185, 190–191; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1820, 1827.

vetei (noun or adj.?)
OPhr. sg. dat. *vetei* P-04a
Despite several proposals, Brixhe (2004a, 101) considered that this word remains unclear. Indeed, scholars only agree that it is a sg. dat. that agrees with *otuvoi*: *otuvoi vetei etlnaie*. In fact, the whole sentence in which it is attested remains unclear. Haas (1966, 182) translated it into Lat. as *ipsi*, but this interpretation has not been accepted. Woudhuizen (1993, 13), on the other hand, equated it to Myc. *we-te-i* /wetehi/ 'year' (alphabetic Gr. ἔτος) and thought *otuvoi* to be the numeral eight. Then, otuvoi vetei would mean 'in the eighth year'. However, *otuvoi* works better as PN, so the context does not support such an interpretation. Finally, Orel (1997a, 295) equated it to Lat. *uetus* 'aged, old' (inherited from PIE **u̯et-os-*) and considered that *otuvoi vetei* means 'for Otuvo the elder'. However, such an anthroponymic formula is unparalleled in Phrygian.
Haas 1966, 180; CIPPh 1, 237–238; Woudhuizen 1993, 13; Orel 1997a, 295, 468; Brixhe 2004a, 101; Woudhuizen 2008–2009, 191 § 163.

vi (PN)
OPhr. *vi* G-243
Owner's mark read on a sherd. It is very likely an abbreviated PN.
CIPPh I, 191; Roller 1987a, 41; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 199; Orel 1997a, 232, 486.

vi↑e (?)
OPhr. *vi↑e* W-10
The interpretation of this word is related to the letter ↑. Brixhe and Drew-Bear (1982, 86) indicated it may reflect a palatalisation of PIE **k* with a later depalatisation (they considered that this letter was similar to Gr. sampi), so they identified the word as inherited from the PIE root **u̯eik-* 'bend, wind, change' (*IEW* 1130–1131 **weik-*/4) parallel to Lat. *uicis* 'turn, occasion'. However, this interpretation has not been followed. Orel (1997a, 51, 468) considered it a verb in 2sg. aor. inherited from the PIE root **u̯eid-* 'see, know' (*LIV*^{2} 665–667, *IEW* 1125–1127; Lat. *uideo*, Gr. ἰδεῖν, Skt. *vindáti*). Indeed, this interpretation takes into account the form NPhr. οουιτετου, which is difficult to dissociate from *vi↑e*. Nevertheless, although the context of this OPhr. word remains obscure, the presence of the verb *edae* argues against this interpretation: *ạtai edae lel/ravo* | *vi↑e atevo atoios*, | *alụs si↑eto das*. Consequently, this word remains unexplained.
Brixhe and Drew-Bear 1982, 86; Brixhe 1982, 231; Orel 1997a, 51, 468.

vitạrạn (adj.?)
OPhr. *vitạrạn* B-05 l. 3
It follows the word *vrekạn* in the Vezirhan stele, *iben edạtoy dạkerạn ạtriyạs dạvoi okiṃạḳiỵạ*[---] | *vrekạn vitạrạn artimitoṣ krạniyạs* [---] and seems to agree with this noun. On this basis, Brixhe (2004a, 55) considered that the probable adj. *vrekạn* qualifies *vitạrạn* (considered a noun). However, *vrekạn* is more likely a noun (see *vrekun*). Consequently, *vitạrạn* may be an adj. in addition, Brixhe suggested that the root of this word is also attested in υιταν. However, its meaning remains unclear.
Neumann 1997, 20; Brixhe 2004a, 55.

voines (PN)
OPhr. sg. nom. *voine* G-228
sg. nom. *voines* G-129, G-286
sg. nom. *voineios* G-145
All forms are sg. nom., but *voine* is a variant without the ending *-s*. G-145 *voneios* is derived through the suffix **-eu̯o-* from the simpler form *voine-*. Then, it is a a parallel formation to *lagineios* (see Innocente 1997, 39). In most instances the PN constitutes the whole graffito, and it is only in G-145 that this PN is attested

in a larger text: *voineios uriïenois ḳu*[---]. Note that in this graffito the engraver first wrote 𐤔 (or 𐤎𐤓?) instead of ⟨s⟩. Orel (1997a, 468) interpreted this word as the noun for 'wine' and equated to Gr. οἶνος and Lat. *uinum*. Although this interpretation can be considered likely because *voine*(*s*) was incised on pottery, the inflection of *voine*(*s*) is not thematic, like the adduced parallels, but shows the common *e*-stem of many PN.

Lejeune 1969b, 292; Brixhe 1983, 128; CIPPh 1, 119, 132, 183; Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 169; Brixhe 1987, 129 fn. 107; Masson 1987a, 111; Roller 1987a, 53; Neumann 1988, 7; Lubotsky 1988, 19; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 200; Brixhe 1991, 42; Brixhe 1993, 340; Orel 1997a, 468; Innocente 1997, 39; Brixhe 2002a, 46–47; Sowa 2008, 36, 80.

vosi̯ḳ[?][---] (?)

OPhr. *vosi̯ḳ*[?][---] K-01-111
vo̯s|*i*[---] K-01-1a

An obscure word in a very fragmented text engraved on a stele: [---]*o̯itio* ⋮[?] *vosi̯ḳ*[?][---]. Even the interpunction that seems to precede this word is dubious. Brixhe (in Brixhe and Summers 2006, 118) also considered the segmentation *vos iḳ*[?][---], where *vos* is taken as the 3sg. poss. pron. (masc. nom. sg.). However, no parallels are found apart from [---] *vo̯s* | *i*[---], read in the first preserved line of this text, which may be the same word (also damaged). On it, Brixhe (in Brixhe and Summer 2006, 114) also suggested the same interpretation. So, the word remains unclear until more parallels are found.

Brixhe and Summers 2006, 114, 118.

†***voy*** see *tubetiv* and *oy*.

***v*[?]*o.*[-?-]** see [-?-]*i*[?]*o*.

vrekan and ***y̯*[?]*r̯*[?]*ekeṣ*[?]** see *vrekun*.

vrekun (noun?) 'sculpture, relief'?

OPhr. sg. acc. (fem.) *vrekạn* B-05 l. 3
pl. nom.? *y̯*[?]*r̯*[?]*ekeṣ*[?] HP-114?
sg. acc. *vrekun* W-01a; *r̯ekun* M-06

Because the differences between each word are significant, it is better to analyse them individually. The form *vrekun* was the most widely considered form among prior reserachers. Because in W-01a it occurs in a description of the monument (a façade from which a statue of the goddess has been lost), the meaning 'sculpture, relief' given by Matzinger (2005, 386–390 and 2006, 358–360, followed by Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 192, who prefer the translation

'idol') fits very well. According to this interpretation, *bonok akenanogavọṣ materan areyastin vrekun tedatoy* means 'Bonok, the *akenanogavos*, made for himself as relief (this) *Matar Aresyastis*'. Matzinger's suggested etymology is attractive: a noun inherited from the PIE verbal root **u̯erǵ-* 'work' (*LIV*^{2} 686–687, *IEW* 1168–1169) equated to Gr. ἔργον 'work, deed, action', with the same vowel position as in Gr. ῥέζω 'do, act, deal' < **u̯reǵ-i̯-ō* (a Post-Mycenaean innovation, see *EDG* 1279, with references, and Matasović 2009, 430 for Proto-Celtic **wregi-*). Orel's proposal (1997, 469), a derivative from the PIE root **u̯reǵh-* (sic.) 'break' (**u̯reh$_1$ǵ- LIV*^{2} 698, *IEW* 1181–1182) does not fit the context, and **eh$_1$* is expected to yield **ē* > *-a* in Phr. In M-06 the context and the word are less clear: M-06 *ṛekun deiatiteeạ.*$^?$ *davoi iman* 'Iman … this relief for Davos'. There is no trace of a prior letter here, and *CIPPh* (I, 26) considered it a phonetic simplification: *vrekun* > *rekun*. More difficult is the interpretation of *vrekạn* read on the Vezirhan stele: B-05 *dạkeraṇ ạtriyas dạvoi okiṃạḳi̯ẏạ*[---] | *vrekạn vitạraṇ artimitoṣ kraṇiyạs* [---]. Although Brixhe (2004a, 55) considered it an adj. in agreement with *vitạraṇ*, it seems more likely to be a secondary feminisation of *vrekun*. Note that here the text addresses the relief of the goddess as follows: *vrekạn vitạraṇ artimitoṣ kraṇiyạs* 'the *vitaran* idol of Artemis *Kraniyas*'. So, *vrekạn* is a noun and *vitạraṇ* its adj. The last occurrence, *ẏ$^?$ṛ$^?$ekeṣ$^?$*, is striking because it does not fit the paradigm of *vrekun* or *vrekạn*. Since it is read on the Persepolis clay tablet, it is clearly an athematic pl. nom. parallel to others in the same text: 30$^?$*…ẹḳẹs* 30$^?$ *i*$^?$ | .. 30$^?$ *ẏ$^?$ṛ$^?$ekeṣ$^?$* | . 30$^?$ *knays* 30$^?$ *ṣ*$^?$ | 4 *i*$^?$*ẏ$^?$ṛ$^?$i* 40$^?$ *knạyḳẹ*$^?$[*s*]$^?$ | .$^?$ 40$^?$ *m$^?$akeṛes* 40$^?$… Perhaps it is another word somehow related to *vrekun*. Finally, the still common interpretation that *vrekun* is the endo-ethnonym of the Phrygians (see, e.g., Janda 1997, 272; Wittke 2004, 203–204; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 80) must be rejected because Φρύγες, Φρύγια seems to go back to PIE **b^{h}ṛ̥g^h-*, whose stops are not expected to become voiceless, but voiced (see above the form Βρίγια). Indeed, the first scholar to suggest this possibility was Lubotskty (1988, 13–14), who rejected it in later papers (see also Simon 2014b, 94 fn. 21). The source of this mistake must be found in the Hesychian glosses: βρέκυν· τὸν Βερέκυντα, τὸν Βρίγια. Βρίγες γάρ οἱ Φρύγες and Βερεκύνδαι· δαίμονες, οἱ Φρύγες. On the other hand, this last gloss seems to show a relation between the word Βερεκύνδαι and gods (δαίμονες).

CIPPh I, 26; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 180; Janda 1997, 272; Neumann 1997, 20; Orel 1997a, 469; Brixhe 2004a, 55; Wittke 2004, 203–204; Matzinger 2005, 386–390; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 80; Matzinger 2006, 358–360; Woodhouse 2006, 175; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 192; Simon 2014b, 94 fn. 21; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1829.

ν.[---] (?)
OPhr. *ν.*[---] G-315
Incomplete graffito read on a sherd. Perhaps the beginning of a PN.
Brixhe 2002a, 72–73.

ν[---] (?)
OPhr. *ν*[---] G-01c, T-02b.
Beginning of an unknown word read on a stone slab (G-01c) and a fragment of stele (T-02b).
CIPPh 1, 85 and 266.

↑ ⊤ – **Z ζ**

↑ (owner's mark)
OPhr. ↑ G-203a, G-225
In both of its occurrences this letter appears isolated among in potsherds and probably was used as a commercial or owner's mark. In the internal side of G-203 (from fourth c. BC) a mark X is also found, and in G-225 (from fourth-third century BC) an A.
CIPPh 1, 168 and 181; Roller 1987a, 31 and 48; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 199; Orel 1997a, 215–216, 225; Morante Mediavilla 2000, 164.

ζειρα and ζειραι see ↑*iraγ*.

↑***ekmatin*** (noun?)
OPhr. sg. acc. ↑*ekmatin* B-06 l. 3
pl. acc.? ↑*ekm̨ʾ*[*at*]*ę̣ṣ* B-06 l. 1?
This *i*-stem nound or adj. only occurs in a very damaged funerary stele. Since ματι(ν) is attested in MPhr-01, one can suggest a segmentation ↑*ek matin* is possible. In any case, ↑*ek* remains unexplained: is it a preposition or a prefix? The segmentation of this ↑*ekmati-* is unclear In l. 1, *sṭaḷʾa ke* : ↑*ekm̨*[*at*]*ę̣ṣ keɣ*[---]*ą̣ʾyǫ̣ʾ*[---], the restitution is a mere hypothesis suggested by Orel (1997a, 151), but it fits the lost space and the remaining strokes. Although the context is absolutely unclear, l. 3 may contain an imprecative protasis: *yostumoy* : ↑*ekmatin* | [---]*atonkeyen*. Anyhow, its origin and meaning are unknown, contrary to Orel (1997a, 152, 422), who considered it a PN (arbitrariously read as *dekmatin*).
Orel 1997a, 152, 422; Brixhe 2004a, 72–73.

ζεμελως (noun) 'human being'

NPhr. pl. dat. ζεμελως 3.1 (97), 14.1 (73), 17.2 (3), 17.6 (119), 19.1 (96), 20.1 (63), 21.1 (42), 22.2 (118), 24.1 (40), 32.1 (93), 52.1 (75), 65.3 (21), 65.4 (124); ζεμ̣[ελ]ω̣ς 12.1 (121); ζεμελω[ς] 18.1 (4); [ζ]εμελως 18.2 (5), 18.3 (6); ζ̣εμελω̣[ς] 19.2 (129); ζεμελος 20.2 (128); ζεμ[ελος] 17.3 (7); [ζεμ]|ελωσι 27.1 (92); [ζ]ιμ̣ελως 35.1 (25); ζ̣ι[μελως] 66.1 (103); σζεμελως 6.2 (131), 10.2 (113), 30.1 (39)

Gloss ζέμελεν· βάρβαρον ἀνδράποδον. Φρύγες Hsch. ζ 109

All epigraphic occurrences are variants of the same form read in a imprecative apodosis: e.g., 17.6 με ζεμελως κε δεως κε | τιτετικμενος ειτου. It is generally accepted to be a derivative of the PIE root *$d^{(h)}ǵ^he$-*m*- 'earth' (*NIL* 86–99, *IEW* 414–416, see also Kloekhorst 2014a) with the suffix *-*elo*- similar to Gr. χθαμαλός 'near the ground, on the ground, flat' and Lat. *humilis* 'low, humble', so it is a nominalised adjective. The first sound can be interpreted as a *centum* depalatalisation with a secondary palatalisation (perhaps with a simplification of the initial cluster as in Gr. χαμαί 'to the earth, on the earth'), *$d^{(h)}ǵ^hem$- > *(*d*)*gem*- > *(*d*)*ǵem*- > ζεμ-, or a methatesis with a *satəm* treatment *$d^{(h)}ǵ^he$- > **ǵde*- > ζε-. However, since Phr. is a *centum* language, only the first interpretation is valid. Independent evidence for this secondary palatalisation could be found in the toponym Γδανμαας (*MAMA* I, 339) / Γδαμμαυας (*MAMA* VII, 589, from Çeşmelisebil; see Robert 1980, 382). If indeed it is Phrygian and not Pisidian, its first part seems to go back to *$d^hǵ^{(h)}$m̥ (compare with Skt. *-jm-* in *majmán-*). In any case, ζ seems to represent a compound /zd/ in the light of σζεμελως and other similar spellings found in Gr. inscriptions from Phrygia (Brixhe 1978a, 7 and 1987a, 46). The form ζιμελως shows the pretonic hesitation /e/ ~ /i/ (Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 187 = 2018, 1821). Finally, while different endings are attested, each of them reveals a thematic inflection. The hesitation between omega and omicron reveals the loss of the lengthened vowel, *-$\bar{o}i̯s$ > -ως > -ος, and ζεμελωσι seems a recharacterised dat. The gloss form does not fit in the paradigm; because of final ny it seems to be its acc. but the expected form is *ζέμελον. Perhaps it is borrowed from a thematic voc. *ζέμελε (see Brixhe 1993, 334).

Brixhe 1978a, 7; Brixhe 1982, 242; Brixhe 1990, 96; Brixhe 1993, 334; Lubotsky 1998, 416; Brixhe 1999, 297; NIL 88; de Lamberterie 2013, 26; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 185; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1821.

ζεμελωσι and **ζιμελως** see ζεμελως.

↑***emeney*** (noun)
OPhr. sg.dat. ↑*emeney* B-05
A clear *n*-stem noun (parallel inflection to *iman*, *imenos*), it is read in a protasis of a curse: *yos isekosos* ↑*emeney ḍ'upratoy vebạn ituv*. Simon (2015, 25–27) recently posited it as derived from a verb that goes back to PIE **ǵʰeh₁-* 'move' (*LIV*² 172, *IEW* 418), **ǵʰeh₁-* 'leave behind, let return' (*LIV*² 173, *IEW* 418–419), or **gʰeh₁-* 'to come; to arrive' (*LIV*² 196, *IEW* 418–419), proposed in light of ἐνθ|άδε ἥχ̣οντι read in the Gr. part of this quasi bilingual inscription. However, the identification of both texts is not clear (at least the apodosis is not the same). On the other, Sowa (2015, 189) tentatively suggested a borrowing from Gr. σῆμα 'sign, mark, gravestone'.
Neumann 1997, 52; Brixhe 2004a, 64; Gorbachov 2008, 102–105; Hämmig 2013, 151; Sowa 2015, 188–189; Simon 2015, 25–27.

⊤***i*** (PN?)
OPhr. ⊤*i* G-275
A complete graffito on a potsherd that must be an abbreviated word, probably an anthroponym, used as an owner's mark. The first letter has been considered a variant of ↑ because it is a hapax but similar to ↑ in *a*↑*iia* T-03.
Heubeck 1986, 76; CIPPh 1, 212; Roller 1987a, 41; Orel 1997a, 244 and 461; Morante Mediavilla 2000, 172; Brixhe 2004a, 96.

↑***irạy*** (noun) 'hand'
OPhr. sg. dat. ↑*irạy* B-05
NPhr. pl. nom. ζειρα 40.1 (12)
sg. dat. ζειραι 59.4 (106)
A clear fem. *a*-stem noun equated to Gr. χείρ, χειρός 'hand', Arm. *jeṙn* 'id.', Skt. *hásta-* 'id.' (< **ǵʰés-to-*), Hitt. *keššar* 'id.', etc., which goes back to PIE **ǵʰes-r-* 'id.' (*NIL* 170–172). The *a*-stem inflection of this Phr. word is clearly secondary. Alb. *dorë* 'id.' (**dēr-ā* < **dēr-* < PIE **ǵʰes-r-*) shows the same new inflection, although in this language almost all PIE C-stems become o- and a-stems (see Demiraj 1997, 140 with references). The OPhr. occurrence appears in an imprecative protasis: †*iv*† ⟨*s*⟩*imun inmeney ạsenạn dạket torvetun* ↑*irạy ạyniy oy tubnuv*… According to Hämmig (2013, 150–151, who took up an old theory rejected by Brixhe 1991, 84–89 and other scholars), it is used there as an ins. "von Hand" (a similar use in NPhr. 59.4). In the NPhr. subcorpus it again appears in curses: once in the apodosis, 40.1 ειος νι σεμουν κνουμανι κακον | αδδακετ, ζειρα κε οι πετ̣ʾες κε τιτ|τετικμενα ατ τιε αδειττνου, and once in a protasis 59.4 ιος νι σεμουν κνου|μανει κακουν αδοκετ | ζειραι, τιτετικμενος ατ | τι αδειτου…
Hämmig 2013, 150–151.

ζως (adj.) 'alive, living'
NPhr. ζως 43.1 (69)
Read in an unparalleled apodosis: ṭ[ος] νι ζως ḳε πεις κε τιτετικμενος ειτου. Haas (1966,90, followed by Woodhouse 2007) considered it a Gr. loanword, the pres. participle of the verb ζῶ 'live' (PIE < *$g^{u}eih_3$- / $g^{u}ieh_3$-, so *$g^{u}ieh_3$-$u̯o$-*s*). Indeed, the old labialised stops are not expected to appear as palatal in light of $k^{w}e$ > *ke*(*y*), κε. On the other hand, Heubeck (1987, 83–85) and Lubotsky (in *TITUS*) suggested an engraver's mistake for ζ⟨εμελ⟩ως. However, there is no δεως but πεις in the same formula, and this mistake is difficult to explain. The Gr. borrowing remains the better (albeit tentative) explanation. As de Hoz (fthc.) suggested, this Phr. apodosis can be compared with the Greek inscription Strubbe 1997, no. 269 (from Amorion; see also Mileta 2011): τίς δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ ἰστήλῃ | κακὴν χεῖρα προσοίσει, | καὶ ζῶν δεινὰ πάθοιτο | καὶ θανεὼν ἔτι δεινά 'whoever lays a bad hand to this stele, let him suffer terrible things as living and as dead'.
Haas 1966, 90; Heubeck 1987, 83–85; Lubotsky 1994; Woodhouse 2007.

H η

ηνκ|[---] (?)
NPhr. ηνκ|[---] 15.1 (120)
Unparalleled word in an obscure imprecative apodosis: ουελας κοννου κ' ηνκ|[.... ...]ụọịṣ γḛṿṭị βḛṇạι κε ṭαρτης βḛκος. The use of eta is unexpected and perhaps is used for /i/ as ητου for *ituv* and ειτου or for /e/ as in πατερης. It remains unclear.
Brixhe and Drew-Bear 1997, 90.

†**ησιου** see δεκμουταις and ιου.

ητου see ειτου.

Θ θ

†**θαλαμει** see θαλαμειδη.

θαλαμειδη (noun) 'burial chamber'
OPhr. sg. dat. θαλαμειδη 18.1 (4)
A noun attested in a common protasis: ιος νι σεμοṿ [κνουμανει] κακουν αδακετ αινι οι θαλαμειδη. It is a borrowing from Gr. θαλαμίς, -ίδος with the meaning '(burial) chamber' > 'tomb' usually found in Gr. θαλάμη 'a lurking-place, den, hole cave'

and θαλαμός 'inner room or chamber'. See the use of this word in the Greek text of the inscription 25.1 (115): Ἀριστόξ[ενος] ἰᵭ[ί]ῳ ̣πενθερῷ Ἀδυμήτω θαλαμείδα 'Aristox[enos] (built this burial) chamber for his own father-in-law Adymetos'. As a borrowed word, the use of theta is also explained. Note that it was often segmented as θαλαμει δη, where δη was considered a prep. (see Brixhe 1997, 55–56, tentatively in *LIPP* II, 148–149). However, it is unparalleled in Phrygian.
Brixhe 1978b, 5; Brixhe and Waelkens 1981, 71; Brixhe 1983, 129; Brixhe 1993, 341; Brixhe 1994, 175; Brixhe 1999, 298; Brixhe 2002b, 258; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 194; Avram 2016, 129; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1818.

ϑιτ[τ]ετικμενο̣[ς] see τιττετικμενος.

I (*i*) – I ι

ιαν see *yos*.

iben (pronoun) '(to) himself'
OPhr. sg. acc. *iben* B-05 l. 2
sg. dat. *ibey* B-01; B-05 l. 10
Third-person plural pronoun identified by Hämmig (2013, 139–140), who classifies *ibey* as a sg. dat. formation parallel to, e.g., Lat. *sibi* or Oscan *sifei* < **se-bʰei̯* and Gr. σφεῖς (in zero grade) based on PIE **s(u̯)e*. The previous segmentation *ibeya* B-01 was suggested in light of the preceding word *kubeleya*, *matar kubeleya ibey a duman ektetoy*. However, since this word appears in B-05 l. 10 *koγis ąbretoy nun ibey neγotąn ṇiptiyan sirun mireyun*, the word boundary after *ibey* is preferable. The sg. acc. *iben* seems to be an analogous form created after the dat. It appears in an unclear, non-imprecative part of the Vezirhan stele: B-05 l. 1–2 *sin=t imenąn kąliyą ti tedąt*[...]*edekm*[...]*mẹąṣ²ḍ²u²ṃiḍ* | *iben edątoy dąkerąn ątriyąs dąvoi okiṃąḳiγą*[---]...
Brixhe 2004a, 54; Hämmig 2013, 139–140.

ibey see *iben*.

(†)***ibeya*** see *iben* and *as*.

id see *di*.

ιδετοι (verb)
OPhr. 3sg. subj. mid. ιδετοι 16.1 (116) l. 14
Because of the ending -τοι and the lack of augment, it seems to be a verb in 3sg. subj. mid. Indeed, it is the only possible verb of the unparalleled apodosis in which it is attested: ις κε ε̣ṿ | τοιṣ̣ινιοι κνουμαν τιαν τε[.]|[.]μαρ̣δ̣ι ιδετοι οινις. Both its root and its meaning remain unclear.
Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 183; Brixhe 2004a, 53.

idi (PN)
OPhr. sg. nom. *idi* HP-113
This graffito incised on a bronze bowl found in Lycia seems to be a complete *i*-stem PN in sg. nom., despite the lack of the ending *-s*. This name is also found in Pisidia as Ιδιος and Ιδδιος (both in sg. gen., *KPN* 192 § 452–3). The Phr. form can be read as /iddi/ or /idi/.
Varinlioğlu 1992, 13, 15–16; Orel 1997a, 320; Brixhe 2004a, 117–118.

***idn*[-?-]** (?)
OPhr. *idn*[-?-] NW-136
Graffito (perhaps fragmented) incised on a sherd found in the Dorylaion höyük and dated to the Persian period. The sequence is unparelled in the whole Phrygian corpus and even the letters can be considered nonverbal marks. Nevertheless, a PN cannot be ruled out in light of Semitic theoforics like *Iddin-Bēl*, which are well attested in cuneiform sources.
Brixhe and Sıvas 2009, 136.

†ιε[.]νου see ιε[.]νουταις.

ιε[.]νουταις (?)
NPhr. ιε[.]|νουταις or ιε[.]|νου ταις 16.1 (116) l. 8–9
This word occurs in a non-imprecative context: ποκ γονιον τευτωσι ιε[.]|ṇ̣υταις εδαες. The segmentation is not clear, since both ιε[.]|νουταις and ιε[.]|νου ταις can be argued. If ιε[.]|νου ταις is preferred, it is a verb in 3pl. impv. (ιννου, ανειττνου, ισνου, etc.) followed by the pronoun ταις (pl. acc. or pl. dat. fem.). However, ιε[.]|νουταις could be an *a*-stem noun (perhaps an agent noun, as Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 178 suggested) in pl. acc. (< **-ans*). In any case, its meaning remains obscure.
Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 177–178.

†***iv*** and †***ivimun*** see *ios* and *ivimum*.

iverais (noun?)
OPhr. pl. acc.? *iverais* B-05 l. 7
An obscure *a*-stem noun coordinated with *dakerais* through the conj. *key* in a non-imprecative sentence: *kelmis ke umnișet evrạduș dạḳerạiș key iverais* [..] | *ạtikrạiu*... It seems to be a pl. acc. of an *a*- or *c*-stem noun.
Brixhe 2004a, 59.

***ivi..se.*[.?]*n*$^{?}$** (?)
OPhr. *ivi..se.*[.?]*n*$^{?}$ P-06
Like the whole inscription, this word remains unclear. Even the reading is confusing: [-?-]*a*$^{?}$*kiti*$^{?}$*...s* | *ai* ⁝ *ios aeiketio* [.?] *ivi..se.*[.?]*n*$^{?}$.
CIPPh 1, 243.

i*$^{?}$*ẏ*$^{?}$*ṛ*$^{?}$*i (noun?)
OPhr. *i*$^{?}$*ẏ*$^{?}$*ṛ*$^{?}$*i* HP-114
The clay tablet on which it is read is seriously damaged and this word could be *ș*$^{?}$|*i*$^{?}$*ẏ*$^{?}$*ṛ*$^{?}$*i*. Like the other words of the text, it seems to be a noun determined by a numeral: 30$^{?}$...*ẹḳẹs* 30$^{?}$ *i*$^{?}$ | .. 30$^{?}$ *ẏ*$^{?}$*ṛ*$^{?}$*ekeș*$^{?}$ | . 30$^{?}$ *knays* 30$^{?}$ *ș*$^{?}$ | *i*$^{?}$*ẏ*$^{?}$*ṛ*$^{?}$*i* 40$^{?}$ *knạyḳẹ*$^{?}$[*s*]$^{?}$ | .$^{?}$ 40$^{?}$ *m*$^{?}$*akeṛes* 40$^{?}$... The other words appear in nom.; however, *i*$^{?}$*ẏ*$^{?}$*ṛ*$^{?}$*i* does not show a nominative ending. No parallel can be adduced.
Brixhe 2004a, 118–126.

ik (PN?)
OPhr. *ik* G-285
i̯ḳ[-?-] G-273
G-285 is a complete graffito incised on a fragment of a cup. Consequently, it is very likely an abbreviated (but unknown) PN. It may be the same abbreviation read in G-273, but it is possible that more letters were incised. Both inscriptions seem to be owner's marks.
CIPPh 1, 200–211; Roller 1987a, 19; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 199; Brixhe 2004a, 45–46.

i̯ḳ[-?-] see *ik*.

***ike*[...]** (?)
OPhr. *ike*[...] B-05 l. 4
Badly preserved sequence from a very obscure part of the Vezirhan stele: *estạt pator.*$^{?}$*ike*[...]*ẹ*[..]*ạndạti* | *vạy niptiyạy dạker*...
Neumann 1997; Brixhe 2004a, 42–67.

iketaios (PN)
OPhr. sg. nom. *iketaios* W-02
An *o*-stem name read in a damaged text engraved on a façade: *iketaios pseikạ̈ʔ eḍʔ*[*a*]*ẹ̈ʔs*. It very likely derives from the Gr. PN Ἱκέτας. Woudhuizen (2008–2009, 197) considered that it was the Gr. PN Ἑκαταῖος, but the vowels show different origins.
CIPPh 1, 43; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 183; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 81; Woudhuizen 2008–2009, 197.

†***iktes*** see *petes*.

†**ιϰ[.]** see μιϰος and *ke*.

i̯i̯ay (PN)
OPhr. sg. dat. *i̯i̯ay* B-107
i̯i̯ạ[-?-] or *i̯y̯ạ*[-?-] G-268
i̯i̯ạ[---] G-259
The only clear form is the sg. dat. *i̯i̯ay* incised on a fragment of Mysian plate. This *a*-stem PN is also attested on the Lyd. border as Ειλας and Ιλλας (*KPN* 158 § 321–6, 463–3). Leaving aside the loss of their endings, the other examples present certain problems. G-268 can be alternatively read as *i̯y̯ạ*[-?-]. However, since no parallel can be adduced for *i̯y̯ạ*[-?-], the reading *i̯i̯ạ*[-?-] is preferable. Bayun and Orel (1988a, 198) read *i̯y̯ạ*[-?-] even in G-259, where there is no trace of the lower stroke of this supposed yod. G-268 is perhaps complete and shows its nom. without the ending *-s*.
CIPPh 1, 201–207; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 198; Brixhe 1996, 144; Brixhe 2004, 91–92.

i̯i̯ạ[---] see *i̯i̯ay*.

im[---] (?)
OPhr. *im*[---] G-318
Incised on a sherd where the beginning and the end of the text are lost: [---]*os* ⁝ *im*[---]. In determing the sequence, only the word boundary marked by the interpunction is clear.
Brixhe 2004a, 74–75.

***iman*[1]** (noun) 'shrine'
OPhr. sg. nom.? *i̯ʔmạ̈ʔ*[*n*] G-04?
sg. acc. *imenạn* B-05 l. 1
sg. dat. *inmeney* B-05 l. 11

A common noun related to the PN *iman*, its meaning is established by the comparison with Gr. ἱερὸν in B-05. Its etymology has remained unclear, but Vine (2010, see also *LIPP* II, 234) recently provided a suitable proposal: a derivative of the PIE verbal root **men* 'stand fast, remain' (*LIV*^{2} 437, *IEW* 729) with the preposition/preverb *(*h*$_1$)*en*. Consequently, this word is similar to frozen Gr. adverb ἐμμενές 'unceasing' and OIr. *ainmne* 'patience'. Its inflection is derived from a hysterodynamic root-noun. Although its sg. nom. as a noun occurs in a damaged context (G-04 on a stone block [---]*evi.*$^?$ | *tatas* .[---] | [---] *i̯*$^?$*mą*$^?$[*n* ---] | [-?-]), when used as a PN it is complete and may go back to **en-mḗn*. While its sg. acc. is very conservative, *(*h*$_1$)*en-mén-n̥* > **immenan* > *imenan*, its sg. dat. shows a levelling in the vocalism of the root from the sg. acc., *(*h*$_1$)*en-mn-éi̯* > **immeneį* > *inmeney*. Regarding the contexts of the occurrences, these last two cases are both found in the Vezirhan stele: the sg. acc. in the presentation of the monument (l. 1 *sin≀t imenąn kąliyą ti tedąt*[...]*edekm*[...]*mẹąṣ*$^?$ *ḍ*$^?$*u̯*$^?$*mi̯ḍ*) and the dat. in an imprecative protasis, where it agrees with the pronoun ⟨*s*⟩*imun* in sg. dat. masc.-neut. pronoun, in spite of some engraver's mistakes (l. 11 †*iv*† *imun inmeney ąs enąn dąket*, see Hämmig 2013, 149).

Brixhe 1974; Matzinger 2005, 377; Vine 2010; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 187; Hämmig 2013, 149; LIPP II, 234.

***iman*^{2}** (PN)

OPhr. sg. nom. *iman* M-06, G-136, G-210, P-01, P-03, P-04c; *imąn* M-03

A PN derived from the noun *iman*. Both words share the same inflection. While the PN appears once as a completed text on a sherd (owner's mark), it mostly occurs as the subject of different sentences: M-06 [.$^?$]*i̯rekun deiatiteeą.*$^?$ *davoi iman*, G-136 *tadoy iman bagun*, P-01 [-?-]*e*[..]*u*[.. *ṭ*]*ovo iman* [-?-], P-03 *vasous iman mekas ḳanutieivąis deyọs ke meḳąs* and P-04c *iman olitovo ẹdąẹ*[*s*] *mekas*. This PN is also attested in Gr. inscriptions from Phrygia and Pisidia, with a parellel *n*-stem inflection, as Ιμαν, Ιμενος (*KPN* 195–196 § 466–1). It is likely related to the PN *imeneia*.

Brixhe 2013, 58, 65.

imelan (?)

OPhr. *imelan* G-10

Its similarity with *imenan* and the lack of parallels are suspicious and, despite the lack of a third stroke to write ⟨n⟩ instead of ⟨l⟩, we are dealing with another occurrence of *imenan* (engraver's mistake?). The stone fragment on which it was engraved is severely damaged and the text is far from being clear: [---]*ẹḳẹąy* ⁝ *imelan*.

Brixhe 2002, 31; Vine 2010, 344 fn. 6.

imenạn see *iman*[1].

imeneia (PN or patronymic?) 'Iman's daughter'?
OPhr. sg. nom. *imeneia* G-183 b
Since *imeneia* follows the fem. PN *tiveia* (in a graffito incised on the bottom of a cup), *imeneia* seems to agree with *tiveia* in sg. nom. Moreover, *imeneia* seems to be related to the PN *iman* (a derivative with the suffix *-i̯a-*) and is very likely a patronymic 'Tiveia (daughter) of Iman', if it does not refer to the husband of this woman. However, a compound PN cannot be ruled out.
Brixhe 1983, 115; Neumann 1988, 6; Brixhe 2004a 83; Brixhe 2008, 76.

imroy (noun) 'field'?
OPhr. sg. dat. *imroy* B-01 l. 2
An *o*-stem noun. It has been suggested that this word is related to μροσ(σας) 114, μρο 58 and μροτις MPhr-01 (Brixhe and Drew-Bear 1997, 78–79; Brixhe 2004a, 19) with a meaning similar to 'death' or 'dead', and its beginning is explained as a prothetic *i-*. Nevertheless, these other forms present different patterns and the so-called prothetic *i-* only occurs in B-01. Indeed, they actually look like different words which share only the sequence (-)*mro-*. The monument on which this inscription was engraved, a rock with a niche containing a statue of *Matar*, is not a funerary monument but a shrine. Then, even a semantic relationship can be rule out. Accordingly, there is no reason to consider the initial *i-* epenthetic vowel. Going further and revisiting its sentence, *si bevdos adi..*[..] | *kạ̣yarmọ̣yo imroy edaes*, it is clear that *imroy* is the recipient of the statue. So, it could be the niche, the rock, or the place where it has been put. A very attractive etymology can be proposed. Indeed, *imroy* appears to be a borrowing from the Luw. word *im*(*ma*)*ra*(*i*)- 'open country', a cognate of Hitt. *gimra-* 'the outdoors, countryside, field, military campaign' (< PIE **ǵʰim-ro-* 'winter, snow', *NIL* 162–169, Kloekhorst 2008, 476–477). In light of this identification, we can read the first sentence of B-01 as 'this statue, Adi..[..] has made it for the field'. This use seems very close to the NPhr. κορο[υ]μενη, sg. dat. of a word derived from the Gr. χῶρος 'piece of ground, place, land', which occurs in 2.2 αινι ουεβαν δεδασσιννι πατρε|ς σεμουν κορο[υ]μανη (Face A, l. 5–6) 'if the parents placed the *veban* to/in this place' and αινι κος κακην αδδακετ κορο|[υ]μανη (l. 9–10) 'if someone does harm to the field'. Indeed, both words, *imroy* and κορο[υ]μανη, may refer to the *temenos* around their respective monuments. Finally, *imroy* is perhaps also found in the mother goddess 'Ιμρου|γαρηνῆ (read in the Gr. inscription from Laodicea *MAMA* I 2b, see Schürr 1991–1993, 163).

imun see σεμουν.

inas (PN)
OPhr. sg. nom. *inas* Dd-102
A-stem noun with the ending *-s*. It appears incised on a silver bowl (whose origin is unknown) following the dat. *surgastoy*. This PN is also attested as the fem. Ινας in Lycia and Ιννα in Mysia and as the masculine Ινη[ν] (acc.) in Lycia (*KPN* 199 § 471-1-3).
CIPPh I, 272.

inmeney see *iman*[1].

ιννου see *ituv*.

ιοι (anaphoric pronoun) 'him, her'
OPhr. sg. dat. *oy* B-01 l. 6, B-05 l. 9, l. 11, l. 12
OPhr. sg. dat. ιοι 2.1 (15), 7.2 (111), 8.1 (86), 11.2 (18)
sg. dat. οι 1.1 (48), 7.1 (99), 17.3 (7), 18.1 (4), 40.1 (12), 50.2 (55), 53.1 (76), 62.2 (33), 62.4 (35)
This pronoun is always found as *oy* in OPhr. texts: B-01 … [..]*toyo*[.]*is* [.]*erktẹvoys ekey dą*[*b*]*ati opito* [*k*]*ey oy evẹmẹmesmeneya anato*… B-05 l. 9 *yos niy ąrt sin≠t imenąn kąką oskąvos kąkey kąn dedąsitiy tubetiv oy ḳevos derąliv mekąṣ key koyis ąbretoy*…, B-05 l. 11–12 †*iv*† *imun inmeney ąsenąn dąket torvetun* ↑*irąy ąyniy oy tubnuv nevos, me deritoy kovis ke ąbretoy nun oy nev*⟨*otan*⟩… However, in NPhr. texts, where it is often used in imprecative apodoses referring to the violator, it appears as ιοι and οι. Compare, e.g., 7.1 με κε οι | τοτοσσειτι βας βεκος with 53.1 ακκε οι βεκος ακκαλος τιδρερουν ει|του. Brixhe (1997, 66) and Hämmig (fthc. a) consider that ιοι is the stressed variant (similar to Homeric Gr. ἑοῖ) and οι the clitic (Gr. οἱ < **so-i̯*, *LIPP* II, 734–735). On the other hand, Lubotsky (1997, 126 and Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 190 = 2018, 1826) considered them two phonetic contextual variants: ιοι appears after a consonant (e.g., 7.2 βας ιοι βᶜεˀκος με βερετ) and οι after a vowel (18.1 αινι οι | θαλαμειδη). He also argued that it derived from the PIE anaphoric pronoun **h*$_1$*e*(*i̯*)- / **h*$_1$*i*- found in Lat. as *is*, *ea*, *id*, rather than the PIE form **seu̯-oi̯* suggested by Brixhe (1997, 66). Leaving aside this issue, a possessive use is attested: 2.1 … ιοι αναρ δορυκα|[νος]… 'her husband Doryka[nos]'.
Brixhe 1978a, 10–11; Brixhe 1997, 66; Lubotsky 1997, 126; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 190; Hämmig 2013, 138, fn. 29; LIPP II, 735; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1826; Hämmig fthc. a.

ios (pronoun) 'who, whoever'
OPhr. masc. sg. nom. *ios* G-02b, P-04a, P-04b, P-06; *yos* B-01, B-05, B-06, B-07, W-01a, W-01b; †*iv*† B-05
masc. sg. nom. *yosyos* B-03

MPhr.	masc. sg. nom.	ιος MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 7
NPhr.	masc. sg. nom.	ιος 3.1 (97), 4.1 (2), 5.1 (19), 6.1 (88), 7.1 (99), 7.2 (111), 7.3 (14), 8.1 (86), 9.1 (87), 10.1 (112), 11.2 (18), 13.1 (122), 14.1 (73), 15.1 (120), 17.2 (3), 17.4 (90), 17.6 (119), 18.1 (4), 18.3 (6), 19.2 (129), 20.1 (63), 20.2 (128), 20.3 (62), 21.1 (42), 21.2 (43), 22.2 (118), 23.1 (89), 24.1 (40), 25.1 (115), 25.2 (126), 27.1 (92), 29.1 (114), 30.1 (39), 30.2 (68), 31.1 (29), 32.1 (93), 33.1 (28), 33.2 (95), 33.3 (127), 35.1 (25), 36.1 (26), 37.2 (27), 37.1 (10), 41.1 (45), 43.1 (69), 44.1 (61), 44.2 (70), 44.3 (67), 45.1 (65), 46.1 (53), 48.1 (81), 48.2 (84), 49.1 (110), 50.1 (54), 50.2 (55), 51.1 (80), 52.1 (75), 53.1 (76), 53.3 (109), 54.1 (108), 55.1 (56), 56.1 (57), 58.1 (72), 59.1 (107), 59.2 (47), 59.3 (79), 59.4 (106), 60.2 (60), 61.1 (100), 62.1 (32), 62.2 (33), 62.3 (34), 62.4 (35), 62.5 (36), 62.6 (105), 63.1 (123), 64.1 (81), 65.1 (20), 65.3 (21), 65.4 (124); [ι]ος 39,1 (44), 40.4 (102); ειος 40.1 (12); ις 17.1 (4 b), 12.1 (121), 15.1 (120), 16.1 (116), 18.2 (5); ισος 34.1 (37)
	masc. sg. acc.	ιον 56.2 (58)
	fem. sg. acc.	ιαν 40.3 (31)

A relative pronoun derived from PIE *(*H*)*i̯-o-* 'id.' (**h*$_2$*i̯ó-* in *LIP* II, 312–315) and equated to Gr. ὅς, ἥ, ὅ, Skt. *yás*, *yā́*, *yád*, Av. *yō*, *yā*, *yaṯ*, etc. It usually introduces the protases of the curses. The forms *yos*, *ios* and ιος are the masculine nominative singular. Also, ις (17.1 = 4b, 16.1 = 116, etc.) and ειος (40.1 = 12) must be analysed in the same way. While ις is explained by the Gr. phonetic development ιο > ι (Brixhe 1987a, 50–51), ειος is a graphic variant arising from the Gr. itacism. *yosyos* is a clear reduplicated form, similar to Lat. *quisquis*, *quaequae*, *quidquis* 'whoever, whatever, everyone who'. In turn, ισος is probably a development of the same form, where ι- stands for ιο- (as ις) and *-sy-* (from *yos* + *yos*) has become -σ-. The form †iv† B-05 is particularly strange. Since it appears where *yos* is expected, Hämmig (2013, 149) considered it a mere error. The sg. acc. masc. ιον is a possible new segmentation of μρο τιηιον as μροτιη ιον: μοναν μροτιη ιον εγεσι|τ γε|γρι|με|νο|ν, literally 'only for the death whom it carries engraved' (i.e., 'only for the dead whose names are engraved'). However, there is a problem in the gender because its antecedent μροτιη is fem. Finally, there is sg. acc. fem. ιαν, which goes back to *(*h*$_1$*)i̯-eh*$_2$*-m*.

Haas 1966, 226; Brixhe 1978b, 21–22; Brixhe 2004a, 72; Hämmig 2013, 149; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 190; LIP II, 312–315; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1827.

iosais (PN)
OPhr. sg. nom. *iosais* G-117
A word incised on a pithos with capacity marks. Despite the lack of parallels (NPhr. ιοσος is a variant), it is very likely a PN in sg. nom. **-n̥-s* > *-ais* (see *arki-aevais*).
CIPPh I, 110; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 112–113; Roller 1987a, 65; Lubotsky 1988, 19; Brixhe 1991, 43.

ιοσος (PN?)
NPhr. sg. nom. ιοσος 16.1 (116) l. 1
According to the first editors (Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 169), it is an *o*-stem PN in sg. nom. However, the text, a description of the monument, does not seem to support this interpretation (as Lubotsky 1993a, 129 showed): Ξ̣ευνε ιοσος κε δετοŋ [ο?υ]|ψοδ̣αν κε τ̣αν σαυναμαν [.?] | χ̣νο̣υμαν κ᾽ ακροδμαν κε λο̣|δ̣ιμ̣ον μειομον ριδιτι...
Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 169; Lubotsky 1993a, 129.

ιου[---] (?)
NPhr. ιου|[---] 40.3 (31)
This sequence is found in a very damaged part of a funerary stele completely written in Phr. The fragment is not imprecative, but it remains obscure because of the gaps and the lack of parallels: [... ξ]ευναν αι δμως βροκειω [.....] δεκμουταης ιου[.....] προ τοσου.
Kowal 1984b, 184.

is (verb?) 'to be'?
OPhr. 3sg. pres.? *is* B-07
According to Brixhe (2004a, 82), it is the 3sg. pres. of the copulative verb: PIE **h₁ésti* > **est* > *is*, parallel to Lat. *est*, Gr. ἐστί and Skt. *ásti*. It is read in a descriptive part of a funerary stele: *va ḳnais manuka odeketoy meros ke manes is*... Brixhe also sees this verb in apocopated form in the apodosis of the conclusive imprecation, *me kos anivaṿeti* (*i*)*s maniṇ*. However, since it follows a clear verb, it is easier to see this *s* as the clitic pronoun *me kos anivaṿeti s=maniṇ*. Because of the final position of *is* in the sentence, its consideration as the preposition **h₁ens* > *is* (*LIPP* II, 266), suggested in the preverb ιστ?ειικετ, may be ruled out.
Brixhe 2004a, 82.

ις see *ios*.

ισγεικετ see ιστ$^{?}$εικετ.

ise (PN?)
OPhr. *ise* G-114
Complete graffito incised on a sherd, very likely a PN. If not abbreviated, it is a sg. nom. without the ending *-s*. However, no parallel can be adduced. On the other hand, Orel (1997a, 433) considered it a toponym in light of the Cilician Ἰσσός, although the same work (1997, 174) also considers the possibility that it is a PN. Indeed, PN is the most common kind of word in such graffiti.
CIPPh 1, 106–107; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 198; Lubotsky 1988, 19; Orel 1997a, 174 and 433.

isekosos (perfect participle?) 'what it says, contents'?
Ophr. *isekosos* B-05 l. 13
The first interpretation of this word given by Neumann (1997, 25), who considered it a toponym, was refuted by Brixhe (2004a, 64) because it is unexpected in such a curse: *yos isekosos ↑emeney ḍ$^{?}$upratoy, vebạn ituv*. On the other hand, Sowa (2015, 189) considered it an active perfect participle in sg. masc. nom. of the PIE verb **sek$^{\mu}$-* 'say' (*LIV*^{2}, 526–527) attested, e.g., in Lat. *in-quam* 'I say' and Gr. ἐνέπω 'id.': **se-sek$^{\mu}$-μ̯ōs-*. However, the preservation of **s* is unexpected in both positions. Recently, Simon (2015, 17–18) equated this last Phrygian sentence of the Vezirhan stele to the last Gr. curse of the same stele: καὶ τῶι ἀναγινώσκοντι ἐνθ|άδε ἥ̣κοντι πολὰ καὶ ἀ̣γα̣θά 'and who comes here to read it, let be many and good things for him'. He equated *isekosos ↑emeney* to Gr. ἀναγινώσκοντι ἐνθ|άδε ἥ̣κοντι. To do this, he took the same root used by Sowa and improved his interpretation by arguing that the preverb **en-* was added to the root without reduplication, similarly to Lat. or Gr. parallels: **en-sek$^{\mu}$-μ̯ōs-*. While the shift **en-* > **in-* is attested in *iman* and the loss of **-μ̯-* before **-o-* is generalised in Phrygian, on the basis of his interpretation the **-s-* of the root has a different context, which can explain why it is not lost: **-ns-* > *-s-*. However, it does not explain why this consonant remains in the suffix **-μ̯ōs-* and, more problematically, the identification between the Gr. and the Phr. text is hampered by the Phr. apodosis (see *veban*). The ending was classified as pl. acc. masc. **-ons* > *-os*, and Simon considered that the word refers to the contents of the inscription. The ending is not altogether clear; this word can be also a sg. nom. (in agreement with *yos*?) or even a pl. dat. **-ōis* > NPhr. -ως. Indeed, Phr. pl. acc. is expected to be as *-ois*.
Neuman 1997, 25; Brixhe 2004a, 64; Sowa 2015, 189; Simon 2015, 27–28.

ịsini (verb)

OPhr.	3pl. subj. pres. act.	*ịsini* P-101
	3sg. impv. act.	*isnou* NW-101 a
NPhr.	3sg. impv. act.	ισνου 9.1 (87)
	3sg. impv. act.	ισνιο[υ] 21.1 (42)

A verb with no clear meaning. The form *isini* occurs in a graffito incised on the bottom of a cup: P-101 *ạini* | *dabp²ula ịsini*. Hämming (fthc. b) identified it in light of the recently discovered NPhr. 2.2: αινι ουεβαν δεδασσινν̣ι... Indeed, *ịsini* and δεδασσινν̣ι clearly show the same 3pl. ending *-sini* / -σσινν̣ι. However, the meaning of P-101 remains unclear. The other forms are impv. and found in two imprecative apodoses: 9.1 α τι αδειτου ọ̣υελ̣ας κε | του κε ισνου αστοι παρτης and 21.1 [ζε]||μελως κε [δ]ε[ω]ς με κοννου κε ισνιο[υ]|| αι παρτης. However, the variant ισνιο[υ] remains unexplained. The OPhr. form *isnou* is read on a terracotta disc: NW-101a *de⩛eti* | *to⊤i a tiei* | *as*|*na isnou*. Brixhe (2004a, 9–10) suggested that *isnou* goes back to PIE **h₁es-* 'to be' (*LIV*² 241–242, *IEW* 340–341) and also considered NPhr. ιννου 28.1 a variant of this verb. However, on the basis of its occurrences, this last form is more easily explained as a variant of (αδ)εινν̣ου.
Brixhe 2004a, 9–10; Hämmig fthc. b.

isnou and ισνιο[υ] see *isini*.

ισος see *yos*.

ispas (PN)

OPhr. sg. nom. *ispas* W-12

An *a*-stem PN read after other possible PNs in a stone fragment from Kütahya: *sitoros aros* | *ispas*. Since no parallel is attested in Phrygian, Bilgen, Brixhe and Coşkun (2011, 148–149, followed by Locatelli 2015, 109–110) interpreted it in light of the many PNs found in Anatolia that contain this element: e.g., Δουρμισβας (*KILyk* I 34 from Dalisandus, Lycaonia), Δορμισπας (Heberdey-Wilhelm, Reisen in Kilikien 120, 190; from Dalisandus, Lycaonia), Μασνανισβου (gen., *TAM* III, 1 27, from Pisidia) and Παρισπου (gen. from Pisidia-Cilicia, *KPN* 418 §1206). The interpretation given by the first editors and Locatelli is that PNs in -ιπας ~ -ιβας contain the Anatolian word for 'horse', although they consider some of the vowels to be unexpected. However, since PIE **h₁éḱu-* 'horse' (post-Anatolian PIE **h₁éḱu̯-o-*, *NIL* 230–233, IEW 301–302; see also Kloekhorst 2008, 237–239) in Lyc. is attested as *esb-* (where ⟨b⟩ represents /β/) and in HLuw. as *azzu-* (also the Pisidian toponym Εσουακωμη, *KON* 173 §309, seems relevant to this question, see Starke 1995, 119), this onomastic element cannot be considered the Anatolian 'horse'. Consequently, the best candidate is the Median **aspa-*, which

even fits perfectly from a chronological point of view, since W-12 is dated to the fourth c. BC. Nevertheless, it is not at all clear that all the occurrences from Anatolia are related to the same form because names such as Μασνανισβου can be analysed as Μασνα-νισβου in light of Κλυ-νισβ||ας|| (recently found in Termessos, Adiego in p.c.). In any case, in light of the other occurrences of PNs with -ιπας ~ -ιβας (only found in compound names), Bilgen, Brixhe and Coşkun (2011, 148–149) also considered the possibility of two instead of three PNs in this inscription. Then, *aros|ispas* would be a compound PN despite the lack of parallels. However, the first element is obscure and *-os* can be considered the common sg. nom. thematic ending.

Bilgen, Brixhe, and Coşkun 2011, 148–149; Locatelli 2015, 109–110.

ιστ$^{?}$εικετ (verb) 'to declare oneself to somebody'?

NPhr. 3sg. subj. pres. act. ιστ$^{?}$εικετ 6.1 (88)

A clear verb in an unparalleled apodosis: πουρ ουανακταν κε ουρανιον ιστ$^{?}$εικετ διουνσιν. The reading of its third letter conditions its etymology and meaning: γ or τ? The older reading is ισγεικετ. If accepted, despite erroneous interpretations (such as Kretschmer 1932, 66, who considered it a borrowing from Gr. εἴσχηκε but did not explain the gamma), it is to be considered an inherited verb from the PIE root **seǵʰ-* 'to hold, to overpower' (*LIV*^{2} 515–516, *IEW* 888–889; Gr. ἔχω 'have, hold') in zero-grade with a prothetic initial *ι-* (a common feature of Gr. from Phrygia). In such a scenario, the whole apodosis means 'and he will have to do with the heavenly king Dionysos' (see Lubotsky 1989b, 152–153). This curse has parallels in Gr.: e.g., ἕξει πρὸς τὸν Θεόν (*SEG* 6.418, inscription from Iconion). However, in this analysis the presence of a kappa before the ending remains unexplained. On the other hand, Lubotsky (2004, 235, following Brixhe 1999, 304 fn. 46) worked with the reading ιστεικετ by arguing that its root is the same as found in (τιτ)τετικμενος: **deiḱ-* 'to show, point out' (*LIV*^{2} 108–109, *IEW* 188–189; Gr. 'id.', Skt. *diśáti* 'point out, show, exhibit', Lat. *dico* 'say, utter, speak'). Following this explanation, the kappa is inherited from the PIE root. Regarding the beginning, ισ- is interpreted as a preverb **h$_1$ens* > **es* > *is* (*LIPP* II, 266) or, better, **ek-s* (cf. Gr. ἐξ) and the whole formation is equated to Gr. ἐνδείκνυμαι 'to declare oneself to somebody' or ἐκδείκνυμι 'exhibit, display'. Consequently, Lubotsky (2004, 235) translates this apodosis as 'and he will have to do with the heavenly king Dionysos'. It must be added that ισ- before the dental of the root is expected to undergo an assimilation, as in τιτ-τετικμενος, although perhaps this is merely an etymological notation.

MAMA I, 216–217 no. 413; Kretschmer 1932, 66; Dressler 1965, 96; Lubotsky 1989b, 152–153; Brixhe 1999, 304 fn. 46; Lubotsky 2004, 235; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 193; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1829.

itovo see *tovo*.

itoiesgloka (?)
OPhr. *itoiesgloka* G-229
Obscure sequence that precedes once the PN *mamutas* in a graffito incised on a handle: *mamutas sokposa* | *mamutas itoiesgloka*. Since the two lines seem to rhyme, *CIPPh* (I, 184) saw the meanings of *sokposa* and *itoiesgloka* as complementary. However, the lack of a parallel for both words complicates their analysis. Moreover, the segmentation *itoies gloka* cannot be ruled out, since *-es* is well attested as sg. nom. (e.g., *garies* G-224, *eies* G-108 and *paries* G-224).
CIPPh I, 183–184.

ituv (verb) 'go, become'

OPhr.	3sg. impv. act.	*ituv* B-05 l. 13
NPhr.	3sg. impv. act.	αδειτου 9.1 (87), 38.1 (44), 39.1 (11), 40.2 (13), 41.1 (45), 42.1 (101), 44.1 (61), 44.3 (67), 49.3 (85), 51.1 (80), 53.1 (76), 53.2 (77), 56.1 (57), 58.1 (72), 59.4 (106); α[δει-του] 44.2 (70); [αδ]ειτου 45.1 (65); αδει[του] 47.1 (51); αδει[του] 50.1 (54); ειδο[υ] 54.1 (108); αδ̣ε̣[ι]του 61.1 (100)
	3pl. impv. act.	αδεινου 40.1 (12)
	3sg. impv. act.	ειτου 1.1 (48), 2.2 (130), 4.1 (2), 7.1 (99), 8.1 (86), 10.1 (112), 11.1 (17), 11.3 (17), 13.1 (122), 14.1 (73), 17.2 (3), 17.5 (91), 17.6 (119), 18.1 (4), 18.3 (6), 19.1 (96), 20.2 (128), 20.3 (62), 22.2 (118), 24.1 (40), 25.1 (115), 25.2 (126), 26.1 (8), 26.2 (38), 29.1 (114), 30.1 (39), 32.1 (93), 33.1 (28), 34.1 (37), 35.1 (25), 36.1 (26), 36.3 (94), 37.1 (10), 43.1 (69), 46.1 (53), 52.1 (75), 53.1 (76), 55.1 (56), 58.1 (72), 64.1 (81), 65.2 (104), 65.3 (21), 65.4 (124); ειτο[υ] 5.1 (19), 17.4 (90); [ειτο]υ 7.3 (14); ειτ|[ου] 40.4 (102); ε̣ι[τ]ο[υ] 57.1 (78); ειτ[ου] 63.1 (123); [ειτ]ου 66.1 (103); ητου 18.2 (5); ειτυ 15.1 (120); ιτου 6.1 (8); ειδο[υ] 54.1 (108)
	3pl. impv. act.	ινου 28.1 (71); ⟨ι⟩νου 62.4 (35); ειν̣ϙ̣υ̣ 37.2 (30); [ειν]νου 17.3 (7)

This verb is always found in imprecative apodoses: e.g., *yos isekosos ↑emeney d̨ʾupratoy, vebạn ituv* and 17.6 με ζεμελως κε δεως κε | τιτετικμενος ειτου. Some forms also present the preverb *$*h_2ed$-*: 44.1 τιτετι\|κμενος ατ τιε | αδειτου. The plural form αδειττνου 40.1 is also found in an apodosis: ζειρα κε οι πειες κε τιτ\|τετικμενα ατ τιε αδειττνου. This last form is the key to identifying the verb in more

obscure contexts such as 37.2: [.....] ουεβαν εγερετ οι αυτω αυταη κε ταν ειṿ-ṿọṿ. Regarding the different NPhr. spellings ι-, ει- and η- (due to the Gr. itacism), the OPhr. *ituv* reveals that the first vowel is *i-* and not the diphthong *ei-*. Consequently, its etymology can be found in the PIE verb *$*h_1(e)i̯$- 'to go' (*LIV*^{2} 232–233, *IEW* 293–296), e.g., Gr. εἶμι 'id.', Lat. *eo* 'id.', Skt. *eti* 'id.'. While its singular ending is *-*tō*, the plural forms ειττνου and αδειττνου (with preverb) seem to be a metathesis of the inherited PIE ending: *-*ntō* > *-tnu*. The form ειδο[υ] 54.1 occurs in the same position as ειτου: compare 54.1 [ακκε οι] βε|κος ακκαλọ[ς τιδρ]ẹγρο|υν ειδο[υ] with 53.1 ακκε οι βεκος ακκαλος τιδρερουν ει|του. Thus, it can be considered a secondary intervocalic voicing of the stop: ει|του > ειδο[υ]. Finally, in 28.1, ιννου is found in the same position as αδειττνου, 28.1 τις κε γερε[ν], | τιττε-τικṃ[ε]|νοι ιννου, so it is likely a variant without a preverb. The second possible occurrence of this variant is found in an unparalleled apodosis: 62.4 ας ανανκαι οι παντα κενα | ⟨ι⟩ννου.

Panagl and Kowal 1983, 1988; Brixhe 1990, 81–84, 90–91; Orel 1997a, 426; Brixhe 2004a, 64; Sowa 2007a, 88; de Lamberterie 2013, 40–41; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 192; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1828.

it[---]^1 (?)
OPhr. *it*[---] T-01b
Because of the interpunction, it can be clearly identified as the beginning of a word. However, since the stele on which it is read is very fragmented no interpretation can be given: [---]*sid.* [---] | [---].*leṇ*$^?$ ⁝ *it*[---]|[---]*ṗonani* ⁝ [---].
CIPPh 1, 259–260.

it[---]^2 (?)
OPhr. *it*[-?-] or [-?-]*ti* G-274 b
Unparalleled graffito incised on a sherd. Even its reading direction is unknown. It is perhaps a PN. Another sherd from the same vase bears the incision *mam*$^?$*i*.

i̯ẹ̣ạ[-?-] see *i̯i̯ay*.

i̯yungidas (PN)
OPhr. sg. nom. *i̯yungidas* B-07
According to Brixhe (2004a, 77–78 and 2006, 401), this is a patronymic read in an onomastic part of a funerary stele, where it agrees with *manes*: *s manes i̯yungidas manitos apelev porniyoy esṭ*[..]. It has been equated to the epic Gr. forms in -ιδης. However, the phonetic correspondence is not expected since the voiced stop shifted to voiceless in Phr. Consequently, either it is a borrowed suffix or, more likely, the identification is incorrect. Note that the same

Gr. patronymic suffix was erroneously suggested for Lyc. *ipresidah* (TL 29; see Adiego 2011, 329–332 and Schürr 2017, 3–5). Indeed, *manes iyungidas* can be considered a compound PN such as M-03 [*b*]*ʔabas iman*. In any case, this name remains unparalleled.
Gusmani and Polat 1999, 156; Brixhe 2004a, 77–78; Brixhe 2006, 401; Avram fthc.

***i̯ʔ*.**[---] (?)
OPhr. *i̯ʔ*.[---] G-128
Graffito incised on an undated pithos: [-?-]*ạ̣vṣi̯ i̯ʔ*.[---]. Although the whole inscription is obscure, a word boundary is considered between both the two ⟨i⟩. However, since the letter yod is not used, it is possible to read here [-?-]*ạ̣vṣi̯i̯ʔ*.[---] without the word boundary.
Brixhe 2002a, 44.

K (*k*) ᛉ Ѱ – **K ᛯ**

ᛉ (mark)
OPhr. ᛉ G-278b, G-294, G-298
Incised on potsherds, an isolated letter used as a mark. In G-278 it occurs near an obscure sequence: [-?-].ʔ[.]*aiʔ* *uʔ*.
Brixhe 2002a, 38–40, 55–56, 59–60.

Ѱ (mark)
OPhr. Ѱ G-322, G-324, NW-105, NW-112, NW-126 (*bis*), NW-128; Ψ NW-119, NW-122
Isolated mark incised on several potsherds. This mark has been catalogued as the sign 20b by *CIPPh* (I, 242). However, it is not necessarily a letter (see Brixhe and Sıvas 2009, 138).
Brixhe 2002a, 14, 19, 23, 78, 79–80; Brixhe and Sıvas 2009, 130, 132.

k see *ke*.

†***ka*[.ʔ]** see *podaskai*.

***kadiun*[---]** (PN?)
OPhr. [-?-]*kad* G-102 a?
kad[---] C-101?
kadiun[---] G-103
Since all occurrences are found on sherds, it has been considered a PN. Perhaps G-102a and C-101 are abbreviations of the same PN found in G-103. Since

it is not attested elsewhere, its origin is very likely Phrygian. In G-102 another graffito was incised: [---]*d̨ʔoiʔo̧ʔ*[---].
Lejeune 1969a, 21; CIPPh I, 97–98, 221.

kavarmoyun (PN)
OPhr. sg. gen.? *ką̣yarmo̧yo* B-01 l. 2; *ḳavarmoyo* B-08
sg. acc. *kavarmoyun* B-01 l. 7
Despite the lack of parallels, it has been considered an *o*-stem PN by Lubotsky (1989b, 152). This interpretation is better than Orel's (1997, 140, 146, 435) proposal that it is an adjective, since *kavarmoyun* in B-01 does not seem to agree with any noun. The case of *ką̣yarmo̧yo* is dubious because of the still discussed *o*-ending, although it is often considered the thematic gen. sg < **-o-u̯o* by Brixhe. Attempts to read it as a dat .sg. **ką̣yarmo̧yoi* (Bayun and Orel 1988a, 186–187 and Orel 1997a, 140, 146, 435) must be rejected because there is a blank used to note the word boundary between *o* and the following *i* (with accidental traces, according to Lubotsky 1993, 93, after *CIPPh* I, 64, consideration of a probable letter). The two occurrences in B-01 appear in two different contexts. While *ką̣yarmo̧yo* is read at the beginning of the inscription, where the general monument is depicted (*si bevdos adi*..[..] *ką̣yarmo̧yo imroy edaes*...), the acc. form appears in a less clear part (*opito* [*k*]*ey oy ev*[*e*]*m*[*e*]*mesmeneya anato* (.ʔ) *kavarmoyun matar otekonov* (.ʔ) | *kesiti oyvos a*). In B-08 the text is eroded and the context lost (Brixhe and Vottéro 2016, 136).
Bayun and Orel 1988a, 186–187; Lubotsky 1989b, 152; Lubotsky 1993, 93; Orel 1997a, 140, 144, 146, 435; Brixhe and Vottéro 2016, 136.

kaka see κακουν.

ką̣key (adverb) 'ill'
OPhr. *ką̣key* B-05 l. 8
NPhr. κακε 6.1 (88), 7.1 (99), 65.3 (21), 65.4 (124)
κακεν 3.1 (97), 17.6 (118), 24.1 (40),
κακην 2.2 (130)
κακιν 7.3 (14)
Adverb derived from the noun attested in acc.sg. κακον, κακουν and κακυν (preserving its sound in unstressed position). The use of this adverb instead of the more common noun in the imprecative protases is also found in Gr. parallels: compare ιος νι σεμουν κνουμανει κακε αδδακετ αωρω ουεναουιας (6.1), ιος νι ϛεμον κνουμανει κα|κε̨ αδακετ (7.1), or ιος νι σεμουν κνουμανε κακεν αδδακετορ (24.1) with τίς ἂν δὲ τούτω τῶ μνημείω κακὸν προϙπ[οι]ή|σει (MAMA IV 27) and τις ἂν τῷ μνημείῳ [κ]α̣κ̣ῶς προσποιήσει (*MAMA* IX 103), ὅς ἂν τούτω τῶ μνημείω κακῶς

προσποι[ήσει] (*MAMA* IV 23), or ὃς ἂν τούτῳ τῷ μνημείῳ κακῶς προσποιήσει (read in NPhr. 19.1). Clearly, the Gr. form κακῶς 'ill' is formed after κακός 'bad, ugly' and replaces here the form κακόν found in other inscriptions. See, e.g., τίς δὲ ταύτῃ θαλάμειν κακὸν ποσποιήσει (a Gr. inscription traditionally counted in the NPhr. texts, App. 1). Also the OPhr. occurrence B-05, *yos niy ạrt sin≻t imenạn kạkạ oskạvos kạkey kạn dedạsitiy*..., is an imprecative protasis. On the different spellings, the final yod from *kạkey* is merely graphical, as well as the last ny of the NPhr. forms, a common hypercorrection documented after the drop of this nasal sound in final position. The eta in most instances in the NPhr. subcorpus notes the vowel /e/; however, in κακην it perhaps notes /i/, as κακιν attests. The use of iota can be explained in the light of the neutralisation of /e/ and /i/ in unstressed position. In any case, its ending may go back to the PIE thematic ins. *-*eh*$_1$ (see § 4.1.2.2.3, § 4.2.3.2).

Brixhe 1999, 309; Hämmig 2013, 146–147.

κακην and **κακιν** see *kạkey* and κακουν.

kakoioi (verb) 'damage, maltreat'

OPhr.	3sg. opt.	*kakoioi* G-02c
	3sg. opt.	*kakuioi* P-04b

Denominative verb formed after the noun κακουν with the suffix *-*oio*. The verb is parallel to Gr. κακόω 'maltreat, distress', derived from κακός 'bad, ugly'. Even the ending of this verbal form is the same as found in the Gr. opt. -οι. Indeed, both Phrygian forms occur in two different protases (G-02 c *ios oporokitis.*[?] | *kakoioi tovo* and P-04 b *ios ervotsati kakuioi*...) and are morphologically the same, but *kakuioi* shows the common shift /o/ into /u/.

CIPPh I, 87, 239; Meier-Brügger 1992, 65; Brixhe 2006, 40; Sowa 2007a, 87–88; Kloekhorst 2015, 114.

κακουν (noun) 'harm'

OPhr.	pl. nom.-acc.	*kakạ* B-05
NPhr.	pl. nom.-acc.	κακα 17.3 (7)
	sg. nom.	κακον 10.1 (112), 14.1 (73), 15.1 (120), 16.1 (116), 19.2 (129), 22.2 (118), 25.1 (115), 29.1, 31.1, 32.1, 33.1, 36.1, 37.2, 40.4, 43.1, 52.1, 58.1, 62.2, 66.1
	sg. nom.	κακουν 4.1 (2), 5.1 (19)?, 8.1 (86), 9.1 (87), 10.2 (113), 11.2 (18), 12.1 (121)?, 13.1 (122), 17.4 (90), 17.5 (91), 18.1 (4), 18.3 (6), 20.1 (63), 20.2 (128), 21.1 (42)?, 21.2 (43), 25.2 (126), 26.2 (38), 27.1 (92), 30.1 (39), 30.2 (68), 33.1 (28), 33.2(95), 35.1 (25), 36.3 (94), 37.1 (10), 38.1 (44)?, 40.2

(13), 41.1 (45), 42.1 (101), 44.1 (61), 44.2 (70)?, 44.3 (67), 45.1 (65), 46.1 (53), 47.1 (51)?, 49.1 (110)?, 50.1 (54), 50.2 (55)?, 51.1 (80), 53.1 (76), 53.2 (77), 55.1 (56), 56.1 (57), 57.1 (78), 59.2 (47), 59.3 (79), 59.4 (106), 60.1 (59), 60.2 (60), 61.1 (100), 62.1 (32), 62.3 (34), 62.4 (35), 62.5 (36), 62.6 (105), 63.1 (123), 64.1 (81), 65.1 (20); κακυν 20.3 (62); κακων 39.1 (11)

A thematic neuter noun derived from an adjective. Most occurrences are found in the common imprecative protases: e.g., 32.1 ιος νι σεμον | κνουμανε κακοϙ | αδακετ... and 17.3 [ιος σεμου]ν κνουμανι κακα | [αδδακ]εν... Even the OPhr. form appears in this position: *yos niy ạrt sin≠t imenạn kạkạ oskạvos kạkey* | *kạn dedạsitiy*... The main form is the sg. nom. form κακουν, but the spelling variants show the common hesitation between /o/ and /u/: κακυν, κακον and κακων (after the loss of phonological vowel length). It has been considered a borrowing from Gr. κακός, -ή, -όν 'bad' (*EDG* 620) but also a Greco-Phrygian isogloss (as Brixhe 2006, 40 defends). Indeed, there is not a clear argument to prefer one interpretation over another, because even the Gr. etymology remains unclear. In Phrygian its derived adverb *kakey* / κακε is used in the same position in the curse.

Ramsay 1905, 81; Meier-Brügger 1992, 65; EDG 620; Brixhe 2006, 40.

kakuioi see *kakoioi*.

κακυν and **κακων** see κακουν.

kạliyạ (PN)

OPhr. sg. nom. *kạliyạ* B-05 l. 1
sg. dat. *kạliyay* B-05 l. 6

A-stem PN that corresponds to Gr. Καλλίας, according to the summary of B-05 in this language: l. 1 *sin≠t imenạn kạliyạ ti tedạt*[...], l. 6 *nidus ạd kạliyay kạrạtụ pạnạto* and Gr. l. 1 Καλλίας Αβιτου παῖς. On this correspondence, note that geminates are not noted in OPhr. scripts (Brixhe 2004a, 51), so *kạliyạ* may be read as /kallija/. However, despite the quasi-bilingual text, a Luw. origin cannot be ruled out in the light of *Kwa*/*i-li-i*(a) /Kwalija/ read in the graffito no. 5 or Suratkaya (Beşparmak Mountain, Caria; see Oreshko 2013a, 361) with a Phrygian labiovelar treatment: *Kwaliya* > *kạliyạ*. A variant of this Luw. name is attested in Phrygian as *kuliya*, read on two sherds from Gordion. If it is the case, the Gr. translation Καλλίας must be considered a later reinterpretation of this PN.

Brixhe 2004a, 51.

kạliyay see *kạliyạ*.

kan (adverb?) 'somehow'
OPhr. *kan* B-05 l. 9
NPhr. καν 20.3 (62); 46.1 (53)
Since its only certain occurrence is in a protasis with many parallels, it is not likely to be a particle related to Arc. καν (Aeol. κε, Ion. ἄν): *yos niy ạrt sin=t imenạn kạkạ oskạvos kạkey | kạn dedạsitiy*... Consequently, Hämmig (2013, 148) has suggested that it is an adverb derived from the pronoun **k$^{\text{u}}$e/o-* (a root also attested in Phrygian as κος) with the meaning 'somehow', parallel to Lat. *quam* and Arm. *k'an* 'id.'. In that case, it shows a fossilised acc. ending *-an* (PIE < **eh$_2$m*) similar to the one found in the adverb υψοδαν. Also, as Brixhe (2004a, 61) considered, it is very likely found in the NPhr. sequence αικαν read in two apodoses: 20.3 ιος νι σεμυν κνου|μανει κακυν αδδα|κετ αι καν... and 46.1 ιος νι σεμουν κν[ου]||μμανει κακουν [α]|δδακεττ αι καγ...
Brixhe 2004a, 61; Hämmig 2013, 148.

kanutieivais (patronymic) 'son of kanutî'
OPhr. sg. nom. *ḳanutieivạis* P-03
kanutiẹ[---] P-05
sg. gen. *kanutii$^{?}$evanoṣ$^{?}$* P-02
Since it is always found following the same person (a man called *vasus* only documented in Pteria), it is considered a patronymic: P-02 *sest bugnos va|sos kanutii$^{?}$evanoṣ$^{?}$*, P-03 *vasous iman mekas | ḳanutieivạis | deyọs ke meḳạs* and P-05 *vasus kanutiẹ*[---]. Indeed, the name *Kanutî* is found in Neo-Assyrian (Fales and Jakob-Rost 1991, 132–133 no. 66). Regarding its inflection, the sg. nom. has been used by Brixhe (2004a, 41–42) to prove the shift **-ans* > *-ais*. Going one step beyond, Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 187 = 2018, 1820) considered it a *t*-stem: sg. nom. **-u̯n̥t-*s > **-u̯ans* > *-(e)vais* and sg. gen. **-u̯n̥t-os* > **-u̯antos* > **-(e)vanos*.
CIPPh 1, 231; Brixhe 2004a, 41–42; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 187; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1820.

kanutii$^{?}$evanoṣ see *ḳanutieivạis*.

karatu (verb?)
OPhr. 3sg. impv. *kạrạtu* B-05 l. 5; *kạrạtụ* B-05 l. 6
This form can be considered a verb in imperative because of its ending in *-tu*, also documented in OPhr. as *-tuv* and in NPhr. as -του. Regarding its root, Gorbachov (2008, 106 fn. 31) suggested a loanword from HLuw. *ka+ra/i-tu* 'to sacrifice' (in ALEPPO 6, twice). However, the contexts of both Phrygian occurrences are

still obscure: … *vạy niptiyạy dạker kạrạtu enpsạtus mekạ*[---]*ạsiyạ..*[?] | *nidus ạd kạliyay kạrạtụ pạnạto ạndopopostois kḷạm*[?]*iv*[..[?]] …
Gorbachov 2008, 106 n. 31.

karea[-?-] (PN?)
OPhr. *karea*[-?-] B-103
Perhaps this word read on a sherd is complete and is an *a*-stem PN without *s*-ending. However, because of the lack of parallels it remains unclear.
Brixhe 2004a, 88.

κας see μιδακας.

ke (conj.) 'and'
OPhr. *k* B-04 l. 7?, B-07
ke B-04, B-05 l. 7, l. 12, B-06, B-07, P-03
key B-05 l. 4?, l. 7, l. 9; B-08 (bis)
MPhr. **κη** MPh-01 l. 2
NPhr. **κ** 11.2 (18) l. 5, 15.1 (120), 16.1 (116) l. 3, 37.2 (30), 53.1 (76), 59.4, 62.5
κε 1.1 (48), 3.1 (97), 4.1 (2), 6.1 (88), 7.1 (99), 8.1 (86), 9.1 (87), 10.2 (113), 11.2 (18), 15.1 (120), 16.1 (116) l. 1 and l. 2, 17.2 (3), 17.3 (7), 17.6 (119), 18.2 (5), 18.3 (6), 19.1 (96), 20.1 (63), 20.2 (128), 20.3 (62), 21.1 (42), 22.2 (118), 24.1 (40), 27.1 (92), 28.1 (71), 29.1 (114), 30.1 (39), 34.1 (37), 37.2 (30), 40.1 (12), 43.1 (69), 50.1 (54), 58.1 (72), 62.2 (33), 62.3 (34), 62.5 (36); **κη** 2.2 (130)
Clitic copulative conj. inherited from the well attested PIE conj. **k^{u}e* 'and' (*LIPP* II, 69–91): Gr. τε (Myc. *qe*), Lat. *-que*, Skr. *ca*, etc. As is common in other IE languages, it usually appears after the second word it links or after the first word (or the second, if the first is a preposition) of the second sentence it coordinates. Sometimes it appears twice, after the first and the second element. Compare, e.g., με δεως κε ζεμελως κε (3.1) with δεως ζεμελως κε (24.1). *Key*, as Hämmig (2014, 132–133) identified, is a mere graphic variant of *ke*. The form **κη** reveals the use of eta to note the short vowel /e/ also attested in other words. Finally, *k* and **κ** are the apocopated form before vowel: see B-07 l. 2–3 *meros ke manes yos tiv*[.]|[.[?]]*n ke devụn k umnotan*… or 59.4 γεγρειμενον | **κ** εγεδου ορουενος ουτον.
Berenguer Sánchez 2000, 445–446; Brixhe 2004a, 17; Poccetti 2012; Hämmig 2013, 132–133; LIPP II, 691; de Lamberterie 2013, 25–26.

†**κεβρειτ** see *ke* and βρειτ.

kevos see *ṇevos*.

kek.[---] (?)
OPhr. *kek.*[---] G-128
Unparalleled sequence read after the PN *atas* on a sherd.
CIPPh I, 119.

kelmis (PN?)
OPhr. sg. nom. *kelmis* B-05 l. 7
The only parallel of this word is the name of one of the Dactyls of Mount Ida, Κέλμις. He appears in Ov. *Met*. 4.282 (as *Celmis*) and in Clem.Al. *Strom*. 1.16.75 (= Idaean Dactyls frag. 282, Melkelbach and West 1967): Κέλμις τε αὖ καὶ Δαμναμενεὺς οἱ τῶν Ἰδαίων δάκτυλοι πρῶτοι σίδηρον εὗρον ἐν Κύπρῳ; Δέλας δὲ ἄλλος Ἰδαῖος εὗρε χαλκοῦ κρᾶσιν, ὡς δὲ Ἡσίοδος, Σκύθης 'Kelmis and Damnameneus, the Idaean Dactyls, were the first to discover iron in Cyprus; Delas, another Idaean, discovered the mixing of bronze, but according to Hesiod it was Scythes'. The nom. Κέλμις and the acc. Κέλμιν are also attested in the Gr. inscription *IG* XII, 9 259 (so-called the *Dactyl's Hymn* from the fourth c. BC; see Schaaf 2014, 306–307 with a revised edition). The importance of this text is that its chronology is not far from the Phrygian B-05 and that it shows an *i*-stem. Although it is unknown whether they refer to the same person or character, it can be interpreted as a PN. However, its context in the Phrygian text B-05 remains unclear: *ạndopopostois kḷạm$^{?}$iv*[..$^{?}$] | *kelmis ke umnịset evrạduṣ dạḳerạiṣ key iverais* [..] …
Neumann 1997, 22; Brixhe 2004a, 59; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 169.

κενα (noun) 'generation'?
NPhr. pl. nom-acc. neut. κενα 62.4 (35)
A word read in an imprecative apodosis, where it works as the subject: ας ανανκαι οι παντα κενα ⟨ι⟩ννου. According to Lubotsky (2004, 233) it is a derivative that goes back to PIE **ǵenh$_1$-* (*NIL* 139–153), parallel to Gr. γενεά 'race, generation, offspring' (secondary fem.) or Lat. *genus*, *-eris* 'birth, descent, origin; a race, stirps, offspring' (pl. nom.-acc. neut. *genera*). Thus, Lubotsky suggested a form **ǵenh$_1$es-h$_2$* > *keneha* > κενα, in light of our knowledge of Phrygian phonetics. Haas's (1966, 119, followed by Brixhe 1993, 341 and Orel 1997a, 255) earlier interpretation, a loanword from Gr. κενός 'empty', hardly fits the context.
Lubotsky 2004, 233; Matzinger 2006, 199–200.

keneman (noun) 'niche'
OPhr. sg. nom.-acc. neut. *keneman* M-01b
Because of its context, *baba memevais proitavos kΦiyanaveyos si≈keneman edaes*, and its ending, *keneman* is clearly the object that agrees with the pronoun *si*. Since the monument on which it was engraved is not a tomb but a cult

façade, the meaning given by Haas (1996, 76) in light of the similar NPhr. word κνουμαν 'tomb' can be excluded (note also the different vocalism). Börker-Klähn (2000b, 90, followed with more *realia*-arguments by Berndt-Ersöz 2005, 72–74) suggested a loanword from Akkadian *sikkanum* via Hitt. *sikkanu*, which implies that *si-*, attested before the object in some of this kind of sentence (see B-01 *si bevdos … edaes*), is the beginning of the noun. More likely, it refers to the niche that is excavated in the centre of the façade where this text is engraved. Following the first tentative identification by Haas (1966, 76, also in Beekes 1969, 21), Lubotsky (1988, 15) and Matzinger (2005, 378) classified *keneman* as a noun derived from the PIE verbal root **kenh$_1$-*, attested in Skt. *khánati* 'to dig' (see also Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 189, 192–193). A form **kenh$_1$-mn̥* is suggested. However, *LIV*^{2} (344) reconstructs this root as **k$^{(\mu)}$eh$_2$-* (*IEW* 634), and this laryngeal does not fit the Phrygian form. An alternative interpretation can be found by equating OPhr. *kene-man* to Gr. **ken(e)-wó-* 'empty, idle' (Att. κενός, Ion. κεινός, Epic and Dor. κενεός; see *DELG* 514, *EDG* 672) and Arm. *sin*, *sn-oy* 'empty', which go back to **ḱen-e/o-* (Clackson 1994, 138–139 and Martirosyan 2010, 575 and 2013, 116). Consequently, it implies a derivation from **ḱen-e/o-* 'empty' to **ḱen-e-mn̥* 'cavity, niche'.

Haas 1966, 76; Beekes 1969, 21; Panagl and Kowal 1983, 187; Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 170–171; Lubotsky 1988, 15; Neumann 1994, 347–348; Gorbachov 2005, 197; Matzinger 2005, 378; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 189, 192–193; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1826.

kenos (PN)
OPhr. sg. nom. *kenos* G-297
A complete inscription incised on a sherd. Very likely a complete *o*-stem PN. It can be hardly interpreted as the singular of κενα because such a word would be very disconcerting in this context. However, it could be another derivative of the same root (*ǵenh$_1$- NIL* 139–153) better than a form **kenu̯os* suggested by Brixhe (2002a, 59; also for κενα because he considered it a parallel or loanword from the Gr. κενός 'empty').
Brixhe 2002a, 59.

κερης see δ[α]κερης.

kerm̥o̯[---] (PN?)
OPhr. *kerm̥o̯*[---] or *kern̥o̯*[---] G-104
It is difficult to choose between the two readings because the sherd is broken. While Bayun and Orel (1988a, 200) chose the first one because of Gr. κέραμος 'potter's clay, earthen vessel, wine-jar', Woudhuizen (2008–2009, 198) preferred the second one and considered it a parallel of Gr. κέρνος 'earthen dish for offer-

ings'. Orel (1997a, 436) also preferred the second option and saw it as a thematic PN in nom. related to the Pisidian name Κερνας (*KPN* 226 § 586).
CIPPh 1, 98–99; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 200; Orel 1997a, 436; Woudhuizen 2008–2009, 198.

kerṇọ[---] see *kerṃọ*[---].

kesiti (verb?)
OPhr. 3sg.? *kesiti* B-01 l. 8
Although both the context (*kavarmoɣun matar otekonov .ˀ kesiti oyvos aey apaktneni*) and its meaning are unclear, the ending suggests that we may be dealing with a verb. The segmentation of this word is given by Lubotsky (1993b, 96).
Lubotsky 1993b, 96.

key and ***κη*** see *ke*.

keɣ[---] (?)
OPhr. *keɣ*[---] B-06
A damaged sequence in the first conserved line of a funerary stele. Brixhe (2004a, 71) suggested that perhaps *key* is found here as well as in B-05 (l. 4, 7 and 9). Now *key* is known to be an alternative spelling of the copulative conj. However, it occurs in the same line as *ke*, so this possibility is unlikely: *sṭaḷˀa ke* : *sṭaḷˀa ke* : ↑*ekṃˀ*[*at*]*ẹṣ keɣ*[---]*aˀyọˀ*[---].
Brixhe 2004a, 71.

kikos (PN)
OPhr. sg. nom. *kikos* G-284
Since it is a complete graffito incised on a sherd, this word is very likely a PN. Brixhe (2002a, 45) suggests as parallels the Gr. names Κίκος, Κίκκος, Κίκων and Κίκκων (of these, only Κίκου is attested in Anatolia, in the inscription CIG 4367 from Ormeleis, Pisidia), assumed to be derived from the Gr. noun κῖκυς 'strength, vigour' if we accept the etymology given by Meier-Brügger and Lamberterie (see *EDG* 697), a reduplicated form of **ḱu̯eh₁-* 'to be strong' (*LIV*² 339, IEW 592–594): **kiku̯os*. While this form fits well with Phrygian historical phonology, the Gr. etymology has been discussed by Beekes (*EDG* 697, see also § 4.6.1.5. for a Phr. interpretation of this noun) and the Phr. and Gr. names are not necessarily cognates; the Phr. name could be a borrowing from Gr. names, as Brixhe admits (see *muksos*, in the first datable Phr. inscription), or even a mere illusory coincidence.
Brixhe 2002a, 45.

kin see *kos*.

κινο[υ]μα see κνουμανει.

𐤉*ir* (PN?)
OPhr. 𐤉*ir* G-339
An abbreviated word read on a sherd with some nonverbal marks. Because of the context it is probably an anthroponym. However, no parallel can be adduced.
Roller 1987a, 24, 40; Brixhe 2002a, 93.

κισυις (pronoun) 'any'?
MPhr. sg. nom. κισυις MPhr-11 (W-11) l. 1
sg. nom.-acc. κιυιν MPhr-11 (W-11) l. 5
According to Brixhe (2004a, 14–15) this is a compound pronoun made with the interrogative pronoun **kʷis* 'who' and the non-personal pronominal theme **u̯e* / **u̯o* / **u̯i* or the verbal form **u̯ei-si* 'he wants, wishes'. In the latter scenario, a good parallel is the Lat. *quīuīs*, though this would imply the simplification **eį̯* > *i*, often rejected by Lubotsky. Morphologically, the neuter form shows an ending -ν borrowed from the nominal inflection. Finally, with the exception of a small number of words, the whole funerary stele on which both forms are attested remains obscure: l. 1 μανκα μεκας σας κιυιν εν κε βιλαταδε|ναν νεκοινουν…, l. 5 νικοστρατǫ̣ | κ̣λ̣ευμαχοι μιρος αιδομενου ματιν κισυις μǫ|.κρος υιταν παρτιας πλαδε…
Brixhe 2002a, 14–15.

kl̥ạṇiv (?)
OPhr. *kl̥ạṇiv* or *kl̥ạm²iv*[..?] B-05 l. 6
This word is read in the non-imprecative part of B-05: *nidus ạd kạliyay kạrạtụ pạnạto ạndopopostois kl̥ạṇiv kelmis ke umnisẹt evrạduṣ dạkerạiṣ key iverais* [..]. The reading presents certain difficulties: while Neumann (1997, 19) read *kl̥ạṇiv*, Brixhe (2004a, 58 and 61) preferred *kl̥ạm²iv*[..?] and suggested that perhaps two letters are lost. The first reading fits better with the shape of the discussed letter and a word boundary after waw is not surprising in this stele: see *tubetiv* or *deraliv*. The form *tubetiv* seems to be a verb in *tubetiv* (related to the imperative *tubnuv*), but here the ending is not *-tiv*. On the other hand, *deralive* is not clearer than *kl̥ạṇiv*. The only possible related term is found in the polionym from Galatia Κλάνεος, -ου (located in Bayat by Ramsay 1890, 234–235 and *KON* 269 § 545–1 but in Turgut by Drew-Bear 1996, 961). Perhaps the *kl̥ạṇiv* is a sg. gen. in light of Gr. Κλάνεου, but this is a tentative possibility that remains an open question.
Neumann 1997, 19; Brixhe 2004a, 58, 61.

ⲕ̣ⲗ̣ⲉⲩⲙⲁⲭⲟⲓ (PN)

MPhr. sg. dat. ⲕ̣ⲗ̣ⲉⲩⲙⲁⲭⲟⲓ MPh-01

A clear thematic PN borrowed from Gr. Κλεόμαχος 'famous in battle'. It explains the unusual presence of the letter chi in Phrygian. This PN is read on a funerary stele erected by a man who also bears a Gr. name, νικοστρατ̣ος, and dedicated to this Kleumakhos: νικοστρατ̣ος | ⲕ̣ⲗ̣ⲉⲩⲙⲁⲭⲟⲓ μιρος αιδομενου ματιν κισυις... The variant ⲕ̣ⲗ̣ⲉⲩ- for κλεο- in Gr. inscriptions occurs once in Caria (*IK Rhod. Peraia* 302), but it is more frequent in Central Greece and the Aegean Islands but here can be explained as a Phrygian shift.

Brixhe 1997, 327; Brixhe 2004a, 24.

knais (noun) 'woman, wife'

OPhr.	sg. nom.	*ḳnais* B-07; *knays* HP-114
	pl. nom.	*knạyḳẹ?*[*s*] HP-114
NPhr.	sg. acc.	ⲕ̣ⲛⲁⲓⲕⲁⲛ 16.1 (116) l. 11
	sg. gen.?	ⲕⲛⲁⲓⲕⲟ⟨ⲥ⟩ 16.1 (116) l. 6

Fem. noun inherited from PIE *$*g^{w}neh$_2$*- 'wife' (*NIL* 178, *IEW* 473; see the detailed study in Opfermann 2017), also attested in Gr. γυνή, γυναικός (Myc. pl.dat. *ku-na-ki-si*) 'woman, wife', Arm. *kin* 'id.', Vedic *jáni-* and *gnā́* 'goddess', Go. *qino* 'woman', ToA *śäṃ*, ToB *śana* 'woman, wife', etc. The shift to voiceless of the first stop has been justified because of its position before the nasal (Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 174–175 and even Brixhe and Drew-Bear 2010, 165); however, it is a general shift, as is the loss of labialisation. As in Gr. (and Messapian pl. dat.? *gunakhai*), its inflection in Phrygian takes a *-k-* in cases other than nom. Even in the nominative *kais* / *knays* the ancient proterodynamic inflection of this PIE h_2-stem is lost, compare, e.g., in the Gr. sg.nom. γυνή < *g^{u}(*e*)*n-h*$_2$. All Phrygian forms shows the addition of the suffix *-*iH* to the whole stem (note that it is similar to the Gr. voc. γύναι), and in sg. nom. the *s*-ending is levelled from *i*-stems (e.g., *tuvatis*). Recently, Opfermann (2017, 62 and 74) has considered that the sg. nom. goes back to the PIE abstract noun *g^{u}n̥h$_2$-éi̯- 'femininity', but the Phrygian form does not show the expected vocalisation of the nasal in this position. The sg. acc. and sg. gen. are attested in the same NPhr. inscription: 16.1 l. 5–6 μ̣ε ǫ̣γομανιας εναρκε ερμω[λ]|ǫ̣ς ⲕⲛⲁⲓⲕⲟ εκατηας and l. 10–11 ονομανιαις μ̣ιρου ιⲕ[.] | ⲕ̣ⲛⲁⲓⲕⲁⲛ εδαες. The sg. gen. is expected to be *ⲕⲛⲁⲓⲕ-ος in the light of other consonant stems (e.g., *artimitos*, τιος < *$di̯$*u̯os* or ορουενος). A good explanation for this unexpected form is the shape of the letters: since in these inscriptions epsilons and sigmas are quadratic and the following word, εκατηας, begins with epsilon where a sigma is supposed, it is very likely that the engraver erroneously reused a sigma as an epsilon by adding the central stroke (the only feature that differentiates the two letters). Consequently, ⲕⲛⲁⲓⲕⲟ⟨ⲥ⟩ can be equated to Gr.

γυναικός. The pl. nom. also needs to have its ending restored, since the clay tablet on which it is read is broken. Since there are other athematic pl. nom., this restitution is easy: 30?*...ẹkẹs* 30? *i̯*? | .. 30? *y̯*?*r̥*?*ekeṣ*? | . 30? *knays* 30? *ṣ*? | *i̯*?*y̯*?*r̥*?*i* 40? *knạyḵẹ*?[*s*]? | .? 40? *m*?*akeres* 40?.

Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 174–175; Brixhe 2004a, 79–80, 125; Brixhe 2006, 307–308; Lubotsky 2004, 234; Brixhe 2006, 40; Matzinger 2006, 200–201; Brixhe and Drew-Bear 2010, 165; EDG 291–292; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 184; de Lamberterie 2013, 54; Kloekhorst 2015, 114; LIPP II, 295; Opfermann 2017; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1823.

κνουμανει (noun) 'tomb, memorial'

NPhr.	sg. nom.-acc.	κνουμαν 16.1 (116), 43.1 (69); κνουμα 11.2 (18); κινο[υ]||μα 22.1 (9); κνουμ[---] 65.1 (20); κνουμεν 11.2 (18) l. 5?
	sg. dat.	κνουμανει 5.1 (19), 7.1 (99), 7.3 (14), 9.1 (87), 11.2 (18), 13.1 (122), 17.2 (3), 20.3 (62), 21.2 (43), 22.2 (118), 25.1 (115), 32.1 (93), 33.3 (127), 37.1 (10), 44.1 (61), 52.1 (75), 53.1 (76), 53.2 (77), 59.2 (47), 59.4 (106), 62.1 (32), 62.2 (33), 62.3 (34), 62.6 (105), 65.1 (20); κνο[υμανει] 17.1 (4b); [κ]ν[ου]μανε[ι] 21.1 (42); κνου|[μανε]ι 39.1 (11); [κ]νουμ|ανει 41.1 (45); [κνο]υνμανει 42.1 (101); κν[ουμανει] 44.2 (70); κνουμαν[ει] 45.1 (65); κ*y̯*[ουμανει] 48.1 (81); κνου[μανει] 48.2 (84); κνο[υ]|μ̣[αν]ε̣ι̣ 49.1 (110); κνο[υ]μα|νει 50.1 (54); κ[νουμα]νει 50.2 (55); κνου|[μανει] 51.1 (80); [κ]νουμανει 54.1 (108); [κνουμαν]|ει 56.3 (64); κ[νο]υ⟨μανει⟩ 58.1 (72); [κνο]υμανει 59.3 (79); [κνου]μ̣α|νει 63.1 (123); κνο*y̯*μ̣|μανει 38.1 (44); κν[ου]|μμανει 46.1 (53); κνουμανε 3.1 (97), 10.1 (112), 15.1 (120), 17.6 (119), 18.3 (6), 20.1 (63), 20.2 (128), 24.1 (40), 25.2 (126), 27.1 (92), 30.1 (39), 31.1 (29), 33.1 (28), 33.2 (95), 34.1 (37), 36.1 (26), 40.4 (102), 56.1 (57), 61.1 (100); [κνουμ]ανε 17.4 (90); [κ]νουμανε 57.1 (78); κνο|[μανει] 59.1 (107); κνουμανη 29.1 (114); κνουμανι 6.1 (88), 8.1 (86), 14.1 (73), 17.3 (7), 35.1 (25), 40.1 (12), 62.5 (36), 66.1 (103); κνουμαν 40.3 (31)
	sg. gen.?	κ⟨ν⟩ουμινος 18.2 (5)

A clear neuter word built by adding the suffix *-mn̥* to the PIE verbal root **kneu̯H-* 'scratch, dig' (*LIV*^{2} 366, *IEW* 562; found in Greek κνύω 'id.'): **knuH-mn̥* (see Lubotsky 1998, 414 fn. 4). Previously, Meister (1909, 317, fn. 2) equated it to Greek γνῶμα 'mark, opinion' (< **ǵneh$_3$-mn̥*). The sg. nom.-ac. κνουμαν / κνουμα is attested in non-imprecative texts: 22.1 11.2 [---]οι κνουμα ετι δεᾳδᾳ μανκα|ν μιμογαδις ακẹ̣νικου οκαυγοσι | μ̣ιδακας δαδου..., 16.1 Ξẹ̣υνε ιοσος κε δετοῠ [ο?υ]\|ψοδ̣αν

κε τ̣ạν σαυναμαν [.?] | ḳ̣νọ̣υμαν κ᾽ ακροδμαν κε λọ̣| ḍ̣ιμον μειομον ριδιτι…, 43.1 ειν̣εᾳ̣ μ|δους, ξευ|νε πειρ α|ρεοπαδε|ν ατω κ̣ẏọ̣υ|μαν [ο]ụ̣εκρ|ω δαδωνε|ι ονουειᾳ̣…. The form κινο[υ]||μα 40.3 is also found in a non-imprecative text and is also a sg. nom.-acc. with epenthetic vowel: υσδουνετ[.]ου πασε | δεκμουταις κινο[υ]||μα ḍ̣τι μ⟨α⟩νκαν οπεσταμ|ναν δαδιτι…. However, most instances of this word are sg. dat. variants attested in the imprecative protasis: e.g., 17.3 ιος νι σεμον κνουμανει κακον αḍ̣δακετ. All the variants are different spellings of the PIE ending *-*eḭ* ⟨-ει⟩, ⟨-ε⟩, ⟨-η⟩ and ⟨-ι⟩ that arose under the influence of Greek itacism. The form κνουμαν 40.3 is also a dat., as the pronoun σεμουν shows, but apocopated before a vowel: ας σεμουν κνουμαν αδιθερακ | ξευνεοι αδικεσει… The sg. dat. has levelled the vocalisation of the suffix from the sg. nom. The form κ⟨ν⟩ουμινος 18.2 seems to be a conservative sg. gen. **knuH-mn-ós*, with an epenthetic vowel in the suffix. However, because of its position after the pronoun σεμουν, a dat. is expected: ις κε σεμουν κ⟨ν⟩ουμινος ⟨κακουν⟩ | αδακεν… This particular oddity can be explained in light of Gr. inscriptions from Phrygia, where the use of gen. instead of dat. is not unusual, even in the same collation (Brixhe 1987a, 97–98): see, e.g., Αὐρηλίᾳ Αμμεια γλυκυτάτης μνήμης χάριν (*MAMA* IV 192) συν τῆ συμβίω μου Φροντίνης (*MAMA* I, 152), both from Phrygia. The geminated *my* in κνουμμανει is a hypercorrection. Finally, the vocalism of κνουμεν remains unclear. Although the context is not certain, it seems to be a variant of the sg. nom.-acc.: ματαρ ευγεξα|ρναι̣ κ᾽ οτ ατ̣ι̣αμα κνουμεν ταν ε|[.]τας ται κολταμανει…

Lubotsky 1998, 414 fn. 4; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 1822; Avram 2016a; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1818.

κνουμανη, **κνουμανι**, **κνουμεν**, **κνουμμανει** and **κ⟨ν⟩ουμινος**, **κνυμανει** see κνουμανει.

kovis (noun)

OPhr. sg. nom. *kovis* B-05 l. 12; *koẏis* B-05 l. 10

Although in l. 10 it was read as *koṛis*, Gorbachov (2008, 102) and, especially, Hämmig (2013, 132) showed that lines 9–10 and 12 contain two variants of the same curse and that this word, well-read in l. 12, is the same as in l. 10. According to Hämmig, it is an *i*-stem sg.nom. noun, qualified by the adj. *mekas* once: l. 10 *mekạṣ key* | *koẏis ạbretoy nun ibey neẏotạn ṇiptiyan sirun mireyun*. In l. 12 it appears without an adjective: *nevos me deritoy kovis ke ạbretoy nun oy nev⟨otan⟩*. Hämmig also suggested the meaning 'calamity', 'misfortune' or 'illness', although its etymology has not been identified.

Neumann 1997, 19, 25; Brixhe 2004a, 62; Gorbachov 2008, 102; Hämmig 2013, 132.

κολταμανει (noun) 'deathbed'?
NPhr. sg. dat. κολταμανει 11.2 (18)
A noun found in a sentence where some parts of the tomb are mentioned: ματαρ ευγεξα|ρναι̣ κ' οτ ατ̣ι̣αμα κνουμεν ταν ε|[.]τας ται κολταμανει... Its meaning and etymology are unclear and few scholars have taken a stance on this word. Orel (1997a, 84, 438) proposed the word κολταη from 37.2, but this is the result of a negligent reading, which was followed by Woodhouse (2010, 139). On the other hand, Woodhouse considered it a PIE formation *$*g^{w}olth_2m̥$* (*$*g_2olth_2m̥$* in Woodhouse 2006, 172, but *$*g_1olth_2m̥$* in Woodhouse 2010, 139, where *$*g_1$*- stands for the more common *$*ǵ$*-) related to Skt. *jathára-* 'belly, body, uterus, lap', Go. *kilþei* 'womb', and MoE child. He also suggested a similar meaning to the last adduced parallel: 'family, offspring, generation'. However, the presence in the same period of parts of the tomb (ţ̣ι̣αμα and κνουμεν) rules out such a semantic interpretation. Another interpretation can be found in the comparison with Arm. *kałał* 'den, lair', equated to Baltic forms such as Lith. *guõlis* 'den, lair, (coll.) bed', *gùltas* 'bed, lair', *gulĩti* 'to lie down, fall ill', or. Latv. *guõļa* 'nest, den, lair, (coll.) bed' (Martirosyan 2009, 346–347) and sometimes also to the obscure Gr. γωλεός 'hole' (considered "not very probable" by *EDG* 293–294). If the root of κολταμανει is in some way related to these forms, it could mean something as suitable as 'deathbed' in the light of the uses of θαλάμη, -η ('lurkingplace, den, lair') and its derivative θάλαμος, -ος '(funerary) chamber' in Gr. funerary inscriptions from Anatolia. However, a formation *$*g^{w}lH$-to/eh$_2$*- (see Kroonen 2013, 309–310 about PGerm. **kulda-*) is uncertain for the Phrygian form (particularly given the lack of the expected vocalisation ***klōta-* in this position; see § 4.1.2.2.3). Even its gender is problematic. Indeed, the suffix -μαν- seems to be added to the formation *κολτα- (similarly to κορο[υ]μανη 2.2). This would give a neuter noun, yet the presence of the pronoun ται, if the segmentation is correct, shows that the word is fem. As can be seen, κολταμανει remains unclear.
Haas 1966: 98–103; Haas 1969, 84–87; Orel 1997a, 84, 438; Woodhouse 2006, 172; Woodhouse 2010, 139.

κοννου see ουελασκοννου.

koris see *koŋis*.

†**κορο** see κοροαν.

κοροαν (noun) 'boy, lad, male infant'?

MPhr. sg. acc.? κοροαν MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 7
sg. gen.? κοροος MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 6

Although Brixhe (2004a, 21–22, followed by Avram 2015, 210) considered that the Gr. word χώρος 'a definite space, piece of ground, place' occurs in MPhr., Lubotsky (2017) reconsidered the segmentation of the sequences πορκοροοϙ..-|ϱϙ and κοροανδετουν and suggested that they are forms of the stem *korṷ-*, equated to Gr. κόρϝα 'girl' (Arc. Cor.; Myc. *ko-wa*, Att. κόρη) and κόρος 'boy' (Att.; Myc. *ko-wo*, Ion. κοῦρος, Dor. κῶρος; perhaps derived from **ḱerh$_3$-* 'grow'; *LIV*^{2} 329, *IEW* 577, according to *EDG* 752–753). Then, κοροαν /korwan/ is the sg. acc. fem. of 'girl' (instead of a form πορκορο, suggested by Brixhe) and κοροο its masculine in an unclear case. Although this scenario is morphologically likely, no girl is identified in the inscription, which refers to two men, νικοστρατοϙ and ϰλευμαχοι. This funerary stele was very likely dedicated to ϰλευμαχοι, so perhaps it is he who is called *korṷ-* (*pace* Lubotsky 2017, 429–430, who suggested that Nikostratos was the deceased). Consequently, we are probably dealing with two forms of the same *u*-stem noun referring to this man: κοροαν, with the athematic acc. ending, and κοροος, the athematic gen.

Brixhe 2004a, 21–22; Avram 2015, 210; Lubotsky 2017.

κοροκα (noun) 'offspring, descendants'?

NPhr. κοροκα 62.5 (36)
κο?ροκα 62.2 (33)

Traditionally, this word is read and segmented as κ' οροκα 62.5 and κε 'ροκα 62.2 and occurs in an imprecative apodosis attested in two inscriptions: αυτος κε ουα κ(ε) (ο)ροκα γεγαριτμενος ας βαταν τευτους. As well as αυτος, with which it is thought to be coordinated, it seems to be a nominative (sg. fem. or pl. neuter?). However, it is difficult to choose between a neut. pl. or fem. sg. because the possessive ουα with which it agrees is also ambiguous. The hesitation attested at the beginning is explained as a product of sandhi with the copulative conj. κε: note the distribution κε 'ροκα-κ' οροκα (Brixhe 1978a, 11). Although the reading cannot be corroborated, it is perhaps another example of the common confusion between circular letters. Its meaning and etymology remain unclear, but 'offspring' or 'descendants' is very attractive in light of the common Gr. formulae. In that case, and taking into account the context (see § 4.3.3.), it can be considered a noun derived from the stem *korṷ-* 'boy' (see also κοροαν), as Woodhouse (2007, 193–194 fn. 8) suggested. Consequently, the imprecative formula can be segmented as follows: αυτος κε ουα κοροκα γεγαριτμενος ας βαταν τευτου=ς. However, this interpretation must remain hypothetical until we have determined a satisfactory explanation for the verb τευτου.

Brixhe 1999, 312; Woodhouse 2007, 193–194 fn. 8.

κορου (noun) 'a definite space, piece of ground, place'
NPhr. sg. dat. κορου 27.1 (92)
This word, a clear borrowing from the Gr. χώρος, -ου 'a definite space, piece of ground, place' (note Gr. χ > Phrygian κ), is found in a NPhr. imprecative apodosis and may allude to the space consecrated to the funerary monument: ιος νι σ[εμουν κνου]μανε κακουν [αδακετ αι]νι κορου ουε̣[βα?]. In Phr., this word is related to its derivative κορο[υ]μανη and was also considered to appear in the MPhr. funerary stele as κορο and in the compound πορκορο. However, such forms have been reanalysed (see κοροαν).
Brixhe 1983, 127–128; Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 179; Brixhe 1990, 95; Brixhe 1999, 298; Brixhe 2002b, 258; Brixhe 2004a, 21–22; Lubotsky 2004, 231; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 189; Avram 2015, 12–13; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1825.

κορο[υ]μανη (noun) 'a definite space'
NPhr. sg. dat. κορο[υ]μανη 2.2 (130) l. 6; κορο[υ]|μανη 2.2 (130) l. 9–10
This noun, derived from κορου, has the suffix *-mn̥*. Despite this feature, it is found in the same position as κορου, l. 9–10 αινι κος κακην αδδακετ κορο[υ]μανη, an imprecative protasis, but also in the description of the monument, l. 6 αινι ουεβαν δεδασσιννι πατρες σεμουν κορο[υ]μανη… Consequently, it seems likely that the meaning of this derivative is similar to the original word: it refers to the space consecrated to the monument.
Avram 2015, 12–13.

kos (indefinite pronoun) 'someone, somebody, something'

OPhr.	sg. nom.-acc. neut.	*kin* B-01 l. 4
	sg. nom. masc.	*kos* B-07
NPhr.	sg. nom.-acc. neut.	κιν 61.1 (100)
	sg. nom. masc.	κος 2.2 (130) l. 9; 11.2 (18); 56.3 (64), 58.1 (72)

As occurs in Lat., Phrygian shows a PIE stem **k^{u}o-* / **k^{u}i-* in the inflection of its indefinite pronoun (*LIPP* II, 452–457). The sg. nom.-acc. neut. presents the ending **-m* instead of the original **-d* (Lat. *quid*), as Skt. *kím* < PIE **k^{u}i-m* (Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 183). This form is used once as an adjective: 61.1 ιος σεμιν κνουμανε μουρου[ν δα]|[κετ αι]νι κακουν κιν. However, its OPhr. occurrence, also found in an imprecative apodosis, seems to have a pronominal function: *yos ti-vo* [*t*]*a speretạ ayni kin te*[*l*]*ẹmi*… On the other hand, the sg. nom. masc. appears in a variant of the common protases: instead of the relative pronoun *yos*, ιος 'whoever', a conditional conj. with the indefinite pronoun αι(νι) κος 'if anybody'. See, e.g, 2.2 αινι κος κακην αδδακετ κορο| [υ]μανη σως κη γουμειε…, or 11.2 αινι κος σεμουν κνουμανει κ|ακουν αδδακετ αινι μανκα… On one occasion it is used in a apodosis (a prohibitive meaning introduced by *me*): *me kos anivaɤeti s≻maniṇ*.

Brixhe 1982, 235; Brixhe 2002a, 35–36; Hämmig 2013, 148; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 191; LIPP II, 454–455; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1827.

κουμινος see κνουμανει.

krạniyạs (adjective) 'of, from a spring or fountain'?
OPhr. sg. gen. *krạniyạs* B-05 l. 3
This word is found in a non-imprecative, obscure part of the Vezirhan stele: *vrekạn vitạrạn artimitoṣ krạniyạs* [---] | *pạntạ vebrạṣ ạdun*... The sequence discussed here is precedeed by the theonym in sg. gen. *artimitoṣ*, but the stele is damaged after it. Previously, Neumann (1997, 18–19, 21) read it as *krạniyạ-p* and Brixhe (2004a, 56) as *krạniyạ p*[---]. The basis for Brixhe's reading was the unexpected ending *-p*, which he considered the beginning of another word even though in this inscription blanks are used as word boundaries. The solution to this problem is the reading of this supposed ⟨p⟩, given that the shapes of ⟨p⟩ and ⟨s⟩ are very similar in this stele (see Neumann 1997, 15). Taking this into account, a reading *krạniyạs* is defensible in light of the form of ⟨s⟩ written for the nearby words *artimitoṣ* and *atriyas*. In this case, *krạniyạs* is a mere sg.gen. denominative adj. created with the common suffix *-yo/a-*. This adj. agrees with the preceding DN *artimitoṣ* in the same way as, e.g., *kubileya* / *kubeleya* with *matar* (W-04 and B-01, respectively). Regarding its meaning, it is tempting to equate it to the Gr. word κρήνη (Dor. κράνα, Aeol. κράννα) 'spring, fountain' (see also κρηνιάς, Dor. κρανιάς). Although the etymology of this Gr. word is unclear, its presence in Phrygian can be considered an Aeol. borrowing similar to *stala* B-01. Moreover, this connection between the Anatolian Artemis and water is well known, especially after the syncretism between Artemis and the Persian goddess *Anāhitā* (note that this stele is dated to Persian times; on Ἀναεῖτις in Lydia see de Hoz 1999, 73–76). See, e.g., Fontenrose (1988, 127–128) on the title ὑδροφορία borne by her priestesses of Didyma. Finally, a relationship between *krạniyạs* and κρανός, found in the epithet of *Matar*, Κρανομεγαληνή and ἀπὸ κρανὸς μεγάλη is highly possible (on it see Chiai 2009, 137).
Neumann 1997, 18–19, 21; Brixhe 2004a, 56.

kraroy̰ (?)
OPhr. *kraroy̰* G-11 b
Unclear word in obscure text: *sit kraroy̰ veao dis*. On the basis of its ending, it can be considered either a verb in 3sg. opt. or a thematic noun in sg. dat. Brixhe (2002a, 26) seems to opt for the latter possibility, adducing Gr. κλῆρος (Dor. κλᾶρος) 'lot, that which is assigned by lot, allotment' as a similar word by assuming an anticipatory assimilation. Either way, this remains an open question.
Brixhe 2002a, 36.

ḳụ (PN?)
OPhr. *ḳụ* G-241
Complete inscription incised on a sherd from Gordion. It is very likely an abbreviated anthroponym used as an owner's mark. *kuliya* is the sole PN with this beginning in the whole Phrygian corpus; however, it could correspond to another (non-attested) name.
CIPPh I, 190; Roller 1987a, 49; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 199.

kubeleya (adjective) 'from the Kubel- mountain'
OPhr. sg. nom. *kubeleya* B-01; *ḳụbeleẏ*[*a*] B-08
sg. nom. *kubileya* W-04
The three occurrences of this thematic adj. (note the suffix **-ey/o-*) agree with the DN *matar* (the mother goddess): B-01 *matar kubeleya ibey a duman ektetoy*, B-08 [--- *mata*]*r ḳụbeleẏ*[*a* ---] and W-04 *matar kubileya* [---]*toy*|*en*. Note that this last form shows the common hesitation /e/ ~ /i/ (see 4.1.1.). Regarding its origin, Brixhe (1979b) suggested that *kubeleya* derives from the Phr. noun for 'mountain', equating *matar kubeleya* to Gr. Μήτηρ Ὀρεία. This Phr. noun is identified as Κύβελα (D.S. 3.58) or Κύβελον (Str. 12.5.3). However, since all the related Greco-Phrygian sources refer to the name of a specific mountain (even a *castellum*) or mountains, *kubeleya* should preferably be considered an epiklesis related to this mountain (or mountains), with the meaning 'Matar of the Kubel- (mountain)' (*CIPPh* I, 47; see also Oreshko 2013b, 82–86). See D.S. 3.58 γήμαντα δὲ Δινδύμην γεννῆσαι μὲν παιδίον θῆλυ, τρέφειν δ' αὐτὸ μὴ βουλόμενον εἰς ὄρος ἐκθεῖναι τὸ προσαγορευόμενον Κύβελον [...] καὶ προσαγορεῦσαι Κυβέλην ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου 'and [Meion] marrying Dindymê he begat an infant daughter, but being unwilling to rear her he exposed her on the mountain which was called Cybelus [...] and called her Cybelê after the name of the place', Str. 12.5.3 ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὄρος ὑπερκείμενον τῆς πόλεως τὸ Δίνδυμον, ἀφ' οὗ ἡ Δινδυμηνή, καθάπερ ἀπὸ τῶν Κυβέλων ἡ Κυβέλη 'there is also a mountain situated above the city, Dindymum, after which the country Dindymenê was named, just as Cybelê was named after Cybela', Hsch. κ 4363 Κύβελα· ὄρη Φρυγίας. καὶ ἄντρα. καὶ θάλαμοι 'κ.: Phrygian mountains. Also, caves and chambers', Ovid, *Fast*. 4.363–365 *Inter, ait, uiridem Cybelen altasques Celaenas amnis it insana, nomine Gallus, aqua. qui bibit inde, furit* '[Erato] said: 'Between green (Mount) Cybele and high Celaenae, there flows a river with insane water, called 'Gallus'. Who drinks of it goes mad',' and Liv. 38.18.5 *ad Cuballum, Gallograeciae castellum, castra habentibus Romanis* 'while the Romans were encamped near Cuballum, a fortress of Galatia'. The identification of this mountain is unclear, and the origin of the oronym *kybel-* remains unknown: is it Phrygian, Anatolian or even pre-IE? In any case, the equation of this name with *Kubaba* is impossible in linguistic terms, since it

implies *ad hoc* shifts in the labial stop even if a Lyd. intermediary form is considered (contrary to Munn 2006, 120–125 and 2008, 161). Of course, this does not rule out a Gr. syncretism between both mother goddesses, and its relationship with Κυβέλη / *Cybele* seems obvious despite the convoluted history of this name. The Gr. form Κυβέλη may be an early borrowing of this theonym, since the last -η shows the general loss of intervocalic /j/ and the contraction of the resulting hiatus: *-eya* > *-*e.a* >-η. Then the shift *Kubeleya* > Κυβέλη can be equated to Attic Ἀθηναία > Ἀθήνη 'Athena'. The early diffusion of this theonym in Gr. is assured by the presence of ϙυβάλας in Locri Epizephyrii (Calabria, Italy) in the first half of the sixth century BC. The unique spelling of ϙυβάλας (gen.), instead of the expected *ϙυβέλας, can be explained as an adaptation to the northwestern dialect of Locri Epizephyrii. Although the inscriptions from the city do not provide another example of ελ > αλ (or of ερ > αρ), it is a common feature of these group of dialects: see Delphian Δαλφοι for Δελφοί (Méndez Dosuna 1985, 397). The alternative explanation, a dissimilation from Kubaba (the North Syrian mother goddess also found in Lydian as *Kuwawa* and in Herodotus as Κυβήβη), must be refuted due to the Phr. form, even though Ϙ⟨υ⟩βάβας also occurs in Locri Epizephyrii (*SEG* 49.1357). The original form with *-eya-* is preserved in two Gr. inscriptions devoted to the goddess: Ματρὶ Κυβελείαι in a votive inscription from Bulgaria (fourth c. BC; Nessebar Museum, inv. no. 1354, Sharankov 2009, 48 no. 28) and Μητρὶ Κυβελείῃ, in Ionian, in an inscription from Chios (no. 137, undated). Before the Phrygian form *Kubeleya* was known, Robert (1933, 483–484) suggested that the mother goddess worshiped in the inscription from Chios was named after Κυβέλειον, a city of the Erythraean peninsula known by Str. 14.1.33 and St.Byz. 10.245. However, there is a votive inscription from Erythrai that clearly shows that the goddess worshiped there was the Phrygian one: Ἡδεῖα Μητρὶ Φρυγίαι 'Hedeia for the Phrygian Mother' (Erythrai no. 80). In this scenario, the name of Κυβέλειον is more easily explained as taken from the Phrygian mother goddess.

Brixhe 1979b; CIPPh I, 47; Brixhe 2002c, 52–53; Oreshko 2013b, 82–86.

kubileya see *kubeleya*.

𐤉uva𐤉aros (PN)

OPhr. sg. nom. *𐤉uva𐤉aros* G-115
𐤉uv G-224

The graffito G-115, read on a sherd dated to the sixth c. BC, is complete and it is a clear *o*-stem anthroponym. It has been equated to the OP PN **ʰUvaxštra* (without a clear etymology). It is also attested in Akkadian as ^{m}*Ú-ak-sa-tar*, ^{m}*Uk-sa-tar* and ^{m}*Ú-ma-ku-iš-tar*, in Elamite as *Ma-ki-iš-tur-ri* and *Ma-ak-iš-tar-*

ra (note that in Elamite the sign ME/PI often represents /v/) and finally in Gr. through Herodotus 1.73, 1.103–107 as Κυαξάρης, who is said to be the son of Phraortes and the king of Media who conquered the parts of Asia Minor east of the Halys River (585 a.C.) in the same c. as the Phrygian graffito G-115. In addition to its cultural value, this name has often been used to establish the value of the letter ϒ. According to Lejeune (1978, 785–787), the second ϒ in this name is the reflex of the Persian variant *-xš-* instead of the Median *-xštra-* and therefore stands for /ks/. An open problem is the beginning of the name, where ϒ can only represent an original /h/, so the context is very different. Lejeune suggested a hypercharacterisation grounded in a regressive assimilation of /ks/ in order not to lose the initial sound (not used in Phrygian), but this explanation is difficult to corroborate. The graffito G-224, in which *ϒun* is read, has been considered an abbreviation of *ϒuvaϒaro*.

Haas 1966, 55–56; Schmitt 1973, 56–58; Haas 1976, 49–68; Lejeune 1978, 785–787; Schmitt 1978, 411–412; Schmitt 1982, 34–35; Diakonoff 1993, 478–479; Morante Mediavilla 2000, 197–227; Tavernier 2007, 466–467.

kuliyạ[-?-] see *ḳuliyas*

ḳuliyas (PN)

OPhr. *kuliyạ*[-?-] G-101

sg. nom. *ḳuliyas* G-127

Both occurrences of the name are incised on sherds. G-101 is broken and it is impossible to know if there were more letters incised (perhaps *-s*), since a sg. nom. ending *-a* is also possible. Its origin seems to be Luw. in the light of the graffito no. 5 from SURATKAYA read as *ku-li-i*(*a*) /kulija/ by Oreshko (2013a, 361), a simplification of *kwa/i-li-i*(*a*) /kwalija/. This PN also occurs in Cappadocia as *Ku-li-a* (*LNH* 97 § 612).

CIPPh 1, 95–96, 117–118; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 198; Draycott and Summers 2006, 73; Brixhe 2013, 58.

[-?-]***kupolas*** (PN)

OPhr. [-?-]*kupolas* G-139

Although the sherd on which this graffito was incised is broken before the first letter, it is complete. In any case, *kupolas* seems to be an *a*-stem PN without the ending *-s*, created with the suffix *-lā-*. Diakonoff and Neroznak (1985, 119–120) offered the alternative interpretation of the Phrygian word for 'pot', referring to the support iself.

CIPPh 1, 127; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 119–120; Neumann 1988, 8; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 198.

kuryaneyon (noun) 'ruler'
OPhr. sg. nom. *kuryaneyon* W-01c
Read after a PN in a text engraved on a cult façade: *ataniyen kuryaneyon tan egertoy*. Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 187 = 2018, 1820) considered it a Myc. loanword attested only in alphabetic Gr. as κοιρανέων (from κοιρανέω) 'ruling', a denominative verb from κοίρανος, -ου 'king, ruler, leader, commander, lord', whose roots goes back to PIE **kor-i̯o-* 'war, army' (*NIL* 440–441, *IEW* 615–616). Since the Phrygian word does not present the metathesis **kori-* > κοιρ-, Lubotsky (1988, 23) suggested that the loanword must be taken from Mycenaean times, although it is not attested in this dialect. Indeed, other titles seem to be borrowed from Gr.: *lavagtaei* and *vanaktei*. However, there is no reason to rule out the possibility that it is an inherited word, although this would imply that Phrygian shared with Gr. the formation of denominative verbs in **-ey-*. Phr. *kuryaneyon* agrees with *ataniyen* in sg. nom. and seems to be used as a title. Brixhe (in Brixhe and Summers 2006, 128), on the other hand, interpreted it as a noun in sg. acc.
CIPPh 1, 41–42; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 183; Lubotsky 1988, 23–25; Brixhe 1990, 63–64; Janda 1997, 276–277; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 80, 86; Brixhe and Summers 2006, 128; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 187, 188; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1820, 1825.

k↑ianaveyos (title or ethnic?)
OPhr. sg. nom. *k↑ianaveyos* M-02
sg. nom. *kΦiyanaveyos* M-01b
Both occurrences (from the second quarter of the sixth c. BC, Midas City) qualify the same man: M-01b *baba memevais proitavos kΦiyanaveyos si≈keneman edaes* and M-02 *bba memevais proitavo*[*s*] *k↑ianaveyos akaragayun edaes*. They show that Φ is a variant of ↑, although the sound this letter represents is still obscure. OPhr. *k↑ianaveyos* seems to be a DN, since it works as a common adj. with the suffix *-yo/a-*. Although the original toponym has often been identified with Tyana (see Vassileva 2008, 167), *CIPPh* (I, 257) rejected this interpretation because of the clear consonantal differences in their beginnings between *Tuwana-* and *kΦiyanaveyos* / *k↑ianaveyos*. Unfortunately, no clear alternative can be given. The city of Κίος (now Gemlik, a Bithynian city bordering Propontis), with the variant Κιανίς and the ethnic Κιανός, is a tempting possibility (*KON* 266–267 § 520), but it is uncertain. In any case, the unusual beginning seems to show a non-Phrygian origin, and a title cannot be ruled out.
Brixhe 1982, 230; CIPPh 1, 257; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 72.

kΦiyanaveyos see *k↑ianaveyos*.

𐤋 (*l*) – Λ λ

lagineios (PN)
OPhr. masg. sg. nom. *lagineios* G-110
fem. sg. nom. [*l*]*ạgineiạ* G-276
Two variants of the same PN documented on potsherds. The first is an *o*-stem masc., while [*l*]*ạgineiạ* seems to be the fem. of *lagineios* G-110, according to *CIPPh* (I, 212–213). It has been considered a genuine Phrygian PN by Brixhe (1983, 122) and Innocente (1997, 40). It can conceivably be the ethnic of the Phr. toponym Λαγεινα, a city located in the modern Ilgın (or, less likely, the Carian Λάγινα, *KON* 323 § 670). The presence of the suffix *-eyo-* is clear (on this point, see Neroznak 1978, 93, Bayun and Orel 1988a, 198 and Orel 1997a, 440).
Neroznak 1978, 93; Neumann 1981, 148; Brixhe 1983, 122; CIPPh I, 103–104; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 36, 120; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 198; Neumann 1988, 7; Brixhe 1993, 339; Innocente 1997, 40; Orel 1997a, 440; Wittke 2004, 202; Anderson 2012, 181; Avram fthc.

lavagtaei (noun) 'leader of the people'
OPhr. sg. dat. *lavagtaei* M-01a
A clear noun related to the Myc. *ra-wa-ke-ta* /lāwāgetās/, Dor. λαγέτας 'id.', in agreement with *midai*, to whom the inscription is dedicated by *ates*: *ates arkiaevais akenanogavos midai lavagtaei vanaktei edaes*. Its ending, an athematic sg. dat. as *vanaktei*, is problematic because an *a*-stem dat. **lavagetai* is expected in light of, e.g., *midai*. The main question is whether this is an error (because of the proximity of *vanaktei*?) or not. Brixhe (1983, 1116) considered that a syncope worked here, and it is not not a loanword from Gr. (against Panagl and Kowal 1983, 193, Lubotsky 1988, 18, Neumann 1988, 16 and Cassola 1997, 145) but rather a shared lexical isogloss with this language. On the other hand, in order to explain this oddity Lubotsky (1988, 18) suggested a borrowing from the Gr. nominative /lāwāgetās/ token as *s*-stem, where the *-s* in intervocalic position dropped: **laụ̯agetasei* > *lavagtaei*. However, this is not a satisfactory explanation, since *a*-stem Gr. borrowings are commonly preserved as *a*-stems in Phrygian. Consequently, this may be a mistake, although in fragmentary corpora this solution must always be a last resort. In any case, since it is a compound of the verb **h*$_2$*eǵ-* 'to drive, lead' (*LIV*^{2} 255–256, *IEW* 4–51, see a recent revision by Jiménez Delgado 2015), a voiceless stop would be expected in an inherited Phrygian word, so a borrowing is the most plausible explanation.
Neroznak 1978, 71–72; Brixhe 1983, 116; Panagl and Kowal 1983, 193; CIPPh I, 8; Bayun and Orel 1988c, 134; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 175; Lubotsky 1988, 18; Neumann 1988, 16; Brixhe 1990, 73–76; Brixhe 1993, 340–341; Cassola 1997, 145; Brixhe 2002b, 257; Brixhe 2002c, 63; Brixhe 2004a, 41; Neumann 2005, 548; Sowa 2005, 612; Brixhe 2006, 40; Berndt-Ersöz 2006,

72, 128–129; Gusmani 2006, 16; Woodhouse 2006, 178; Brixhe 2008, 72; de Lamberterie 2013, 49; Hämmig 2013, 137 fn. 27; Jiménez Delgado 2015; Ruppenstein 2015.

lavǫy (noun?)
OPhr. sg. dat. *lavǫy* W-04
A probable thematic noun sg. dat. Its lexeme has been equated to Gr. λαός 'people, men, people assembled' < λαϝος (Brixhe 2004a, 41, who considered the preceding sequence *ae* a preposition, which is highly unlikely), a word whose origin is disputed (see *EDG* 832–833). Unfortunately, neither the context nor the segmentation are clear: *ạ?ṃ?ǫp?tov?a↑ẏ · ạ?ẹ? lavǫy · ue* | *eḍạvẏ*. However, the alternative readings are *aẹlavǫy* and *aglavǫy*, although parallels are lacking.
Brixhe 2004a, 41.

lakedo (verb) 'to take'
OPhr. 3sg. impv. med. *la*|*kedo* W-01b; *lake*ʳ*d*ˀ*ọ* (lapis *lakeaọ*) B-03?
3sg. ind. aor. act.? *ẹ?lakes* B-04?
Since *lakedo* W-01b constitutes with *key* a whole imprecative apodosis, *yos esai⸗t materey eveteksetẹ?y ovevin onoman da*ϒ*et, lakedo key venavtun avtay materey*, it is a clear verb in 3sg. impv. med. < *-(*s*)*dʰō*. Lubotsky (2004, 234–235) equated its root to Gr. λαμβάνω (λαβεῖν) 'take hold of, grasp, seize', going back to PIE **sleh*$_2$*g*^{u}- 'id.' (*LIV*^{2} 566, *IEW* 958). Segmentations such as *la-ke-dokey* are ungrounded and must be rejected (see, e.g., *LIPP* II, 133). The other two adduced occurrences are highly doubtful. Indeed, *lake*ʳ*d*ˀ*ọ* (B-03) is read as *lakeaọ*, but because this kind of vocalic sequence in Phr. is unexpected Lubotsky considered here an erroneous stroke in the supposed ⟨d⟩. A possible argument to support this interpretation is that B-03 could appear in another imprecative apodosis (as well as in W-01b): *yosyos yenvṛạ* | *etitevtevey me.oun lakeaọ* | [-?-]. Furthermore, the form *ẹ?lakes* (B-04) is also problematic because of the reading difficulties (few strokes persist of the first letter) and the lack of parallels. However, this sequence strongly recalls *lakedo* and fits as its active aor. (note the probable augment and its ending *-es* < **-e-s-t*). However, its context remains obscure and this possibility must be taken as a working hypothesis until a definitive explanation can be given: *bạto?ạntẹ* | *e?lạkẹṣ? bṛạterạis pạtriyiọ?is? k*(*e*).
Lubotsky 1988, 20–21; Brixhe 1990, 69, 91; Janda 1997, 273–275; Brixhe 2004a, 41; Lubotsky 2004, 234–235; Matzinger 2006, 201–202; Sowa 2007a, 78; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1828.

lakedokey see *lakedo*.

λαπτα (adj.)
NPhr. sg. nom. λαπτα MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 4
Although this sequence is unparalleled, according to Brixhe (2004a, 19–20) it is a probable adj. with the suffix *-*to* in fem., similar to *bilata* or *omasta*. Its root remains unknown. In its doubtful context, it seems to qualify the word μροτις: βλασκον κε τακρις κε λo̰ụ̰γ|ι̰o̰ụ̰ μροτις λαπτα ματι αοινουν…
Brixhe 2004a, 19–20; Sowa 2007a, 91.

λατομειον (noun) 'grave'
NPhr. sg. acc. λατομειον 11.2 (18)
This word is very likely a borrowing from Gr. λατομεῖον (also spelled λατόμιον and λατομίς) 'stone-quarry' (according to Woodhouse 2006, 182). The meaning 'grave' is often used in funerary inscriptions from Perinthos (see, e.g., *IG* II^2 13218 or *CIG* 2032). It is a good fit with the Phr. occurrence since it appears in a protasis: ιος νι ουκραον λατομειο̰ν εγ̰δαες μουρσα̰… Although this term is not recorded in Anatolia by Kubińska (1968), it is very likely attested in a badly preserved Gr. imprecative protasis of the NPhr. inscription 56.3 (64, as Calder 1911, 210–211 suggested), τίς τοῦτ[ο ---] | λατομ[ῖον ---]|νων… Note also that the Gr. inscription Strubbe 1997, no. 399 (from Perinthos), in which this word also occurs, was made by a Christian man from Phrygia.
Woodhouse 2006, 182.

la[---] see *tadaila*[---].

lelavo see *leravo*.

leravo (PN?)
OPhr. sg. gen.? *leravo* or *lelavo* W-10
Although the reading and the meaning of the whole text are unclear, this word appears to be a PN, as do many other words in this inscription: *a̰tai edae lel/ravo* | *vi*↑*e atevo atoios*… However, it remains unparalleled. Its ending has been adduced by Brixhe, in many papers, as one of the clearest occurrences of the gen. ending *-*μ̰o* in Phrygian (as well as *atevo* in the same inscription).
CIPPh 1, 54–55; Brixhe 1990, 96–97; Brixhe 2004a, 51; Brixhe 2006, 42–43; Brixhe 2008, 76.

lḛt̰²[---] (PN?)
OPhr. *lḛt̰²*[---] G-266
Incised on a potsherd, this fragmentary graffito is only accompanied by two nonverbal marks. Although only one of the three remaining letters can be confi-

dently read (note that Roller 1987a, 41 read *la*[---]), it is very likely the beginning of a PN, as is often the case in this sort of text. Unfortunately, no parallel can be adduced.

λευκις (PN)
NPhr. sg. nom. λευκις 11.2 (18)
OPhr. sg. dat. λευκιωι 11.2 (18)
A Gr. PN, Λεύκιος, well attested across the Gr. world (with many instances from Phrygia). In Phr. (as well as in Gr.), this PN is an *o*-stem, as its dat. shows. Nevertheless, its nom. has the spelling ι for ιο, common in Gr. inscriptions from Roman Phrygia (see Brixhe 1987a, 49–50) and also attested in the NPhr. subcorpus (see ις instead of ιος). The spelling Λευκις for Λεύκιος also occurs, e.g., in the Gr. inscription *MAMA* IX List 189, p. 306 (from Aizanoi).
Orel 1997a, 82, 83, 441; Woodhouse 2006, 170; Avram fthc. a.

λευκιωι see λευκις.

λοδιμον (noun or adj.?)
NPhr. sg. acc. λο|διμον 16.1 (116)
Since it agrees with μειομον in a sequence of several words referring to parts of the monument in acc., δετοŋ [ο$^{?}$υ]ψοδ̣αν κε τα̣ν σαυναμαν κ̣νο̣υμαν κ᾽ ακροδμαν κε λο|δ̣ιμον μειομον ριδιτι, its case is clear, although its specific meaning and lexical category remain obscure. Orel (1997a, 441) considered it a noun and, in light of his reading λο[ι]|διμον, equated it to the Lithuanian *láidoti* 'bury' and *láidymas* 'grave' < **loid*$^{(h)}$*-īmos*. However, his reading (and, by extension, his interpretation) is ungrounded.
Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 172; Orel 1997a, 441.

λο̣υ̣ι̣ο̣υ̣ (noun?)
MPhr. sg. gen.? λο̣υ̣ι̣|ο̣υ̣ MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 3–4
An unparalleled, obscure word in an unclear sequence: βλασκον κε τακρις κε λο̣υ̣ι̣ο̣υ̣ μροτις λαπτα ματι αοινουν… The reading of the *iota* is especially doubtful.
Brixhe 2004a, 19; Lubotsky 2017, 428.

luk (PN?)
OPhr. *luk* G-290
Since it is a complete graffito incised on a potsherd, it is likely an abbreviated PN. However, no parallel can be adduced.
Brixhe 2002a, 50–51.

𐤌 (*m*) – M μ

***m*¹** (mark)
OPhr. *m* G-332
Isolated letter incised on a potsherd as an owner's mark. It is perhaps the initial of a PN.
Brixhe 2002a, 86.

***m*²** (?)
OPhr. *m* G-204
Incised on a potsherd between more enigmatic letters and short sequences segmented by blanks: [---]*ḍa alu m s* [-?-]. The whole inscription remains unexplained.
CIPPh 1, 168.

***magọ*ʔ[*s*]** (title) 'magus'
OPhr. *magọ*ʔ[*s*] B-108
Incised on two adjacent potsherds, this damaged sequence is preceded by a PN: *saragis :*ʔ *magọ*ʔ[---]. Consequently, Gusmani (in Gusmani and Polat 1999a) suggested that it was a patronymic. However, as Brixhe (2004a, 93) notes, it could also be the addressee in dat., since its ending is lost. Although there is no parallel in the Phrygian corpus and its fragmentation necessitates caution in any identification, since a man called Σαγάριος / *sgr* in the Gr.-Aramaic bilingual inscription from Faraşa became 'magus of Mithra' (see Lipiński 1975a, 176) and the potsherd B-108 is dated to the late sixth or early fifth c. BC (when Phrygian was under Persian domination), *magọ*ʔ[*s*ʔ] is very likely the well-known priest title magus in sg.nom., see OPers. *maguš*, Baby. *magus* and Gr. μάγος. For further information and parallels, see *saragis*.
Gusmani and Polat 1999a; Brixhe 2004a, 93.

†μαχʔρε see *matar*.

μαιμαρηαν (noun) 'memorial chapel, shrine'
NPhr. sg. acc. μαιμαρηαν 40.3 (31)
It is read in a sentence in which the details of the building of the funerary monument are recorded: μανκαν ιαν εσταες βρατερε μαιμαρηαν. It is clearly an *a*-stem fem. word in sg. acc. The common opinion is that this is an adj. parallel to Gr. μαρμάρεος, α, ον 'flashing, gleaming, of marble'. In this case, the adj. agrees with the noun μανκαν. Although the primary meaning of Gr. μάρμαρος was 'stone' with a secondary meaning 'marble, crystalline rock' through folk etymol-

ogy that equated it to μαρμαίρω 'flash, sparkle, gleam', Neumann (1986, 80–81) rejected this interpretation because the stele is not made of marble. Instead, he considered it a borrowing from Lat. *memoriam*, since the sequence could be read as /memarian/ (due to itacism). The weakness of the original hypothesis, then (the Phr. word could keep the meaning 'stone'), is compounded by the hesitation μαι- ~ μαρ-, which Ramsay (1905, 89) considered a possible engraver's mistake, and the distance in the text between μανκαν and μαιμαρηαν. Moreover, this Lat. word also occurs as μεμόριον 'memorial chapel, shrine' in Gr. epitaphs from Anatolia. See, e.g., Ramsay 1897, 736 no. 672 (from Prymnessos, third c. AD): Ἀβίρκιος | Πορφυρίου διάκων κα|τεσκεύασα | τὸ μεμόριον | ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῇ | συμβίῳ μου | Θρευπρεπίῃ | κὲ τοῖς τέκνοις 'I, Avircius son of Profirios, deacon, made this memorial chapel for myself and my wife Threuprepia and for my children'. In light of this, Neumann's alternative is defensible (see also Avram 2016, 126–127). According to this new hypothesis, μανκαν ιαν εσταες βρατερε μαιμαρηαν means 'stele that (she/he) erected for (her/his) brother as memorial'.

Ramsay 1905, 89; Calder 1991, 180; Kowal 1984b, 183; Neumann 1986a, 80–81; Brixhe 1999, 301; Woodhouse 2006, 160 fn. 9; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 184; Avram 2016, 126–127.

makiota*T*ibi (?)

OPhr. *makiota*T*ibi* P-106

Obscure sequence incised on a potsherd, segmented by interpunctions: [---].*ti* ⁝ *makio*ʔ*ta*T*ibi* ⁝.[---]. The discussed value of the letters (the unclear T and the 8-shaped ⟨b⟩), as well as the lack of parallels, hinders any interpretation. It has been interpreted very tentatively as two PN by some scholars (e.g., Orel 1997a, 442 and 460): *makio ta*T*ibi*. In any case, it remains unclear.

CIPPh 1, 250; Orel 1997a, 305–306, 442, 460; Morante Mediavilla 2000, 159–161, 181; Brixhe 2004a, 31.

m*ʔ*akeṛes (noun)

OPhr. pl. nom. *m*ʔ*akeṛes* HP-114

Despite the lack of parallels, its presence in the administrative clay tablet from Persepolis points to a noun. As well as the other nouns on the tablet, it is accompanied by a numeral: *i*ʔ*γ*ʔ*ṛ*ʔ*i* 40ʔ *knąγḳe*ʔ | .ʔ 40ʔ *m*ʔ*akeṛes* 40ʔ. Although, its meaning and etymology remain unknown, other texts from the Fortification Archive indicate it can be interpreted as a reference to to specialised workers or to animals such as goats or sheep. The first possibility was suggested by Diakonoff and Neroznak (1985, 121) and is more likely because of the presence of women (*knąγḳe*ʔ[*s*]) in the same text. Then, it could can be a deverbative noun derived from PIE **meh*$_2$*ǵ*- (MoHG *machen*, OS *makōn* 'to make, erect, build' and OCS *mazati* 'to smear, salve', perhaps also Gr. μάσσω 'to knead', *EDG* 910–911). How-

ever, it remains unclear, although it seems to share an ending with *dạker* (B-05) / δακαρ (pl.nom. 16.1 δ̣[α]|ẋεργς), a noun derived from the verbal root *dāk-* < PIE *d^heh_1-k-* with the suffix *-ēr- / -er-*. A relationship with Gr. μάκαρ 'blessed, happy, blissful' (considered Pre-Gr. by Beekes in *EDG* 893, see also *DELG* 659) cannot be ruled out, although it is difficult to defend and the prehistory of this Greek word has yet to be determined (see a recent study by Pierini 2017).
Brixhe 2004a, 125.

μακραν (noun or adj.?) 'long' or 'tomb'?
MPhr. sg. acc. μακραν MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 3
Read on a funerary stele, in an obscure sentence: ποκραιου κη γλουρεος γαμενọụ̣ẏ ọ̣ạ σοροι ματι μακραν… Because of its similarity, Brixhe (2004a, 18) equated it to Gr. μακρός, ά, όν 'long'. However, it does not qualify anything unless we consider ματι to be a noun in sg. acc. Alternatively, Brixhe also equated it to Gr. μάκρα 'bath-tub, sarcophagus' (simplification of 'kneading-trough, bathing-tub, mortar'). If this were the case, μακραν could be related to μạγ̣$^?$|ρε (19.2 = 129), but the difference between the voiceless and the voiced stops is unsatisfactory (*pace* Brixhe and Drew-Bear 2010, 165–166) and μạγ̣$^?$|ρε is better read as μạτ$^?$[ε]|ρε (see *matar*).
Brixhe 2004a, 18; Brixhe and Drew-Bear 2010, 165–166.

mama (PN)
OPhr. sg. nom. *mama* G-173
Incised on a potsherd, this graffito contains an *a*-stem PN in nom. It is a clear Lallname, which is very common in Gr. inscriptions from the whole of Asia Minor (see Μαμ(μ)α *KPN* 281–282, § 850).
CIPPh 1, 151; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 198; Orel 1997a, 442; Brixhe 2008, 79.

mami (PN)
OPhr. sg. nom. *mami* G-274 a
Incised on a potsherd, this graffito is PN in nom. without the ending *-s*, a variant of *mamas* type. It has sometimes been read as *iman* (e.g., Orel 1997a, 244), but it does not fit with the strokes of the first (or last) letter. It is also attested in Gr. inscriptions from Isauria as Μαμμις (*KPN* 284 § 850–13).
CIPPh 1, 211; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 198.

mamutas (PN)
OPhr. sg. nom. *mamutas* G-229 (*bis*)
Incised on the handle of a pot, this PN appears at the beginning of the two lines of the inscription (which appear to rhyme): *mamutas sokposa* | *mamutas*

itoiesgloka. It is thought to be of Anatolian origin. Indeed, it can be analysed as *ma-mutas*, where *-mutas* follows a Luwic form **muwata-* 'might, potency', which is common in the Anatolian onomastics (see Melchert 2013, 34). An exact parallel is found in Μαμοτης (from Lycia, Cau 2003), although there are some variants, including Μαμουσις (Cilicia, *KPN* 286 § 854), Μαμωτασις and Μαμοτασις (Pisidia, *KPN* 286 § 854–1 and 3). Nevertheless, OPhr. *mamutas* can also be considered an ethnic in light of Μαμουτηνός (*SERP* 319,2 l. 71, 73 and 76, *KON* 363 § 761).

CIPPh 1, 184; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 197; Orel 1997a, 226, 442; Lubotsky 1998, 420, fn. 23; Neumann 1988, 17; Brixhe 1993, 339; Innocente 1997, 35; Wittke 2004, 200; Brixhe 2008, 79; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 194.

manes (PN)

OPhr.	nom.	*manes* B-07
	nom.	*mane* Dd-103
	acc.	*maniṇ* B-07
	gen.	*manitos* B-07
NPhr.	nom.	μανεις 43.1 (69)

Masc. PN with different nominatives: with or without the nom. ending *-s* and ει instead of *e* (due to Gr. itacism or levelling from other forms?). With the exception of the nominative, its paradigm follows the *i*-stem inflexion, where the gen. takes a dental shape, as illustrated by *artimitos* and *urgitos*. It is well attested in Gr. inscriptions as Μανης and Μανις/Μανεις, Μανιτους (*KPN* 290–291 § 858–4, in literary sources as Μάνης). It also occurs in Lyd. as *manes* (see Gusmani 1964, 163), in Carian as *mane* (see Adiego 2007, 381) and in Aramaic as *mny* (in the bilingual Lydian-Aramaic inscription from Sardis, see Lipiński 1975, 159). Its origin is unknown.

KPN 290–291 § 858–4; Neroznak 1978, 86; Masson 1987a, 111–112; Orel 1997a, 443; Gusmani and Polat 1999b, 156; Brixhe 2004a, 77–78, 127; Brixhe 2006, 40; Brixhe and Summers 2006, 125; Brixhe 2008b, 74; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 189; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1825.

μανισου (PN)

NPhr. μανισου 41.3 (31)

A clear but unparalleled PN in gen. used as a patronymic: πουκρος μανισ[ο]υ ενεπαρκες δετουν. It is very likely a variant of *manes*.

maniṇ and ***manitos*** see *manes*.

μανκα (noun) 'stele'

MPhr.	sg. nom.	μανκα MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 1
NPhr.	sg. dat.	μανκαι 4.1 (2), 17.2 (3), 43.1 (69), 60.2 (60), 62.4 (35); μανκα 3.1 (97), 11.2 (18), 31.1 (29), 36.1 (26), 64.1 (81); μ̣[ανκ]ε 17.5 (91)?; μανκης 8.1 (86)
	sg. acc.	μανκαν 2.1 (15), 11.2 (18), 41.3 (31); μ⟨α⟩νκαν 22.1 (9)

A clear *a*-stem fem. noun. Note that the sg. dat. μανκα drops the second element of the long diphthong -αι > -α, preserved in μανκαι. These two forms are well attested in the protases of the NPhr. imprecations. See, e.g., ιος νι σα του μανκα κακουν αδ|δακετ (64.1) or αινι κος σεμουν κνουμανει κ|ακουν αδδακετ αινι μανκα (11.2). Despite its ending, the form μανκης, which occurs in the same position, must be understood as a sg. dat. (see Brixhe 1983, 119 and Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 189 = 2018, 1825): ιος νι σεμουν κ[νου]|μανι κακουν αδδ[α]|κετ αινι μανκης. The same can be said for the dubious μ̣[ανκ]ε, where, if the restitution is accepted, the letter ε appears as a result of the Gr. influence, since in this language αι often appears as ε (e.g., the common καί > κέ 'and'). The sg. nom. is clearly attested in MPhr-01, where it agrees with the adj. μεκας: μανκα μεκας σας κιυιν εν κε βιλαταδε|ναν νεκοινουν. Finally, the acc. forms occur in non-imprecatory parts of NPhr. epitaphs: [---]οι κνουμα ετι δεᾰḍᾰ μανκα|ν μιμογαδις ακε̣νικου οκαυγοσι... (11.2), δεκμουταις κινο[υ]|μα ε̣τι μ⟨α⟩νκαν οπεσταμ|ναν δαδιτι Νεν[υε]ρια... (22.1), Αδιθερακ | Ξευνεοι αδικεσει αν | μανκαν ιαν εσταες βρατερε | μαιμαρηαν... (41.3), σ[ε]σταμ|ε̣ναν μανκαν αμι|ᾰ̣σιαν... (2.1). Its root seems to be derived from the PIE root **men-* 'remain' (*LIV*^{2} 437, *IEW* 729) in lengthened grade: **mēn-* > μαν-. However, the presence of the suffix *-ka* has not been explained. On the other hand, the relationship with μανικά in Plu. *De Isis et Osiris* 360b, suggested by Haas (1966, 67), a clear adj. in pl. neut. nom.-acc., must be ruled out because this adduced word is derived from the PN Μάνης. Similarly, an interpretation in the light of Lat. *manus* 'hand', which has been given to explain *manuka* (see Brixhe 2004a, 81), cannot be accepted because it goes back to a PIE vocalism **mon-u-* (according to de Vaan 2008, 363) that is incompatible with Phr., and *manuka* is better explained as a PN.

Haas 1966, 67; Brixhe 1983, 119; Brixhe 1993, 331; Orel 1997a, 443; Gusmani and Polat 1999b, 157–158; Brixhe 2004a, 13–14; Vine 2010, 352; Woodhouse 2006, 160 fn. 9; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 183 and 189; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1825.

μανκαι, μανκαν, μανκε and μανκης see μανκα.

manuka (PN)
OPhr. sg. nom. *manuka* B-07
The form *manuka* appears in a Greco-Persian funerary stele from Daskyleion (the seat of the Persian satrapy of Hellespontic Phrygia): [.]*gat* : *s⸗manes iyungidas manitos apelev porniyoy esṭ*[..|..]*es va ḳnais manuka odeketoy*. Although it has been considered a variant of the noun *manka* 'stele' and the object (pl. acc. neut.) of the verb *odeketoy* (Brixhe 2004a, 81), this explanation cannot be substantiated because of the unexpected *-u-*. Taking into account the location of the inscription (Daskyleion, the satrapal seat of Hellespontine Phrygia), it is more plausible to consider *manuka* an OP PN also found in the administrative clay tablets from Persepolis as *Manukka* (see Schmitt 1973, 17–19 and Mayrhofer 1973, 189 s.v.). Then, *va ḳnais manuka* means 'his [= Manes's] wife Manukka'.
Brixhe 2004a, 81.

μας (DN)
NPhr. sg. nom. μας 1.1 (48)
A DN equated to Gr. Μήν, the moon god, by Janda (in Lubotsky 1997, 122 fn. 10). It is read in a short list of three words, where it agrees with the ethnic τεμρογειος: μιτραφατα | κε μας τεμρογε|ιος κε πουντας βας κε ενσταρνᾳ. The name of this god seems to go back to PIE **mḗh₁n̥s* (its root is **meh₁-* 'measure', *LIV*² 424–425, *IEW* 703–704), a parallel formation to the Skt. *Mās* or the Iranian *Ma*. However, Phr. μας form cannot go back to a nom. **mḗh₁n̥s*, because an ending *-ais* is expected from **-ns* (see the pl.acc. ending). Therefore, one must assume that μας is a secondary *a*-stem extended from the sg. acc.
Lubotsky 1997, 122 fn. 10.

ṃąsa (PN)
OPhr. sg. nom. *ṃąsa* K-01 VI–VIIa1
Masculine *a*-stem PN in sg. nom read on the fragmented block from Kerkenes Dağ: ʿ *ṃąsa u|rgitos dakor s⸗vebrą*[---] 'Masa the son of Urgitos makes[?] this *vebra-*...' Its origin is clearly Anatolian: ^{m}*Masa* is already attested in Hitt. (*LNH* 115 § 770, see also ^{*m}*masa-muwa LHN* 115 § 771), and its etymology is perhaps to be found in the Luwic word *massan-* 'god', attested in CLuw. *mašša(i)-*, HLuw. DEUS-*n(i)-* (= /massan(i)-/?), Lyc. *mahan(a)-* and, perhaps, Carian *msn-* in the PN *msnord-* (on it see Adiego 2007, 385). It also occurs in Gr. inscriptions from Roman times in Pisidia/Southern Phrygia, Lycia, Galatia and, recently, in Cicilia (see *KPN* 300 § 875 and Laflı 2017, 166).
Brixhe and Summers 2006, 125.

matar (noun and DN) 'mother'

OPhr.	sg. nom.	*matar* W-04, W-06, B-01; [*mata*]*r* B-08
	sg. acc.	*materan* M-01dI, W-01a; *matera*[*n*?] M-01d II?
	sg. dat.	*materey* M-01e, W-01b (*bis*)
		mateṛ[---] M-01c
		mạtę[...] W-05b
NPhr.	sg. nom.	ματαρ 11.2 (18)
	sg. dat.	ματ[ε]|ρε 19.2 (129)

A clear fem. *r*-stem noun inherited from PIE **méh$_2$tēr* 'mother', attested in Gr. μήτηρ (Dor. μάτηρ), Lat. *māter*, Vedic *mātā* (*mātāras*), Arm. *mayr*, etc. A particularity of its inflexion is that the dat. form shows levelling of the *e*-grade of the suffix from the acc. The occurrence of M-01dII is very fragmented, but because of the last *a* it is very likely a sg. acc.: *matera*[*n* ---] | *avi*[---]. Moreover, *mateṛ*[---] M-01c is ambiguous and only a sg. nom. can be ruled out, while *mạtę*[...] W-05b is expected to be sg. acc. or sg. dat. (see Lubotsky 2017, 430). It should be noted that in most instances this word is used in reference to the mother goddess and is often followed by an epithet: *matar kubileya* W-04, *matar kubeleya* B-01 (also [*mata*]*r ḳubeleẏ*[*a* ---] in B-08), *materan areyastin* W-01a and *materey eveteksetẹy* W-01b. It is possible that only the NPhr. occurrence is used as the common noun for mother, where it appears in a funerary context close to PNs: λευκις μιμογας κε ματαρ ευγεξα|ρναι̣... Finally, according to Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 189), before the reading problems encountered with the last word of the first line in 19.2 (129), they read μạṭ|[ε]ρε, a dat. of *matar*. This reading provides a known Phrygian word against the hapax μạγ̣?|ρε read by Brixhe and Drew-Bear (2010, 165–166), who equated it to Gr. μάκρα 'bath-tub, sarcophagus', a simplification of μάκτρα 'kneading-trough and bath-tub, sarcophagus'. Note, however, that despite their explanations and the attractiveness of this meaning, the presence of a voiced stop is problematic. Consequently, ματ[ε]|ρε is the easiest solution: ι̣ος νι σα ματ[ε]|ρε κακον αββẹ|ρετοι αινι σερ?οα... 'whoever brings harm to (this) Mother and to Serva...'.

Orel 1997a, 443; Gorbachov 2005, 197; Matzinger 2005, 378; de Lamberterie 2013, 27; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 189; Lubotsky 2017, 430; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1819, 1820.

mateṛ[---], ***matera***[---],***materan***, μạṭ[ε]ρε and ***materey*** see *matar*.

ματι (noun or adj.?)

MPhr.	?	ματι MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 3 and l. 4
	sg. acc.	ματιν MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 5

An *i*-stem noun, which occurs twice in an obscure epitaph: ποκραιου κη γλουρεος γαμενọṵṇ ọ̣ạ σοροι ματι μακραν : βλασκον κε τακρις κε λọṵṇι̣ọṵ μροτις λαπτα

ματι αοινουν : νικοστρατος̣ κ̣λ̣ευμαχοι μιρος αιδομενου ματιν κισυις μ̣ο̣|.κρος υιταν… While ματιν is a clear sg. acc., the form ματι is problematic. While an ending is expected, in l. 3 it seems to agree with μακραν and perhaps an acc. *-n* is lost before the following stop by assimilation. However, a sg. nom. without *-s* cannot be ruled out. Its origin, as well as its meaning, remains unknown. It is possible that the same word occurs in ↑*ekmatin* (B-06).
Brixhe 2004a, 18.

ματιν see ματι.

ma.*[.]*as (PN)
OPhr. sg. nom. *ma.*[.]*as* G-202
This graffito incised on a potsherd is likely an *a*-stem personal name. The reading *mavas* given by Bayun and Orel (1988a, 189) is ungrounded and was later replaced by *maṛ*[*o*]*as* (Orel 1997a, 215, 443), which was equated to PNs such as Μαρας, Μαρεις, Μαρευς and Μαρεας, a stem found elsewhere in Anatolia (*KPN* 297 §873–5–§873–7). However, the reading cannot be corroborated.
CIPPh 1, 167; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 198; Orel 1997a, 215, 443.

ma.*[.]*ṃas (PN)
OPhr. sg. nom. *ma.*[.]*ṃas* G-202
The loss of the central letters of this graffito incised on a potsherd makes it difficult to interpret. However, it is likely an *a*-stem PN, although no parallel can be adduced. The readings *mayas* (Bayun and Orel 1988a, 198) and *maṛ*[*o*]*as* (Orel 1997a, 215) are ungrounded, especially the former.
CIPPh 1, 167; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 198; Orel 1997a, 215.

mą*[…]*uṇ (noun)
OPhr. sg. acc. *mą*[…]*uṇ* HP-102
Although its central letters are lost (the proposed completions of Gusmani 1988 and Orel 1997a, 135 are not defensible) and it is a hapax, it is very likely a masc. or neuter noun in sg. acc because of its position and the clear ending. It perhaps refers to the support (a vase) offered by a man called *Midas* to *Aiasa*(*s*): *midas aiasay mą*[…]*uṇ*.
Gusmani 1988; Orel 1996; Orel 1997a, 135–137; Brixhe 2004a, 106–108.

μδυει (noun) part of the monument
NPhr. sg. nom. μδους 43.1 (69)?
sg. dat. μδυει 14.1 (73)
A fem. *u*-stem noun. Given its position in 14.1, a common protasis (ιος νι σεμον κνουμανι κακον αββερετορ αιṭι σας μδṭει), it must refer to a part of the funerary monument. However, its precise meaning remains unknown. In 43.1 the context is less clear but is entirely different (an enumeration of people related to the monument), and the very presence of this word has been questioned by a new reading proposed by Hämmig (fthc. a): Σ?ΙΝΕΜ?Α?|ΔΟΤ?Ę? instead of ειnεα_μ|δους, … In any case, regarding the origin of this word, Haas (1966, 78) suggested a borrowing from Lyd. *mru-* 'stele' (on this point, see Gusmani 1964, 168–169). This meaning is highly compatible with the context and the spelling may indicate a borrowing (from an Anatolian language?). In 43.1 (69), μανκαι refers to the stele itself, a fact we can use to rule out the occurrence of μδυ- in these inscriptions. This possibility would only be defensible in 14.1 (73, found in the western NPhr. area). In any case, the Lyd. *mru-* perhaps occurs in Phrygian as μρο(ς) in 29.1 (114).
Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 179; Hämmig fthc. a.

με[1] (preposition) 'before, in the sight of, among'
NPhr. με 3.1 (97), 10.1 (112), 10.2 (113), 16.1 (116), 17.2 (3), 17.6 (119), 18.2 (5), 18.3 (6), 19.1 (96), 20.2 (128), 21.1 (42), 27.1 (92)?, 65.3 (21), 65.4 (124), 66.1 (103)?, 19.2 (129).
A preposition inherited from PIE **me-* (*LIPP* II, 494, documented in Gr. μετά and μέχρι). It governs dat. and occurs in the common formula με δεως κε ζεμελως κε 'in the sight of gods and men', found in imprecatory apodoses. Parallels of this formula in other languages confirm its meaning (see Obrador-Cursach fthc. a): Gr. παρά θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώποις and HLuw. DEUS-*na-za* | CAPUT-*tá-za-ha* *366-*na-na*. In 21.1 it has been identified as postposition, although Hämmig has withdrawn this following her new reading. Finally, while this form has traditionally been identified as a preverb in positions like μεβερετ, it is now better explained as the prohibitive particle (see *me*[2]).
Brixhe 1979a, 184–188; Brixhe 1997, 53–55; Orel 1997a, 443; Lubotsky 1998, 420; Obrador-Cursach fthc. a; LIPP II, 494.

***me*[2]** (prohibitive particle) 'not'
OPhr. *me* B-05 l. 12, B-07
NPhr. με 7.1 (99), 7.2 (111), 8.1 (86), 11.2 (18)
Prohibitive particle which goes back to PIE **meh*$_1$ (*LIPP* II, 511–512), documented in Gr. μή, Arm. *mi*, Skt. *mā́*, OP *mā*, Av. *mā*, ToAB *mā*, and, perhaps Alb.

mo. It is always found in apodoses where the verb is in subj. instead of imperative, without negative: B-05 *tubnuv nevos me deritoy*..., B-07 *me kos anivaṿeti* (*i*)*s maniṇ*, 7.1 με κε οι | τοτοσσειτι Βας βεκος, 7.2 and 8.1 Βας ιοι βεκος με βερετ and 11.2 βε⟨κ⟩ο|ς ιοι με τοτοσσ' ευγισαρναν (or τοτοσειτι σαρναν). Since it is considered that all PIE *$\bar{e}$ and *eh_1 become *a* in Phrygian, this particle has been identified as a preverb, documented as the preposition με (see με[1]), which contrasts with Haas's (1966) previous identification (see Hämmig fthc. a and Obrador-Cursach fthc. a on the new definition). Consequently, it must be considered that not all PIE *eh_1 yield Phr. *ā*. The same problem is found in the ending of the adverb *kake*(*y*) / κακε (see § 4.1.2.2.3.). Finally, note that 7.2 με κε can be equated to Gr. μῆτε 'and not'.

Haas 1960, 27; Haas 1970, 65; Brixhe 2004a, 84; Hämmig 2013, 143 fn. 36; LIPP II, 512; Hämmig fthc. a.; Obrador-Cursach fthc. a.

***ṃe*[3]** (PN?)
OPhr. *ṃe* G-242
A complete graffito incised on a potsherd, perhaps an abbreviated PN.
CIPPh I, 191; Orel 1997a, 232 and 444.

†μεβερετ see *me*[2] and αββερετ.

†***mederitoy*** see *me*[2] and *deritoy*.

μειομον (noun or adj.?)
NPhr. sg. acc. μειομον 16.1 (116) l.
This word agrees with λo̰ḍ̰ιμον in a list of parts of the monument: δετoṿ [υ]|ψoḍ̰αν κε τα̰ν σαυναμαν | κ̰νo̰υμαν κ' ακροδμαν κε λo̰|ḍ̰ιμον μειομον ριδιτι... One of two words (λo̰|ḍ̰ιμον or μειομον) must be a noun and the other its adjective, but this identification is difficult to resolve without more parallels of the words.
Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 167.

mekas (adj.) 'big, great'

OPhr.		*mekạ*[---] B-05
	pl. dat or pl. acc.?	*mekaịṣ*[-?-] G-239
	sg. nom.	*mekas* M-05, G-111, P-03, P-04c, G-147; *mekạṣ* B-05
MPhr.	sg. nom.	μεκας MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 1
NPhr.	sg. dat.	μεκα 35.1 (25)
	sg. acc.	μεκ|αν 2.2 (130)

Adj. inherited from PIE *meǵ-h_2- 'big, great' (*NIL* 468–478, *IEW* 708–709). The sg.nom. form has developed an ending *-s*, as well as in Gr. μέγας 'id.'. This case is

the most attested by far and is used to qualify objects (μανκα μεκας σας MPhr-01), gods (*deẏǫs ke meḳas* P-03) and people (*apelan mekas* M-05). On the other hand, the sg. acc. μεκαν shows a levelling in *e*-grade from the sg. nom. and is attested once: μεκαν τιαν 2.2. The sg. dat. is identified because of the concordance with a restored DN (according to a comparison with 2.2; see Obrador-Cursach 2016) μεκα | τ[ιε] τιττετικμενος ειτου. The problematic pl. dat. or acc. *mekaiṣ*[-?-] G-239 (see Brixhe 2004a, 41–42; see also Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 187) incised on a potsherd has lost the probable noun with which it agrees, but it shows that the Phrygian word does not present the suffix **-lo-* introduced in Gr. (μεγαλο-, μεγαλή) and, perhaps, in Go. (*mikils*). Finally the form *meką*[---] is not clear because of the loss of the final letters. It is common to find that this word refers to (a part of) the monument (see, e.g., Brixhe 2004, 14 and Avram 2015, 212 fn. 82), however, this interpretation is no longer defensible (see Obrador-Cursach 2016).

Orel 1997a, 444; Brixhe 2004a, 14; Woudhuizen 2008–2009, 187 and 211; Brixhe 2004, 41–42; Woodhouse 2006, 161; Avram 2015, 212 fn. 82; Obrador-Cursach 2016.

†***mekos*** see *me*[2] and *kos*.

†***mem*** see *memevais*.

memevais (patronymic) 'son of Mem-'

OPhr. sg. nom. *memevais* M-01b, M-02
sg. nom. *memeuis* T-02b

All occurrences follow PNs: *baba memevais* M-01b, *bba memevais* M-02 and *tumida memeuis* T-02b. It is therefore considered a patronymic derived from a PN (unattested, but perhaps a variant of *mama*) through the suffix *-evan-* found also in *arkiaevais* and *kanutievais*, where their nominatives are suggested to have evolved from **-evan-s* > **-evais*. The explanation of *mem-* as a "hyperemphatisch" particle (*LIPP* II, 505) is refuted by the systematic contexts of onomastic formulae. Finally, note that the variant *memeuis* found in Tyana shows the common Luw. contraction **uwa* > *u* (on it, see Rieken 2001). Note also that ⟨u⟩ is used here instead of ⟨w⟩.

Neroznak 1978, 72, 73 and 85; Brixhe 1984, 266; Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 180; Lubotsky 1988, 17; Innocente 1997, 40; Brixhe 2004a, 12; Wittke 2004, 199; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 187; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1820.

memeuis see *memevais*.

meros (noun)
OPhr. sg. nom.-acc. *meros* B-07
MPhr. sg. nom.-acc. μιρος MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 5
NPhr. sg. dat.? μιρου 16.1 (116) l. 10
All occurrences of this noun occur on funerary stelae: *va ḳnais manuka odeketoy meros ke manes is*… B-07, νικοστρατοϛ | ḳλευμαχοι μιρος αιδομενου ματιν κισυις… W-17 and ονομανιαις μιρου ικ[.]| ḳναικαν εδαες… 16.1 (116). However, the contexts are not clear enough to illustrate its meaning. In any case, note that the hesitation /*e*/ ~ /*i*/ is not unusual in Phr. (see § 4.1.1). *Mireyun* is a possible derivative adj. from this word.
Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 179; Brixhe 2004a, 81–82; Simon 2014a, 145–146 fn. 10.

meẹ̣ʔoun (noun?)
OPhr. sg. acc.? *meẹ̣ʔoun* B-03
The dubious letter could be read as ⟨l⟩, but no parallel can be adduced to corroborate it. Its context, perhaps a curse, is not clearer: *yosyos yenvṛạ etitevtevey me.oun lakedʔọ* | [-?-].
CIPPh I, 71; Lubotsky 1993b, 96 fn. 2.

meyʔ (PN)
OPhr. *meyʔ* G-345
Complete graffito incised on a potsherd from the fourth or third c. BC, which is very likely an abbreviated PN. The reading of its last letter is problematic: its shape Χ can be explained in at least two ways and the sequence is unparalleled in Phrygian. According to Brixhe (2002a, 9–99), it could be a Gr. *chi* (χ) and, consequently, this graffito would be one of the earliest occurrences of the Gr. alphabet used to write the Phrygian language. If this were the case, the use of an aspirated letter would be merely graphical and could stand for a voiceless velar stop. This is why it has been related to and derived to the adj. *mekas* by Brixhe. See the very suitable parallel of the Gr. PN Μέγας, -α. Nevertheless, it is more plausibly explained as an occurrence (the last) of the Phrygian yod, with the same shape found in B-06, despite being an earlier text and found far from Gordion. If this were the case, we could be dealing with the abbreviation of a PN such as Μειλας (found in Pisidia and Phrygia, *KPN* 307 § 888–1). In any case, the question remains open.
Brixhe 2002a, 98–99; Avram 2015, 212 fn. 82.

mẹ[---][1] (PN?)
OPhr. *mẹ*[---] G-167
This fragmented graffito on a potsherd is very likely the beginning of a PN, but this is difficult to confirm.
CIPPh I, 147; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 199; Orel 1997a, 200–201.

mẹ|[---][2] (?)
OPhr. *mẹ*|[---] T-03 b
Beginning of a damaged word. No further observations can be made because of the severe fragmentation of the text: *eptuve*[---]|[---]*itan mẹ*|[---]*p²is* ⋮ [---]...
Brixhe 1991, 39; Brixhe 2004a.

μιδακας (PN)
NPhr. sg. nom.? μιδακας 11.2 (18)
An unparalleled *a*-stem PN, which appears in a non-imprecative NPhr. sentence: μιδακας δαδου λευκιωι δακαρ... Although it could be segmented as μιδα and considered a variant of *midas* without the ending -s, the resultant κας δαδου is not satisfactory. However, it is likely a derivative of such a well-known PN.
Orel 1997a, 82, 445.

midas (PN)
OPhr. *mịḍạ*[---] T-02 b
sg. dat. *midai* M-01a
sg. nom. *midas* M-01d I; G-137, HP-102
This *a*-stem PN has an unclear origin, but it is unlikely to be Phrygian since a Mita of Paḫḫuwa is attested in the Hitt. text *CTH* 146 (from fifteenth to sixteenth c. BC). Berndt-Ersöz (2015, 112–113, following Burke 2001, 260–261) considers that it derives from Hitt. *mit*(*t*)*a-*, *miti-* (adj.) 'red' (on this point, see Kloekhorst 2008, 583). However, this is a mere possibility. In any case, *midas* is a well-documented dynastic name, since at least three Phrygian kings bore this name according to Gr. sources (Berndt-Ersöz 2008 and 2012, 33). The Midas mentioned in the M-01 façade could be one of them. A king Midas is also documented in Neo-Assyrian texts from the reign of Sargon II (722–705 BC) as *Mitā šàr māt Muški* 'Mita the King of the land *Muški*'. However, other people also borne this name, as we can see in the potsherds G-137 and HP-102 and some later Gr. inscriptions from Anatolia (Μίδας, *KPN* 314 § 912), as well as the whole Gr. world (often slaves).
Neroznak 1978, 104; Orel 1997a, 445; Burke 2001, 260–261; Berndt-Ersöz 2012, 33; Berndt-Ersöz 2015, 112–113.

mi̯di̯a[---] see *midas*.

μιμογας (PN)
NPhr. sg. nom. μιμογας 11.2 (18) l. 4
sg. gen. μιμογαδις 11.2 (18) l. 2
Both forms of this unparalleled dental-stem PN occur in the same inscription. Its inflexion is not at all clear. While the nom. shows the simplification *-*d-s* > -*s*, similar to *-*t-s* > -*s* found in *nevos* or βας, regarding to the gen., Woodhouse (2006, 170) interpreted that this case actually is **mimogados*, the form expected in the light of *artimitos*. However, the confusion ι ~ ο is striking. On the other hand, the letter ι could stand for ιο, see, e.g., ις instead of ιος or λευκις for λευκιος in the same inscription (a phenomenon also recorded in Gr. inscriptions from Phrygia; see Brixhe 1987, 50–51). Then, we are dealing with a common consonant-stem gen. -os. Nevertheless, the presence of the -*i*- in this ending remains incomprehensible (perhaps a levelling from another paradigm?). In any case, both forms fit their position in the context: λευκις μιμογας κε ματαρ (a sequence of sg. nom. words) and μανκα|ν μιμογαδις ακ̣ενικου οκαυγοσι (perhaps agreeing with ακ̣ενικου).
Woodhouse 2006, 170.

mireyun (adj.?)
OPhr. sg. acc. masc.-neut. *mireyun* B-05
An adj. that agrees with *sirun* in an apodosis: *nun ibey neu̯otạn n̥iptiyan sirun mireyun*… It has been considered a derivative of the noun μιρος (perhaps the same noun found as *meros*), through the suffix -*eu̯o*-. On its meaning, Simon (2014a) suggested 'all, whole', while the noun *sirun* is interpreted as 'offspring' on the basis of comparison with Hitt. formulae. However, it remains unclear because of the lack of internal data.
Neumann 1997, 24; Brixhe 2004a, 20, 62, 81; Simon 2014a.

μιρος and μιρου see *meros*.

μιτραφατα (PN)
NPhr. sg. nom. μιτραφατα 1.1 (48)
Because of the similarity with the Iranian PN **Miθra-pāta-* (theofortic 'protected by Mithra'), documented in Lyc. as *miθrapata* and *mizrppata* (Neumann 2007, 217, 218 *s.v.*) and in Gr. as Μιθρωπάστης (Str. 16.5) and Μιτροβάτης (Hdt. 3.120–129, both variants refer to the same satrap of Hellespontic Phrygia), its interpretation is obvious (the unmotivated phi of the Phrygian form may be a common hypercorrect spelling). This was first given by Kretschmer (in von

Prott 1898, 363) and followed by Schmitt (1982, 35), Diakonoff and Neroznak (1985, 124) and Orel (1997a, 446). However, since it appears in a short list with two DNs which bears an ethnic, Lubotsky (1997, 122) suggested the segmentation Μιτρα Φατα, where the second word is interpreted as an ethnic of a region not attested elsewhere. Older interpretations such as that of Haas, who understood the sequences as "Mitra und Phata" (1961, 77) or "Mitra und Ahura (*xᵛatāy*)", must be rejected because of the structure given by the copulative conj. κε among the names: Μιτραφατα | κε μας τεμρογε|ιος κε πουντας | βας κε ενσταρνạ. Reservations about the identification as a PN seem to be cultural rather than linguistic: why does a man appear within a short list of gods? An easy explanation can be found in the Phrygian cult of the dead (see de Hoz 2017).

von Prott 1898, 363; Haas 1961, 77; Haas 1966, 98 and 1976, 61–62; Schmitt 1982, 35; Lubotsky 1997, 122; Orel 1997a, 446; Brixhe 1999, 299; Neumann 2007, 217, 218; Drew-Bear, Lubotsky and Üyümez 2008, 115.

miye[.ˀ]***o***𐤟***i*** (?)

OPhr. *miẏe*[.ˀ]*o*𐤟*i* NW-135

A very obscure sequence incised on a ceramic vase. There is a blank between the two series of preserved letters, where a letter could be incised. Consequently, the number of words remains unclear: one or two? Moreover, the presence of the obscure letter 𐤟 and that this sequence is unparalleled make this text difficult to interpret.

Brixhe and Sıvas 2009, 136.

mi[---] (?)

OPhr. *mi*[---] T-02 b

A certain beginning of a word delimited by the interpunction. Orel (1997a, 310) suggested that it could be the name *midas* read above in the same inscription. Nevertheless, the shortness of the remaining fragment of this word condemns it to remain unclear. The whole sequence is quite fragmented: [---]*oitumen* ⋮ *mịḍạ*[---]|[---]*n* ⋮ *a*↑*ios* ⋮ *mi*[---]|[---]*ṇ* ⋮ *batan* ⋮ *e*.[---].

CIPPh 1, 266; Orel 1997a, 310.

μμυρα see μουρουν.

μνκαν see μανκα.

moḍroẏanak (title) 'sovereign of Modra/-oi'
OPhr. sg. nom. *moḍroẏanak* M-04
A compound noun made up of the toponym *moḍro-* and the common noun *vanak* 'sovereign, king' (see *vanaktei*), a similar formation is found in Gr. ἀστυ-άναξ 'lord of the city' (e.g., Aesch., *Supp*. 1018; it also occurs as a masc. PN Ἀστυ-άναξ, fem. Ἀστυάνασσα). This Phr. title is given to a man called *tiyes*: *ạkinanoga-vaṇ* ⋮ *tiyes* | *moḍroẏanak* ⋮ *avarạ*[.?]. The toponym *Μοδρα or *Μοδροι is attested by Strabo 12.7 (543): καθ' ὃ συμβάλλει ποταμὸς αὐτῷ Γάλλος ἐκ Μόδρων τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχων τῆς ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντῳ Φρυγίας 'where it is joined by the Gallus River, which has its beginnings at *Modro-* in Phrygia on the Hellespont'. The late work *De Thematibus* 4.28 of Constantin VII (905–959) provides its Gr. ethnic: ἔστι δὲ αρχὴ τοῦ θέματος ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς κωμοπόλεως Μοδρηνῆς ἀρχόμενον 'the beginning of this thema is located in the *Modrean* village'. On its identification with the modern Mudurnu (Bolu province, ancient Bithynia), see Şahın 1986. Note, however, that his remark on Strabo's text is a clear mistake, as Neumann (1986b) pointed out.
CIPPh 1, 23; KON 391–392 § 823; Neumann 1986b; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 180; Neumann 1988, 9; Bakır and Gusmani 1993, 143; Brixhe 1993, 331; Brixhe 1996, 138; Brixhe 1997, 47 fn. 19; Innocente 1997, 38; Orel 1997a, 446; Brixhe 2002a, 61; Wittke 2004, 202; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 75; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 188.

μοναν (adj.) 'alone, only'
NPhr. sg. dat. fem. μοναν 56.2 (58)
Very likely an adj. which agrees with μροτιη in sg.dat. (on its ending, see σαν instead of σαι) related to Gr. μόνος, -η, -ον 'alone, only'. Since the etymology of the Gr. word seems to be **mon-u̯o-* (see *EDG* 965), the loss of *u̯* before *o* can be explained as an internal Phrygian issue and the consideration of a borrowing is not required since in the fem. it could be a levelling. Recently, Hämmig (fthc. b) interpreted it as an adverb parallel to καν. However, this can be ruled out because *kake*(*y*) / κακε, an adverb derived from a nominalised noun κακουν, shows that the thematic nouns can derive into adverbs through the ending -ε (< PIE sg.instr. ending **-eh₁*). The adj. μοναν occurs in a sentence destined to avoid reutilisation of the tomb: μοναν μροτιη ιον εγεσι|τ γε|γρι|με|νο|ν. Previous interpretations are highly unsatisfactory: e.g., Orel (1997a, 446) gave a sense 'harm' without any explanation, considering the sentence to be a curse.
Orel 1997a, 446; Hämmig fthc. b.

ṃ̄ʾonokauạ (patronymic?)
OPhr. *ṃ̄ʾonokauạ* M-01c
This word was often read as *ḅonokaụa* in light of *bonok*. However, this reading does not take into account the remaining strokes of this inscription and there

is no reason to consider its first letter an unfinished ⟨b⟩ (Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 85). Since it follows a PN it could be a patronymic: *matẹṛ.. atatas mˀonokaua*. Unfortunately, there are no parallels and this inscription may have been longer at the end.

Haspels 1971, 290; Brixhe 1983, 118; Brixhe 1984, 12; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 178; Orel 1997a, 15, 420; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 85.

moṛo.[---] (PN?)

OPhr. *moṛo*.[---] G-214

Incised on a potsherd, the ending of this damaged graffito, very likely a PN. The last preserved stroke is vertical and could be a part of many letters. The reading *moṛoị* given by Bayun and Orel (1988a, 198; a dat. according to them) is a mere possibility. However, the inscription could be longer.

CIPPh 1, 174–175; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 198.

μουρουν (noun) 'stupid action, mistreatment?'

NPhr. pl. nom.-acc. μμυρα 35.1 (5)
sg. nom.-acc.? μου[ρου]ν 18.3 (6)?
sg. nom.-acc. μουρου[ν] 61.1 (100)

All of the occurrences appear as the direct object of imprecative protases: 18.3 [ιο]ς νι σεμουν κνουμανε ṛ[ακον] | αββερετ ατ νου. μου[ρου]ν..., 35.1 ιος νι σιμουν | κνουμανι κακουν αβ|βιρετο αινι μμυρα... and 61.1 ιος σεμιν κνουμανε μουρου[ν δα]|[κετ αι]νι κακουν κιν... In 18.3 its presence is very dubious since it is restored and the preceding word is unclear. Morphologically, it is an *o*-stem adj. substantiated equated to Gr. μωρός 'dull, stupid' (see on it *EDG* 992). It is a parallel process to κακουν. The spelling of μμυρα 35.1 can ben explained as hypercorrect.

Orel 1997a, 446.

μουρσα (noun or adj.?)

NPhr. μουρσα 11.2 (18)

Because of its ending it seems to be a pl.neut. Since it appears in an imprecative sequence (ιος νι ουκρα|ον λατομειṛν εγḍαες μουρσạ), a PN (as Woodhouse 2006, 183 suggested) is not expected. On the other hand, translations such as those provided by Woudhuizen (2008–2009, 206) and Haas (1966, 102) are ungrounded.

Orel 1997a, 446; Woodhouse 2006, 183.

μρο see μροτις.

mroy see μρος.

μρος (noun) 'stele'?
NPhr. sg. gen. μρος 29.1 (114)
It is read on a unparalleled protasis: ιος νι [σ]εμον κν[ου]μανη κακον αββ̣ε̣|ρετ ατ νουκτον μρος σας (or μροσσας)... It looks like a thematic noun of fem. gender because it agrees with the pronoun σας. Note that the segmentation is unclear; it was analysed as a single noun μροσσας by the first editors (Brixhe and Drew-Bear 1997, 77–79); however, it is morphologically unusual and the presence of the pronoun is defensible in such a position in the light of MPhr-01 μανκα μεκας σας. Also, *imroy* has been argued by Brixhe and Drew-Bear (1997, 77) to be the same word with a prothetic *i-*. However, the context of this last word is absolutely different, and this relationship can be rejected (see its entry). In the case of μρος, it can be identified as an athematic sg. gen. or, less likely, by considering the segmentation μρο σσας (with an hypercorrected geminates), a thematic sg. dat. If the first possibility is accepted, it can be considerered a borrowing from Lyd. *mru-* 'stele' (Gusmani 1964, 168, *eDiAna* s.v. *mruw*[*aa*]-).
Brixhe and Drew-Bear 1997, 77–79.

μροτις (noun) 'corpse, dead'
MPhr. sg. nom. μροτις MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 4
NPhr. sg. dat. μροτιη 56.2 (58)
A noun inherited from PIE **mr̥-ti-* 'death' (*NIL* 488–489). On the development of its meaning, compare with Lat. *mors*, *mortis* 'death' but sometimes 'corpse' through metonymy. In MPhr-01 this word was identified by Brixhe (2004a, 19), although its context remains obscure: βλασκον κε τακρις κε λo̰ṵy̰i̯o̰ṵ μροτις λαπτα ματι αοινουν... The NPhr. occurrence is a new segmentation of the text. Indeed, the text was read as μοναν μρο τιηιον εγεσιτ γεγριμενον, where τιηιον was considered a derivative of the Phr. Zeus, *Ti-* (see Haas 1966, 67 and Lubotsky 1988, 12 fn. 3), but in light of MPhr-01 it can be understood as μοναν μροτιη ιον εγεσιτ γεγριμενον, literally 'only for the dead whom (it) carries engraved' (i.e., 'only for the dead whose names are engraved').
Brixhe 2004a, 19.

μo̰.κρος (?)
MPhr. sg. nom.? μo̰|.κρος MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 5–6
A word that has lost one central letter. It cannot be restored because of the lack of parallels and the unclear context, which render the meaning obscure: αιδομενου ματιν κισυις μo̰|.κρος υιταν παρτιας.
Brixhe 2004a, 21.

muksos (PN)
Ophr. sg. nom. *muksos* G-346
A clear thematic PN incised on a beam of Midas Mound near three other names: *nana muksos* | *si↑idos* | *ʿurunis*. It must be the same Gr. PN Μόψος ~ Μόξος attested in Myc. as *mo-qo-so* (from Cnossos, fifteenth c. BC) and *mo-qo-so-jo* (from Pylos, thirteenth–twelfth c. BC). It is also documented in ancient sources related to Anatolia: in Hitt. (in a letter of Arnuwandas I to Madduwatta, fifteenth c. BC), Hluw. *Muksasa-* (the bilingual KARATEPE I § 21) and Phoenician *mpš* (in the same inscription). All occurrences go back to a form **mokᵘso-*. Yakubovich (2015, 36–38), without mentioning the Phrygian occurrence, wonders why the Phoenician form is closer to Gr., with the regular evolution of the labialised Gr. form of the I millennium BC, while the Luw. occurrence of the same inscription shows the survival of the labialised stop, retaining the form from Mycenaean times. Either way, since the Phrygian form shows the regular evolution of this last sound and a common shift *o* > *u*, this testimony is not necessarily borrowed from Luw.
Liebhart and Brixhe 2010, 147–149.

murtan (PN)
Ophr. sg.nom. *murtan* G-226
A late graffito on a potsherd (fourth–fifth c. BC). The letters are so similar in shape to the Gr. ones that one cannot rule out that it is written in the Gr. alphabet. However, it is considered Phrygian by the editors (*CIPPh* I, 183). This word is very likely a PN in nom., whose ending is parallel to *iman*, *imenos*: **-ēn* > *-an*. Going one step further, Bayun and Orel (1988a, 198–199 and Orel 1997a, 446) considered that its origin must be found in the Gr. noun μύρτος 'myrtle'. Despite the similarity, though, this is a mere possibility.
CIPPh I, 183; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 198–199; Orel 1997a, 446.

𐤍 (*n*) – N ν

n (mark)
Ophr. *n* G-280, G-304
These graffiti incised on potsherd, composed only of one letter, seem to be merely an owner's mark, not necessarily derived from a PN.
Brixhe 2002a, 41–42, 64–65.

nạ (?)
Ophr. *nạ* W-05 a
Obscure sequence following *natimeyon*, whose segmentation is not clear, engraved on a façade.
CIPPh I, 48.

ναδροτος (adj.) 'wanting in manhood, impotent'
NPhr. sg. nom. ναδροτος 1.1 (48)
O-stem adj. in sg. nom. mas. Probably a loanword from Gr. ἀνάνδρωτος, -ον 'widowed' with a derivation in its meaning similar to ἄνανδρος, -ον 'impotent, husbandless'. This interpretation is broadly consistent with the one given by Lubotsky (1997, 122), who suggested that could be connected with Gr. ἀνανδρόομαι 'to become impotent'. The context, an imprecative apodosis, supports this: ε[..]γεντ̣ουμενος νιοισιος ναδροτος ειτου. If it is right, an apheresis must have worked here. Brixhe (1987a, 115) noted that in Gr. from Phrygia this phenomenon is more documented than in other places. Moreover, this word shows the weakness of the nasal in preconsonantal position, also common in Gr. inscriptions from Phrygia (see, e.g., Ἀδιγόνη for Ἀντιγόνη Brixhe 1987a, 34) and the loss of the vowel quantity in the use of ⟨ο⟩ for ⟨ω⟩.
Lubotsky 1997, 122.

ṇạẹ[---] (?)
Ophr. *ṇạẹ*[---] G-262
Fragmented graffito whose nature is unknown.
CIPPh I, 203.

nana (PN)
Ophr. sg. nom. *nana* G-236?
ṇạ²ṇạ²[-?-] G-195?
A-stem Lallname in sg. nom. without *s*-ending, also documented in Gr. inscriptions from the whole of Anatolia (*KPN* 346–349 §1012–13, Ναvα, Ναvας and variants). In G-236 the likely segmentation *nana v/gata*[-?-] is dubious. In G-195 there is the possibility of considering the variant *ṇạṇạ*[s].
CIPPh I, 163 and 187; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 199; Orel 1997a, 447; Liebhart and Brixhe 2009, 146–147.

ṇạṇạ[-?-] see *nana*.

†***nanavata***[-?-] see *nana* and *vata*[-?-].

natimeyon (?)
Ophr. *natimeyon* W-05a
Isolated occurrence followed by the obscure sequence *na*: *natimeyon nạ*. The word boundary is assumed here because of the presence of ⟨nn⟩. This ending can stand for *o*-stem acc. masc. or nom.-acc. neuter, if not the same sg. nom. ending as in *kuryaneyon*. The nature of the word is unknown. Note, however, the preservation of the vowel *-on*, instead of the expected *-un*. Orel's (1997, 445) segmentation *meyon* and comparison with Gr. μείων 'smaller, less' is highly speculative.
CIPPh 1, 48; Lubotsky 1988, 23–24; Brixhe 1996, 137–138; Orel 1997, 445; Woodhouse 2006, 178; Vine 2010, 347.

†***natimeyonnạ*** see *natimeyon* and *na*.

nevos (noun) 'son' or 'descendant'
Ophr. sg. nom. *nevos* B-05 l. 12
sg. acc. *neẏotạn* B-05 l. 10; *Nev⟨otan⟩* B-05 l. 12
T-stem noun inherited from PIE **nepot-* 'nephew, gradson, descendant' (*NIL* 520–524, *IEW* 764). It occurs in two imprecative apodoses of the same inscription: *nun ibey neẏotạn ṇiptiyan sirun mireyun…* and *tubnuv nevos mederitoy kovis ke ạbretoy nun oy nev⟨otan⟩*. Its meaning is supported by the presence of γόνος 'child, offspring, son' in the Gr. version of the text: μὴ βίος μὴ γόνος γίνοιτ̣[ο] 'let him have neither life nor offspring'. Although Hämmig (2013, 134–138, who identified the word; see also Simon 2014a) considered that it means 'son' in contrast with *niptiya-* 'daughter', in other languages **nepot-* commonly means 'descendant', 'grandson' or 'nephew': Lat. *nepos* 'grandson, descendant, nephew' (Catalan *nebot* 'nephew', Italian *nipote* 'grandchild'), Gr. νέποδες 'descendant', ἀνεψιός '(first-)cousin', Skt. *nápāt* 'descendant, offspring, (grand)son', OP *napā* 'grandson', OHG *neva* 'nephew', OE *nefa* 'nephew, grandson, stepson', etc. So, the meaning 'male descendant' in contrast to *niptiya-* 'female descendant' is more likely. Note that Gr. γόνος also means 'offspring, descent'. In any case, this word shows the shift **-t-s* > *-s* (see also βας, βαταν) and stands as the sole occurrence of **p* > *v* in Phr.
Hämmig 2013, 134–138, Simon 2014a.

neẏotạn see *nevos*.

†νειξα see ειξα.

νεκοινουν (noun or verb?)

MPhr. νεκοινουν MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 2

Because of the ending *-ουν*, although the word can considered an *o*-stem noun in sg. acc. **-on* or pl. gen. **-ōn*, a verb in 3pl. **-ont* cannot be ruled out. Etymologically, this word is also obscure. Brixhe (2004a, 17) suggested a possible derivative from the root **k^{u}eu̯-* 'take notice' (*LIV*^{2} 377–378, *IEW* 636–637) as Gr. ποινή 'ransom, fine, penalty, vengeance', τίνω act. 'to pay, settle, atone', med. 'to make (oneself) pay or atone, punish, avenge' and τιμή 'estimate, price, value, honour, honorary office'. However, he does not explain the form νε-. It can be equated to Lat. *nĕ-*, a variant of *nē* 'no, not' (< PIE **ne͝ı* 'id.' *LIPP* II, 511–512) in composition: *scio* 'I know', *ne-sciō* 'I do not know'. However, it is a mere possibility. Unfortunately, the context, an epitaph, does not provide useful information because it is still obscure: μανκα μεκας σας κιυιν εν κε βιλαταδεναν νεκοινουν. Lubotsky's (2017, 428) recent segmentation, νεκ οινουν (instead of νεκοινουν) has the advantage of having the same sequence in l. 4 ματια οινουν (instead of ματι αοινουν).

Brixhe 2004a, 15, 17.

νεν[υε]ρια (PN)

NPhr. sg. dat. νεν[υε]ρια 22.1 (9)

Although the sequence is damaged (δαδιτι Νεν[υε]ρια | παρτυς ουβρα), it has been restored thanks to the Gr. part of the text, where Νενυεριᾳ can be read. So, we have a fem. *a*-stem PN, probably a dat. with the loss of the second element of the original ending *-aı̯*. No exact parallels are found, but Orel (1997a, 448) has assumed a relationship with the Pisidian name Νανηρις or the Cilician Νεναρις (*KPN* 358 § 1028).

Haas 1966, 105; Lubotsky 1989a, 79; Orel 1997a, 75, 448.

ni (particle)

OPhr. *ni* P-04a
nı̯y B-05

NPhr. νι 3.1 (97), 6.1 (88), 7.1 (99), 7.3 (111), 8.1 (86), 9.1 (87), 10.1 (112), 11.2 (18), 17.1 (4b), 12.1 (121), 15.1 (120), 17.2 (3), 17.6 (119), 19.2 (129), 18.1 (4), 18.3 (6), 20.1 (63), 20.2 (128), 20.3 (62), 21.1 (42), 21.1 (43), 22.1 (9), 22.2 (118), 24.1 (40), 25.1 (115), 25.2 (126), 27.1 (92), 29.1 (114), 30.1 (39), 30.2 (68), 32.1 (93), 33.1 (28), 33.3 (127), 35.1 (25), 36.1 (26), 40.1 (12), 40.4 (102), 43.1 (69), 46.1 (53), 53.1 (76), 53.3 (109), 54.1 (108)?, 56.1 (57), 59.2 (47), 59.4 (106), 60.2 (60), 62.1 (32), 62.2 (33), 62.4 (35), 62.6 (105), 63.1 (123), 64.1 (81), 65.1 (20)

Encl. particle attached to the relative pronoun *yos* and the anaphoric τος in order to create an indefinite pronoun 'whoever'. It is also found with *ay* / αι in

order to form the disjunctive conj. *ayni* / αινι 'or' or 'if' when beginning a sentence (2.2) or a second object is added (3.1 ιος νι σεμον κνουμανε κακεν αδακετ αινι | μανκα). Compare with Pamph. καί νι + imperv. (Pamph. 3; see Brixhe 1976, 131–132). Although its origin is not at all clear, it seems close to Gr. -νε / -νι, which follow Gr. demonstratives such as Thess. ὅ-νε, τό-νε, τά-νε or Arc. sg. gen. τωνί / τῶνι (for τοῦδε), instead of the -νυ found in other forms, and in the adverb προταινί 'in front of'. It is supposed to be related to the PIE demonstrative **eno-* 'this, that' (*EDG* 1001). The Gr. variant -νι, which is phonetically closer to the Phrygian one, seems to contain the deictic **-i* and both the Phrygian *niy* / *ni* / νι and the Gr. -νι could be analysed as the zero grade **nh$_1$-i* (Prósper 1993, 470). An alternative analysis is a form **n-í* 'inside, within' (*LIPP* II, 225, 229–230). Nevertheless, the Phrygian *ni* can also represent **ne*. It is clear that the Phr- form *niy* is a variant with a glide arising before a vowel but only visible in B-05, which uses the letter yod.

Prósper 1993, 470; Brixhe 1997, 63; Orel 1997a, 448; LIPP II, 225, 229–230.

nidus (noun or adjective)
OPhr. sg. nom.? *nidus* B-05
Although its meaning is unknown, it seems to be an *o*- or *u*-stem noun or adj. in nominative singular. Its context is also obscure: *mekạ*[---]*ạsiyạ..*[?] | *nidus ạd kạliyay kạrạtụ pạnạto*.
Brixhe 2004a, 58.

νικοστρατος̣ (PN)
MPhr. sg. nom. νικοστρατος̣ MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 4
A PN clearly borrowed from Gr. Νικόστρατος, -ου. It is read in the first Phr. inscription written in the Gr. alphabet: νικοστρατος̣ κ̣λ̣ευμαχοι μιρος αιδομενου...
Brixhe 2004a, 25.

nina (PN)
OPhr. sg.nom. *nina* G-212
Written on a potsherd, this graffito contains an *a*-stem PN in nom. despite the lack of the *s*-ending. Νιν(ν)α is a common Anatolian Lallname (*KPN* 360–361 § 1040–1 and 1040–9).
Bayun and Orel 1988a, 199; Orel 1997a, 218–219 and 448–449.

νιοισιος (adj.)
NPhr. sg. nom. νιοισιος 1.1 (48)
Although the meaning of this word is unknown, the context, a clear apodosis (whose protasis is lost), shows that it must be an adjective: [---] | ε[..]γεντ̣ου-

μενος | νιοισιος ναδροτος | ειτου. Consequently, it is an *o*-stem in sg. nom. On the other hand, Haas's phonetic interpretation (1961, 79 and 1966, 97, followed by Panagl and Kowal 1983, 188) /niwisios/ was rejected by Lubotsky (1997, 122).
Lubotsky 1997, 122.

ṇiptiyan (noun) 'daughter' or 'female descendent'
OPhr. sg. acc. *ṇiptiyan* B-05
sg. dat. *niptiyạy* B-05
This *a*-stem kinship term is inherited from **nept-ih*$_2$-, derived from the PIE **nepot-* (*NIL* 520–524, see *nevos*) and means 'daughter', according to Hämmig (2013, 134–138), who identified this word. It occurs in an obscure sentence, *pator.*$^{?}$*ike*[...]*ẹ*[..] *ạndạti* | *vạy niptiyạy dạker*, and an apodosis, *nun ibey neẏotạn ṇiptiyan sirun mireyun*. Adducing some possible parallels from Hitt. and rejecting Hämmig's analysis of **-ih*$_2$ > *-iya*, Simon (2014a) considered that *niptiya-* means 'grandson' and is a secondary fem. form derived from **nept-*(*i*)*i̯o-* 'grandson'. Indeed, he considered that *neẏotạn ṇiptiyan* means 'son and grandson'. However, from a phonetic and morphological point of view, Hämmig's interpretation is easier and has good parallels in Lat. *neptis* 'granddaughter', Skt. *naptī́-* 'daughter, granddaughter', Av. *naptī-* 'granddaughter', Lith. *neptė* 'id.'. As in the case of *nevos*, the meaning of OPhr. *niptiya-* is more likely 'female descendant' than 'daughter', in comparison with its cognates in other langauges. Then, although the meaning 'daughter' cannot be refuted, the pairing *neẏotạn ṇiptiyan* 'male descendant and female descendant' can be considered emphatic. Note that the Gr. summary of this text only uses the term γόνος 'child, offspring'.
Hämmig 2013, 134–138; Simon 2014a.

niptiyạy see *ṇiptiyan*.

(†)νιτι see πεννιτι.

niẏ see *ni*.

niye[---] see *tataniyeṇ*.

niẏoy (?)
OPhr. *niẏoy* B-08; *niẏo*[*y*$^{?}$] B-01
This word follows to probable verbs: *etoves niẏo*[*y*$^{?}$] (B-01) and *epav*$^{?}$*es niẏoy* (B-08). Because of the lack of spaces (used in both inscriptions to mark word boundaries), *etoves niẏo*[*y*$^{?}$] was commonly segmented as *etovesniẏo*[.$^{?}$]. However, the recent finding of B-08 provides a good parallel to defend such word

boundary. The lack of space may show that it is a clitic word. Anyhow its nature and meaning remains unknown.
Brixhe and Vottéro 2016, 136–137.

ni[---] (?)
OPhr. *ni*[---] or [---]*in* G-325
A late broken graffito, whose *n* is similar to the Gr. Consequently, it is perhaps written in Gr. and not in the Phrygian alphabet. The text is obscure, probably a PN of the owner, but not necessarily. It is too short for any comparisons to be made. Furthermore, the writing direction is also unknown.
Brixhe 2002a, 80.

nm (owner's mark)
OPhr. *nm* G-215
An obscure sequence without parallels. Perhaps this graffito incised on a potsherd is a mere owner's mark without a clear acrophonic origin.
CIPPh 1, 175; Roller 1987a, 40; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 199.

noktoy see νουκτον.

noievos (PN)
OPhr. sg. nom.? *noievos* G-140
Written on a potsherd, it is probably an *o*-stem PN. Nevertheless, no parallel can be adduced.
CIPPh 1, 127–128; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 199; Brixhe 1991, 43; Orel 1997a, 449.

νουκτον (noun) 'violation'?
OPhr. sg. dat. *noktoy* B-06
NPhr. sg. acc. νουκτον 29.1 (114)
A clear thematic noun with an unclear meaning. While the NPhr. context is a clear apodosis, ιος νι [σ]εμον κν[ου]μανη κακον αβ̣β̣ε̣|ρετ ατ νουκτον μρος σας, the OPhr. is unclear because it is very damaged: *ḍẹṣ*[---] : *ẹventnoktoy* : *ẹmetẹtariyois* | [---]*y*. Orel (1997a, 449), who equated to Gr. νύξ, νυκτός 'night' is not congruent with the context. Nevertheless, Brixhe (1996, 133–134) suggested a similar origin to Gr. νύσσω (Att. νύττω) 'to thrust, sting, pierce', a verb with no clear origin (see *DELG* 760 and *EDG* 1028) but a very pertinent meaning, 'violation, infringement' (*uel sim.*). Anyhow, a relation of Phr. *nokto-* with PIE **neḱ-* 'to perish, disappear' (*LIV*^{2} 451–452, attested in Skt. *naśyati* 'to be lost, perish' and in the Lat. causative *noceo* 'to do harm, inflict injury, do hurt to') seems more plausible.
Brixhe 1996, 133–134; Brixhe and Drew-Bear 1997, 78; Orel 1997a, 449; Brixhe 2004a, 72–73.

νου. (?)
NPhr. νου. 18.3 (6)
This sequence is obscure due to Ramsay's problematic reading (1887, 389). However, since it appears in an imprecative protasis, [ιο]ς νι σεμουν κνουμανε ϰ̣[ακον] αββερετ ατ νου. μου[ρου]ν, as well as νουκτον (29.1 = 114), they are probably the same word. However, this cannot be corroborated because the inscription is lost.

nun (adverb) 'now, then'
OPhr. *nun* B-05 (×2)
A particle inherited from PIE **nu*, **nuH*, **num* 'now', also documented in Gr. νυ, νῦν, Skt. *nú*, *nū́*, *nūn-ám*, Lat. *num*, *nunc*, OHG *nūn*, Lithuanian *nū*, *nù*, Hitt. *nu*, etc. (see *LIPP* II, 578–579). The Phrygian form presents the same addition as the Gr. one (*EDG* 1025), either **-m* (Lat. *num*) or **-n* (Skt. *nūn-ám*). The contexts of the two occurrences of this word are two variants of an apodosis: *mekạṣ key koṿis ạbretoy nun ibey neṿotạn ṇiptiyan sirun mireyun* and *kovis ke ạbretoy nun oy nev⟨otan⟩*.
Neumann 1997, 24; Orel 1997a, 449; Brixhe 2004a, 62; Hämmig 2013, 144; LIPP II, 579.

n[---]**[1]** (?)
OPhr. *n*[---] P-107
Because of the interpunction used in this graffito, it is surely the beginning of a word: [---].*k.ui* ⋮ *n*[---]. However, its nature and meaning remain unknown due to its fragmentation.
CIPPh I, 250–251.

ṇ[---]**[2]** (?)
OPhr. *ṇ*[---] or [---]*ṇ* G-288
A broken graffito preserving an isolated letter that could be followed by others. However, its Phrygian nature is not certain, nor are its lexical category or writing direction.
Brixhe 2002a, 48–49.

Ξ ξ

ξευνε (PN)
NPhr. sg. acc. [ξ]ευναν 41.3 (31)?
sg. dat. ξευνε 16.1 (116), 43.1 (69); ξευνη 2.1 (15); ξευνεοι 41.3 (31)
This word has been considered a PN since it is attested in Gr. inscriptions from Phrygia and Galatia (*KPN* 368 § 1063; see also Drew-Bear and Naour 1990, 1963; perhaps also in the ethnic Ξευναγονηνός, Drew-Bear 1978, 30 and Şahin 2007, 86 no. 56). However, Gr. Ξευνα / Ξευνη does not follow the clear Phrygian *n*-stem. Hämmig (fthc. a) has recently suggested that it is in fact a funerary formula. It is true that in most instances it occurs near architectural terms: 16.1 Ξ̣ευνε ιοσος κε δετοῠ [υ]|ψοδ̣αν κε τ̣ᾰν σαυναμαν | κ̣νο̣υμαν κ' ακροδμαν κε λο̣|δ̣ιμον μειομον ριδιτι..., 43.1 ειν̣ε̣̣μ|δους, ξευ|νε πειρ α|ρεοπαδε|ν ατω κ̣ῠ̣ο̣υ|μαν..., 40.3 ας σεμουν κνουμαν' αδιθεραικ | ξευνεοι αδικεσειαν..., 2.1 Ξευνη ταν ειξα υψο|δαν προτυς σ[ε]σταμ|ε̣̣ναν μανκαν... However, these contexts must be better explained if we are to rule out the strong parallel in Gr. as a PN.
Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 169; Sowa 2008, 36; Brixhe 2013, 67.

ξευνεοι and ξευνη see ξευνε.

O (*o*) – O ο

οαν see *va*.

†οανο see *va* and *venavtun*.

[-?-]***obata***$^{?}$***m***$^{?}$**..**[-?-] (?)
OPhr. [-?-]*obata*$^{?}$*m*$^{?}$..[-?-] G-221
An obscure sequence in a misunderstood graffito incised on a potsherd: [-?-]*aratapạ*[-?-] | [-?-]*obatam*..[-?-] | [---]. Bayun and Orel's segmentation *o bata m* (1988a, 196, also in Orel 1997a, 223, 419) assumes that it is the sg. nom. of the sg. acc. *batan* (which they considered a common noun). However, such an assumption is no longer defensible, since we know that βας is sg. nom. of *batan* and not an *a*-stem.
CIPPh I, 178–179; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 196; Orel 1997a, 222–223, 419.

οδ[---] and ***odeketoy*** see αδδακετ.

ovevin (pron.) 'his own'?
OPhr. *ovevin* W-01b
A pronominal complex that agrees with *onoman* in W-01b in sg. acc.: *yos esai꞉t materey eveteksetę̇ʔy ovevin onoman da⅄et*… It has therefore been understood to have a meaning related to possession. Recently, Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 191) considered it a compound, whose second part *-vin* goes back to a PIE form **su̯in* (*LIPP* II, 751–754), the possessive pronoun also attested in fem. as *va*, ουα. Its ending is the same as found in *kin* or *sin*. By contrast, *ove-* remains unclear (Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1829 suggested a conjunction 'or').
Haas 1966, 195–197; Neroznak 1978, 76; Lubotsky 1988, 21; Janda 1997, 273; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 191; LIPP II, 754; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1829.

οι see ιοι.

οινις (?)
OPhr. οινις 16.1 (116)
An obscure, unparalleled sequence. It is read in a possible but not clear imprecative apodosis: ις κε εγ̣ | τοιϛινιοι κνουμαν τιαν τε[-]|[-]μαρδ̣ι ιδετοι οινις. Brixhe and Neumann (1985, 183) suggested that we may be dealing with two words. However, the hypothetical presence of νι is not expected here.
Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 183.

οκαυγοσι see οκκαυγοι.

okiṃąk̡i̯ą[---] (?)
OPhr. *okiṃąk̡i̯ą*[---] B-05
An obscure word with no known relationship. Unfortunately, its context is not clear: *ą̣triyąs dą̣voi okiṃąk̡i̯ą*[---] | *vrekąn vitą̣rą̣n*… Its segmentation, meaning and function remain unknown.
Brixhe 2004a, 55; Hämmig 2013, 142.

o̧k̡irterk̡o̧[..]. (?)
OPhr. *o̧k̡irterk̡o̧*[..]. P-04 a
An obscure word documented in an imprecative sequence without parallels: *o̧k̡irterk̡o̧*[..]. *tekmoŗ* | *ot*.[....]*seti vebru*. Its segmentation, like the other aspects of this sequence, remains unclear.

ⲟⲕⲕⲁⲩⲅⲟⲓ (noun or adjective?)
NPhr. pl. dat.? ⲟⲕⲁⲩⲅⲟⲥⲓ 11.2 (18)
pl. nom.? ⲟⲕⲕⲁⲩⲅⲟⲓ 43.1 (69)
A clear thematic word. Both occurrences are read in obscure contexts, perhaps where the details related to the building of the monument are mentioned: 11.2 ⲕⲛⲟⲩⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲓ ⲇⲉⲁ̣ⲇ̣ⲁ̣ ⲙⲁⲛⲕⲁ|ⲛ ⲙ̣ⲓⲙⲟⲅⲁⲇⲓⲥ ⲁⲕⲉ̣ⲛⲓⲕⲟⲩ ⲟⲕⲁⲩⲅⲟⲥⲓ | ⲙ̣ⲓⲇⲁⲕⲁⲥ; 43.1 ⲁⲗⲉⲛⲡ|ⲁ̣ⲧⲏⲥ ⲇⲉⲟⲩⲥ̣|ⲓⲁⲥ ⲙ̣ⲁ̣ⲛⲉⲓⲥ | ⲇⲁⲇⲱⲛ ⲕⲉ | ⲟⲕⲕⲁⲩⲅⲟⲓ | ⲟⲩⲣⲛ̣ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲉⲛ. The hesitation ⟨kk⟩ ~ ⟨k⟩ can be interpreted as the result of the simplification of the geminates, but until the etymology has been established we cannot rule out a hypercorrection. Another problem is the ending -ⲟⲥⲓ, which also appears in [ⲍⲉⲙ]ⲉⲗⲱⲥⲓ, instead of the common -ⲱⲥ (see ⲇⲉⲱⲥ, ⲍⲉⲙⲉⲗⲱⲥ). Does it reflect the Gr. influence? Orel's doubtful interpretation of this word as "eye-witness" (1997a, 449–450) is both phonetically and semantically impossible.
Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 177; Orel 1997a, 449–450.

[-?-]***olgiavos*** (?)
OPhr. [-?-]*olʲgʲiavos* G-150 a
A problematic graffito on a potsherd with some different reading possibilities: [-?-]*olgiavos* (preferred by CIPPh 1, 137), [-?-]*oɣgiavos*, [-?-]*oɣliavos* (preferred by Bayun and Orel 1988a, 195 and Orel 1997a, 194). The only parallel adduced in order to favour one reading is the Gr. name Ὀιλεύς (Bayun and Orel 1988a, 195 and Orel 1997a, 194). However, this is documented only once, doubtfully, in the whole of Anatolia (the Gr. inscription from Halicarnassus *MDAI*[*A*] 1890, 252 no. 2) and the hesitation in the use of yod is very uncommon (it is only documented in the isolated spelling *k*↑*ianaveyos* M-02, an inscription with other problems such as *bba* for *baba*, see Lubotsky 1993b, 95). The pithos on which the graffito is written also bears another anthroponym (*asakas*), an illegible sequence and its capacity mark.
CIPPh 1, 135–137; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 195; Orel 1997a, 194.

o̰lo̰itoo̰ (noun?)
OPhr. *o̰lo̰itoo̰* P-04 c
The only obscure word in a simple sentence: *iman o̰lo̰itoo̰* | *ḛda̰ḛ*[*s*] *mekas*. Since it follows the anthroponym *iman*, it could be interpreted as patronym or similar. However, from a morphological perspective its *-o* ending is unusual, it has no parallels and the reading is doubtful.
CIPPh 1, 239–240.

ομαστα (adj.)
MPhr. ομαστα MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 8
Read in an imprecative apodosis of a funerary stele: ιος κοροαν δετοṿ̣ | ʂo̭ṿ̣n ομαστα ομνισιτου≠ς. According to Brixhe (2004a, 24), it is a verbal adj. featuring the suffix *-*te*/*o*- and substantiated such as *bilata* or *lapta*. Its meaning, as well as its etymology, is unknown, but it is perhaps related to *omnisit*. It could be analysed as either *$\bar{a}$-stem dat. (< *-*aį*, like σα instead of σαι in the same inscription) or pl. acc. neuter.
Brixhe 2004a, 24; Sowa 2007a, 91 (= 2008, 115).

†ομνισιτ and ομνισιτου see *umniṣet*.

ομουσασαι (noun?)
NPhr. ομουσας 16.1 (116)
From a descriptive part of a funerary stele: κναικο εκατηας | o̭m̭o̭υσασαι ποσεκανες ακα [.?]|ḍ̣εο ποκ γονιον… This segmentation was given by Brixhe and Neumann (1985, 175, followed by Orel 1997a, 450 and TITUS), who considered it a possible word in agreement in dat. with the previous word εκατηας. Nothing is known about its meaning or origin.
Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 175; Orel 1997a, 450.

ονομα see *onoman*.

onoman (noun) 'name'
OPhr. sg. nom.-acc. *onoman* W-01b
NPhr. ονομα[-?-] 37.2 (30)
The OPhr. form is attested in a clear imprecative apodosis: *yos esai≠t materey eveteksetey ovevin onoman da*ϒ*et*… The second context, however, engraved on a door-stele, is less clear because of the gaps: [---]ει κ' ονομα | [---]. This *n*-stem neuter noun is clearly related to *$h_3$néh$_3$-m̥* 'name' (Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 186 = 2018, 1822), as well as Gr. ὄνομα 'id.' and Arm. *anun* 'id.'. The Phr. form does not provide additional information on the complicated origin of this word, since it is an exact cognate of Gr. ὄνομα. Although the Gr., Arm. and Phr. forms point to *$h_3$nh$_3$-m̥-*, the PIE is reconstructed as *$h_3$néh$_3$-m̥* by Kloekhorst inlight of HLuw. *álaman-* 'name' (2008, 518–519) but as *h_1nḗh$_3$-m̥* by Neri (2005), who focuses on forms such as Dor. and Lacon., in Ἐνυμα- found in PNs (see OPhr. *enumạ̣ạ̣y*[-?-] G-321) and Hitt. *lāman* 'name' (on it see Kloekhorst 2008, 518). In any case, ονομα|[-?-] (37.2) is doubtful because it appears at the end of the line but the beginning of the next line is lost. The other alleged occurrences, ονομανιας and ονομανιαις (both 16.1), seem to be derivatives of this word.

Neronak 1978, 76; CIPPh I, 40–41; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 127; Neumann 1988, 11; Janda 1997, 273; Orel 1997a, 450; Matzinger 2005, 378; Panagl 2005, 490; Sowa 2005, 613; Morante Mediavilla 2006, 332; Woodhouse 2006, 161 fn. 10; Kloekhorst 2008, 518–519; Woudhuizen 2008–2009, 188 § 109; EDG 1084–1085; de Lamberterie 2013, 33–34; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 186; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1822.

ονομανιας (noun)
NPhr. pl. dat. ονομανιας 16.1 (116) l. 5
pl. acc. ονομανιαις 16.1 (116) l. 10
Obscure *a*-stem derivative from *onoman* through the suffix *-i̯o-*. The form ονομανιας must be the pl. dat. < *-*āi̯s* because of the presence of the preposition με, while ονομανιαις could be its pl. acc. < *-*ans*. However, the etymological form of the pl.dat. cannot be ruled out because the context is obscure: l. 4–6 ριδιτι ται τοᾳ μᾳ ǫ̣ỵομανιας εναρκε ερμω[λ]ᾳǫ̣ κναικο⟨ς⟩ εκατηας… and l. 9–11 πινκε τας δ̣[α?]ᾳ̣κερης ονομανιαις μ̣ιρου ικ[.] ᾳ̣κναικαν εδαες…
CIPPh I, 173, 178, 179.

ονομανιαις see ονομανιας.

ονουεια (?)
NPhr. ονουεια 43.1 (69)
Obscure sequence read on a funerary stele. Its segmentation is highly doubtful, as is its reading. Recently, Hämmig (fthc. a) suggested the reading Σ?|ΙΟΝΟΥ-Σ?Ι?Ą?.
Hämmig fthc. a.

οουιτετου (verb) 'find'
NPhr. 3sg. imp. οουιτετου 4.1 (2)
A verb read in an imprecative apodosis: υκε ακαλα οουιτετου ουα. It is likely a cognate of Gr. ἰδέτω, from εἶδον 'to see, perceive, behold', with a preverb *o-* (Brixhe 1997, 57; also in *LIPP* II, 324). The origin of this verb must be found in the PIE root **u̯ei̯d-* 'behold, see' (*LIV*² 665–667, IEW 1125–1127), Lat. *uideō* 'to see', OCS *vědě* 'to know', Arm. *gitem* 'to know', Go. *wait* 'I know', Skt. *véda* 'I know'. The alternative given by Brixhe, a theme **u̯it-*, does not fit any known Indo-European form (as he admits, 1997, 75).
Haas 1966, 209; Brixhe 1979a, 190–192; Georgiev 1981, 131; Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 181; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 142; Brixhe 1997, 57; Orel 1997a, 60, 468; Brixhe 2004a, 21; Woodhouse 2006, 163–164; LIPP II, 324.

οπαρικο (?)
NPhr. οπαρικο 16.1 (116)
An obscure sequence without parallels. Its context is an imprecise imprecative protasis: ις αργμενα[.] | ọ̣παρικο οαν οεαυται. Brixhe and Neumann (1985, 181) suggested the possibility of a word bearing the same preverb *o-* documented in οουιτετου or οπ- in οπεσταμεναν.
Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 181.

οπεσταμεναν (perfect participle) 'erected'
NPhr. part. perf. sg. acc. fem. οπεσταμε|ναν 22.1 (9)
Perfect participle sg. acc. fem. (in agreement with μ⟨α⟩νκαν in its sole occurrence) of a verb derived from **steh$_2$-* 'to stand' (*LIV*^{2} 590–592, *IEW* 1004–1008) with reduplicated root **se-stā-*, as well as in Gr. ἔσταμεν, and the preverb οπ- (from PIE **h$_1$opi* 'close upon, at, behind' *LIPP* II, 251, e.g., Gr. ὄπισθεν '(from) behind, at the back, after[wards]', Lat. *ob-stāre* 'to stand before or against any thing'). This preverb may also occur in *oporokitis.*?.
Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 192; LIPP II, 251; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1828.

opito (verb?)
OPhr. 3sg. impv. act.? *opito* B-01
According to Lubotsky (1988, 22), a verb third singular imperative. This is very likely since it appears in a curse: *ekey dạ*[*b*]*ati opito* [*k*]*ey oy ev*[*e*]*m*[*e*]*mesmeneya anato* (*-?*)... However, this interpretation is far from certain and no meaning has been suggested.
Lubotsky 1988, 22; Lubotsky 1993b, 97.

oporokitis.? (noun or adj.?)
OPhr. *oporokitis.*? G-02 b
Read in an imprecative protasis: *ios oporokitis.*? | *kakoioitov podaskai*?. If *kakoioi* is the verb of the protasis (as it appears to be, according to Kloekhorst 2015, 116–117), *oporokitis.*? must be a noun. Perhaps the beginning is the preverb οπ- documented in οπεσταμεναν 22.1 (from PIE **h$_1$opi* 'close upon, at, behind' *LIPP* II, 251; see, e.g., Gr. ὄπισθεν '[from] behind, at the back, after[wards]'). Nevertheless, nothing can be concluded about *-orokitis.*? for now. It is unclear whether the last unreadable stroke is accidental or part of a letter. In the first case, *oporokitis* could be an *i*-stem sg. nom. (adj.?) in agreement with *ios*. Orel's segmentation *op oro kiti sị* is unfounded (Orel 1997a, 158–160).
Neroznak 1978, 96; CIPPh I, 87; Orel 1997a, 158–160; Lubotsky 2004, 232; Kloekhorst 2015, 116–117; LIPP II, 324.

ορ (?)
NPhr. ορ 12.1 (121)
It is found only once in a well-known formula διως ορ ζεμ̣[ελ]ῳς τιττετιχμενος [ειτου]. According to Brixhe and Drew-Bear (1997, 95), it is the result of "un lapsus du graveur" originated in the presence of the previous [αδδ]|ᾳκετορ. Lubotsky (1998, 417), however, neither marks this error nor offers any explanation.
Brixhe and Drew-Bear 1997, 95; Lubotsky 1998, 417.

ορβουν (noun?) 'orphan'?
NPhr. sg. acc. ορβουν 59.3 (79)
An unparalleled word read in a very fragmented imprecative protasis: [αββ]ερε-τορ | [-----]ε̣μερη | [---]ῠ̣ ορβουν | [----]. Orel (1997a, 277, 451) suggested that it could be equated to Gr. ὀρφανός 'orphan'. This is not impossible, since a basic form *h_3orb^h-*o*- has been considered in PIE in light, e.g., of Arm. *orb*, *-oy* 'orphan' and Lat. *orbus* 'orphaned, bereft' (*EDG* 1113–1114). However, the precariously conserved context compels us to be cautious with this identification.
Orel 1997a, 277, 451.

ordoineten (noun)
OPhr. *ordoineten* B-07
According to Brixhe (2004a, 84), an *e*-stem noun in sg. acc. Its meaning, like its etymology, has yet to be identified. It agrees with the adj. *umnotan* in a relative clause: *is yos tiv*[.|.?]*n ke devu̯n̥* k(*e*) *umnotan ordoineten*.
Brixhe 2004a, 84.

ορομα see κορομα.

ορουαν (noun) 'keeper, protector'
NPhr. sg. nom. ορου|αν 1.1 (48)
sg. acc. ορουεναν 20.2 (128)
sg. gen. ορουενος 59.4 (106)
An *n*-stem hysterokinetic noun. Lubotsky (1997, 127–128) analysed this word as **sor̥u̯ēn*, equated to Gr. οὖρος 'watcher, guard(ian)', also found, e.g., in Att. ὅρος 'border, boundary' and Myc. *wo-wo* /worwos/ '(a) guarding', 'thing being guarded' or 'place for guard(s)' (see Lane 2012). Then, Phryg. **sor̥u̯ēn* must be a secondary inflection after the thematic form **sor-u̯ó-* (preserved in Gr.), derived from the PIE verbal root **ser-* 'to bind, to tie together, thread' (*LIV*^{2} 534, *IEW* 910). Vine's objections to his proposal are not relevant, since he is convinced that PIE **s-* remains in NPhr., interpreting it as a Gr. borrowing. The meaning has been identified in the light of its equivalence with Gr. πατήρ in the

quasi-bilingual inscription 1.1: compare δουμε κε οι ουεβαν αδδακετ ορου|αν with παρεθέμην τὸ μνημεῖον τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις θεοῖς κὲ τῇ κώμῃ ταυθ' ὁ πατὴρ Ἀσκληπιός. Note that here πατήρ seems to be a religious term (in Mithraism, it is a title used by priests). Moreover, in the other two inscriptions it occurs as the epiklesis of Zeus, 21.6 ας βαταν ορουεναν κε and 59.4 γεγρειμενον κ' εγεδου ορουενος ουτον. Compare this last occurence with 62.3 γεγρειμεναν εγεδου τιος ουταν.
Lubotsky 1997, 127–128; Drew-Bear, Lubotsky and Üyümez 2008, 115; Vine 2010, 344–345; Sowa 2012; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 183, 185; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1821, 1824.

ορουεναν and ορουενος see ορουαν.

oskạvos (?)
OPhr. *oskạvos* B-05 l. 8
The context is an imprecative protasis: *yos niy ạrt sin≈t imenạn kạkạ oskạvos kạkey*. Following Hämmig's suggestion (2013, 147–148), it could be a masc. sg. nom. perfect participle in *-*u̯o-*, which seems to agree which the pronoun *yos*, meaning something like 'to intend'. This would explain *kaka* as its object. Nevertheless, neither the origin nor the precise meaning is known and the presence of *-vo-* instead of a simplified *-o-* needs to be explained.
Neumann 1997; Brixhe 2004a, 60; Hämmig 2013, 147–148.

***o²ss*[-?-]** (?)
OPhr. *o²ss*[-?-] or [-?-]*sso²* G-248
An obscure graffito incised on a potsherd. Due to the separation of the letters, they could be separated monograms; nevertheless, *CIPPh* (I, 194–195) assumed that they are the beginning or the ending of a word. Only three letters remain, but the original inscription may have had more. Roller 1987a, 38 (who read *r s s*) considered it an owner's mark.
CIPPh I, 194–195; Roller 1987a, 38.

οτ (prep.) (?)
NPhr. οτ 11.2 (18)?
A possible preposition found in 11.2 ματαρ ευγεξαρναι̣ κ' οτ ατι̣αμα κνουμεν ταν ε|[.]τας ται κολταμανει... However, the segmentation and the reading here are not clear and the case that this preposition governs is unknown (see the problematic ατεαμας). In addition, it seems to occur as a preverb in *odeketoy* B-07 (see αδδακετ) and οττιττετικμενος 65.4 (124), and perhaps also in P-04 a *ot*.[....]*seti* and 37.2 οδ[δακετ].
Brixhe 1997, 57; LIPP II, 323–324.

otekonov (?)
Ophr. *otekonov* B-01
The context of this unexplained word is too obscure to shed light on its meaning: *kavarmoy̯un matar otekonov* (*-?*) | *kesiti*…
Lubotsky 1993b, 94; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 184; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1819.

otu (?)
OPhr. *o̰tu*[-?-] T-03 a I or *o̰tu*|[*v*]*oi* T-03aI + T- 03b?
otu P-04a or *otuvoi* P-04a?
The beginning of this word is given by the interpunction in T-03aI, but it may be incomplete. Its nature and its meaning are unknown, and the context does not offer additional information. Brixhe (1991, 38) suggested that this text was originally followed by T-03b, so that the word could be read as *o̰tu*|[*v*]*oi*, attested in P-04a *otuvoi*. However, he also assumes that it could be a complete word (following Haas 1966, 180): a masc. PN in sg. nom. without the ending *-s*, a variant of Ὄτυς, the name of the last ruler of Paphlagonia according to X. *HG* 4.1 (also in Brixhe 2004a, 101–102; see Avram 2018, 71–77). The same possibility is given to *otu* P-04a: *otu voi vetei etlnaie*. On the other hand, this last occurrence has been also segmented as *otuvoi*, a thematic sg. dat. Since *vetei* is equated to Gr. ϝέτος, ἔτος 'year', *otuvoi* has often been identified as the numeral eight, after Meister (1911, 22). According to this interpretation, *otuvoi vetei* means 'in the eighth year'. The presence of this suggested numeral is interpreted as its date 'in the eighth year'. However, phonetically it implies the shift PIE **-ḱt-* > Phr. *-tt-*, since this number is reconstructed as **h₃eḱtō* or **h₃eḱteh₃*. Moreover, another possibility put forward by Haas (1938, 132, similar to Brixhe's suggestion) is the reading *otu voi vetei*, where *otu* is a PN. According to this segmentation, *voi* is the sg. dat. masc. of the poss. pronoun **su̯-* (see *va*), which agrees with *vetei*. Following this interpretation, the meaning would be something like 'Otus to his *Vetei*'.
Meister 1911, 22; Haas 1938, 132; Neroznak 1978, 82; CIPPh I, 237–238; Brixhe 1991, 38; Orel 1997a, 451; Brixhe 2004a, 101–102; Avram 2018, 71–77.

otuvoi see *otu*.

ot.[....]***seti*** (verb?)
OPhr. 3sg. subj. *ot.*[....]*seti* P-04 a
A damaged word occurring in a curse: *ios ni a̰ḳenan egeseti* | *o̰ḳirterḳo̰*[..]. *tekmo̰r* | *ot.*[....]*seti vebru*. Despite the gap, such a beginning and the ending *-seti* show that it is likely a verb. If this is the case, the beginning could be the preverb *o-* (< PIE **h₂o*, *LIPP* II, 323–324), as in *odeketoy*.
CIPPh I, 238.

ουα and ουαν see *va*.

ουανακταν see *vanaktei*.

ουβρα see *vebraṣ*.

ουεβα and ουεβαν See *veban*.

ουεβρα see *vebraṣ*.

ουεκρω (noun) 'father-in-law'
NPhr. dat. sg. [ο]ṿεκρω 43.1 (69)
It has been interpreted as an *o*-stem sg. dat. meaning 'father-in-law' by Orel (1997a, 346, 467), going back to PIE **su̯ekrúH-* 'mother-in-law' (*NIL* 672–675, *IEW* 1043–1044), as Lat. *socrus* 'mother-in-law' (also 'father-in-law') and *socer* 'father-in-law', Gr. ἑκυρός 'id.', Sk. *śváśura* 'id.', etc. If this is correct, it seems to agree with the following PN δαδωνε in sg. dat.: αδεν⟨π⟩ατω κ̣ṿ̣υμαν [ο]ṿεκρω δαδωνει ονουειᾳ̣ ειροι... 'Adenpates ... this tomb for his father-in-law Dadon...'. Perhaps [ο]ṿεκρω is related to ουκρα|ον as Haas (1969, 85–86) suggested.
Orel 1997a, 346, 467.

ουελας (noun) 'relatives'?
NPhr. ουελας 9.1 (87), 15.1 (120)
According to Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 189 = 2018, 1826), this is an *a*-stem in pl.nom. inherited from PIE **su̯el-eh$_2$-es* and likely means 'relatives'. An alternative has recently been proposed by Hämmig (fthc. a), who segments the word as ουελασκετου 9.1 (87) and ουελασκοννου 15.1 (120) and considers it a verb in 3sg. and 3pl. respectively. She also read in 21.1 (42) the form ουελασκοννου, traditionally read as κε [δ]ε[ω]ς με κοννου. Both forms occur in a clear apodosis: 9.1 α τι αδειτου ṿ̣υελ̣ας κε | του κε ισνου αστοι παρτης and 15.1 ις τιε τι|[ττετικ]μ̣ε̣ṿ̣ος ειτυ ουελας κοννου κ' ηνκ|[---].
Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 189; Hämmig fthc. a; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1826.

ουελασκετου and ουελασκοννου see ουελας and κοννου.

ουεναουιας (PN)
NPhr. sg. gen. ουεναουιας 6.1 (88)
In this *a*-stem fem. PN, the digraph ⟨ου⟩ denotes /w/, so we must read /wenawias/. This occurrence specifies to whom the tomb was erected: ιος | νι σεμουν κνουμανει κακε | αδδακετ αωρω ουεναουιας. It is also attested in the Gr. text of the

same inscription, where it appears as Οὐεναουιη (sg. dat., see *KPN* 396 § 1153). Dressler (1964; see also Brixhe 2013, 67–68) suggested that it is a Luwian PN in *-wiya*, although the first element remains unclear (see § 4.6.2.2).
KPN 396 § 1153–2 and § 1153–3; Orel 1997a, 108, 467; Brixhe 2013, 67–68; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 189; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1825.

ουκρα see ουκρ|ον and *vebras*.

ουκραον (adj.)
NPhr. ουκρα|ον 11.2 (18) l. 6–7
Obscure word read in an imprecative protasis. It seems to agree with λατομειṛν in sg. acc.: ιος νι ουκρα|ον λατομειṛν εγ̣δαες μουρσα̣. Consequently, it is probably an *o*-stem masculine adjective. Haas (1969, 85–86), however, analysed it as *oukra-i̯o-*, an adjective derived from the noun for 'mother-in-law', in light of ουεκρω (43.1 = 69) and ουκρα (as he and Lubotsky in *TITUS* read 22.1 = 9 ουβρα; see *vebras*).
Haas 1969, 85–86.

ουρανιον (adj.) 'heavenly'
NPhr. masc. sg. acc. ουρανιον 6.1 (88)
This thematic adj. occurs as an epithet of διουνσιν: πουρ ουανακταν κε ουρανιον ιστ?εικετ διουνσιν. Its origin is ambiguous, and although it can be considered a Gr. borrowing from οὐράνιος 'id.', one cannot rule the possibility that it is an inherited word going back to PIE **u̯ors-* (*EDG* 1128) because the absence of the initial **u̯-* reconstructed for the Gr. form also drops in Phrygian before the vowel /o/. Nevertheless, the etymology of Gr. οὐρανός 'heaven' is not at all clear (see *DELG* 838–839 and *EDG* 1128) and a compensatory lengthening *-V*rs-* > -V̄*r-* is not identified in Phr., hence it is more likely a borrowing from Gr.
Orel 1997a, 111 and 465; Brixhe 2002a, 62; Lubotsky 2004, 234; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 193; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 193.

ουρνουσαεν (verb?)
NPhr. 3pl. aor.? ουρνουσαεν 43.1 (69)
Although its reading remains disputed (Hämmig fthc. a has recently read it as ουρ[..]υσαεν), the isolated ending could reveal that it is a verb in 3pl. aor., parallel to singular εδαες: μα̣νεις | δαδων κε | οκκαυγοι | ουρṇουσαε|ν. Its position at the end of a sentence and the presence of several possible subjects make this suggestion more likely. However, neither the meaning nor the origin are known.
Hämmig fthc. a.

†ουϛ see σεμουν.

ουταν (noun) 'punishment, word, spell'?
NPhr. acc. sg. ουταν 53.1 (76), 54.1 (108), 60.2 (60), 62.1 (32), 62.2 (33), 62.3 (34), 62.5 (36), 62.6 (105); ου⟨τ⟩αν 60.1 (59)
acc. sg. ουτον 59.4 (106)
Noun commonly attested as an *a*-stem fem. ουταν but identified on one occasion as the *o*-stem masculine ουτον. Its context, an imprecative apodosis, always reads as follows: γεγειμεναν εγεδου τιος ουταν 'let him have the written punishment of Zeus'. It often agrees with γεγρειμεναν 'written', but in one case the variant ουτον agrees with the masculine form γεγρειμενον. Orel (1997a, 465) suggested that it is related to Gr. οὐτάω 'to harm', a word both 'morphologically and etymologically' unclear according to *EDG* (1131–32). However, it is easier to consider the Phr. word a derivative from the verbal root **u̯eth₂-* 'to say' (*LIV*² 694–695) attested in Lat. *uetō* 'forbid, oppose, veto', MWe. *dy-wed-* 'to say', Hitt. *uttar* / *uddan-* 'word, speech' and CLuw. *utar* / *utn-* (n.) 'word, spell' (an interpretation that is not assured; see Kloekhorst 2008, 932–933). Bayun and Orel (1989, 32) considered it an Anatolian borrowing. Nevertheless, neither the Hitt. nor the Luw. inflection of this word is a good fit as the origin of this Phr. *a*-stem noun. Consequently, it can be explained as a secondary *a*-stem inflection developed from the oblique cases of the PIE noun **u̯éth₂-r*, **uth₂-én-s* (as Kloekhorst 2008, 932–933 reconstructs).
Bayun and Orel 1989, 32; Orel 1997a, 465.

ουτον see ουταν.

oy see ιοι.

†***oynev*** see ιοι and *nevos*.

oyvos (?)
OPhr. *oyvos* B-01
An obscure word read in an unclear sequence: *kesiti oyvos aey apaktneni*... Since even the segmentation is disputed (Brixhe 199, 131 prefers a segmentation *oy vos*), interpretations such as the one proposed by Orel (1997a, 145, 444), who equated it to Gr. οἶος 'alone', are very uncertain.
Orel 1997a, 145, 444.

𐎐 (*p*) – Π π

pa (PN)
OPhr. *pa* G-162, G-258, G-310, [-?-]*p̣a̧* G-271
This sequence, which must be a PN, can be interpreted as either an abbreviation or a complete name (see *KPN* 419 § 1213–1 Πας, from Isauria). If the second case is accurate, it is a monosyllabic Lallname in the nominative without the ending *-s*, similar to Βα, a variant of Βας. Perhaps both scenarios are represented in these occurrences. On the other hand, G-162 could be read as *ap* and G-271 could have more letters at the beginning.
CIPPh I, 144–145, 200, 209; Roller 1987a, 46; Brixhe 2002a, 68–69.

pakray (noun?)
OPhr. sg. dat. *pakray* B-01 l. 9
Bayun and Orel (1988a, 189 and later Orel 1997a, 452) considered this word a borrowing from a Semitic language meaning 'religious assembly' (Akkadian *puḫru* 'assembly, gathering of clan or family', Ugaritic *pḫr* 'assembly, cluster, group'), so an *a*-stem in the sg. dat., but this part of the inscription (*apaktneni* | *pakray evkobeyan epaktoy*) is not well understood. Consequently, this identification should be viewed sceptically, although no alternative is given. In any case, it is a probable *a*-stem noun in the sg. dat.
Neroznak 1978, 91; Bayun and Orel 1989a, 188; Lubotsky 1993, 97; Orel 1997a, 452; Bernd-Ersöz 2006, 85–86.

pạnạto (?)
OPhr. *pạnạto* B-05 l. 6
An obscure word that Neuman (1997, 21–22) related to *pạntạ*. However, adopting Brixhe's sceptical view (2004a, 58), this interpretation is very unlikely, since the second *a* is difficult to account for in its paradigm. In addition, the context remains obscure: *nidus ạd kạliyay kạrạtụ pạnạto ạndopopostois kḷạm²iv*[.. ?]. Therefore, this word is unexplained.
Neumann 1997, 21–22; Brixhe 2004a, 58.

panta (adjective) 'whole, all, every'
OPhr. *pạntạ* B-05 l.
MPhr. masc. nom. pl.? παντης MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 7
NPhr. neut. pl. nom-acc. παντα 62.4 (35)
Adjective related to PIE **ph₂-ent-* 'all', perhaps a Gr. borrowing according to Ligorio and Lubotsky (2018, 1822). It seems to be attested in masc. pl. nom.-acc. παντης /pantes/ (PIE < **ph₂-ent-es*). However, the context remains obscure: παρ-

τιας πλαδε πορ κοροος ..|ṛṇṣ παντης πεννιτι... It also appears in the neut. pl. nom.-acc. παντα (PIE < **ph₂-ent-h₂*, Greek πᾶς 'all, every, whole', ToAB *pont-*), which agrees with κενα in a singular apodosis: ας ανανκαι οι παντα κενα | ⟨ι⟩ννου. Finally, the form *paṇtą* in B-05 is ambiguous because the context is still obscure: *artimitoṣ kraṇiyąs* [---] | *paṇtą vebraṣ ądun p?os key estąt pator.?ike*[...]ẹ[..] *ąndąti*... It can be considered to agree with *vebraṣ*, a sg. gen., but a form **pantas* would be expected. So, either it is an irregularity or it agrees with a lost word in the line above.

Brixhe 1999, 302; Brixhe 2008, 72; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 186; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1822.

παντης see *panta*.

paries see *garies*.

παρτης (adj.?)

NPhr. παρταν 66.1 (103)
παρτης 9.1 (87), 15.1 (120), 21.1 (42), 22.2 (118)
παρτυς 22.1; [π]αρτυς 15.1 (120)

An obscure word that is only attested in epitaphs. Its inflection is not at all clear: note the differences between the endings and the presence of an iota in παρτιας (and *i*-stem in MPhr. despite NPhr. occurrences; see Brixhe 1999, 301–302). Perhaps this diversity of endings shows that the word is an adjective. It is especially clear in 9.1, where παρτης seems to agree with αστοι in sg. nom. masc. (α τι αδειτου ṛυελας κε | του κε ισνου αστοι παρτης). However, it also occurs in sequences where no agreement can be identified: 15.1 ουελας κοννου κ' ηνκ|[.....]ṿṛiṣ ɣẹṿṭị βẹṃąị κε ṃαρτης βẹκος, 21.1 [ζε]||μελως κε [δ]ε[ω]ς με κοννου κε ισνιο[υ] | αι παρτης and 22.2 τετιο|κμενος ειτου διως | κε ζεμελως κε παρ|της. Its hypothetical fem. form can be identified in MPhr-01 κισυις μọ|.κρος υιταν παρτιας πλαδε πορκορο... and in the protasis 66.1 (103) [ιος] σεμον τι κνουμανι κ[ακ]|[ον α]βερετι ζει[ραι]. Even less clear is the form παρτυς (both occurrences followed by ου(ε)βρα): 22.1 μ⟨α⟩νκαν οπεσταμ|ναν δαδιτι Νεν[υε]ρια | παρτυς ουβρα and 15.1 [..... π]αρτυς ουεβρα. Previous interpretations by Haas (1966, 91), who interpreted it as the Iranian word for 'judge', and Orel (1997a, 452), who gave it the meaning 'infirmity, harm, mutilation' (in light of Gr. πηρός 'disabled in a limb, maimed' and πηρόω 'maim, mutilate'), are simply ungrounded.

Brixhe 1999, 301–302; Brixhe 2004a, 21.

παρτιας (?)
MPhr. παρτιας MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 6
A word read in the MPhr. epitaph: κισυις μ̣ǫ|.κρος υιταν παρτιας πλαδε πορ κοροος ..|ǫ̣ǫ̣ς παντης... It seems to derive from παρτης, although the meaning of both terms remains unclear. Brixhe (2004a, 21) considered it an *i*-stem pl.acc. However, the expected ending is *-ais*.
Brixhe 1999, 301–302; Brixhe 2004a, 21.

παρτυς see παρτης.

πασε (?)
OPhr. πασε 22.1 (9)
An unparalleled word that occurs in a sentence where the monument is described, before the mention of the addressee: υς δουμ$^{?}$ετ[ι]ου πασε δεκμουταις κινο[υ]μα ę̣τι μ⟨α⟩νκαν οπεσταμναν δαδιτι νεν[υε]ρια παρτυς ουβρα. The relation with *pạntạ* is highly unlikely, since it does not fit with its inflexion. The ending corresponds to an athematic sg. dat. in light of τιε and adverbs such as κακε.

πατερης (noun) 'parents'
NPhr. pl. nom. πα|τερης 1.2 (48)
pl. nom. πατρες 2.2 (130)
Given their grammatical context (they are the subjects of the verbs), these forms must be the nominative plural of the inherited PIE word for 'father' **ph$_2$tḗr* (see, e.g., Gr. πατήρ 'id.', Skt. *pitṛ*, Lat. *pater*; PIE nom. pl. **ph$_2$téres*) used as 'parents': 1.2 δακαρεν πα|τερης ευκιν αργου and 2.2 αινι ουεβαν δεδασσιννι πατρε|ς σεμουν κορο[υ]μανη... The ending *-es* (< PIE **-es*) is represented by both -ες and -ης. The form πατρες, which contrasts with πατερης, shows a syncope in the syllable where the stress would be expected. Consequently, it must have changed its position, perhaps to the last syllable as a levelling from the sg. gen. (PIE **ph$_2$trés*) or the sg. dat. (PIE **ph$_2$tréi̯*), or to the first syllable from the acrostatic paradigm for 'mother' (PIE nom. pl. **méh$_2$teres*).
Haas 1966, 112; Orel 1997a, 452; Brixhe 1999, 301–302; Avram 2015, 208, 209 fn. 55.

pator. (?)
OPhr. *pator*. B-05
Since the reading of its some letters is unclear (Neumann 1997, 21 read *patorp*), as is the segmentation (*pator.$^{?}$ike*[...] or *pator. $^{?}$ike*[...]?), and as the context remains obscure, the word is far from being clear: *pạntạ vebrạṣ ạdun p$^{?}$os key estạt pator.$^{?}$ike*[...]*ę̣*[..] *ạndạti* ... Neumann (1997, 21) suggested a relation with the word for 'father' (see *pạtriyio̯$^{?}$is$^{?}$* and πατρες). Indeed, the vocalism recalls

the Gr. noun πάτωρ 'possessor' and is perhaps the first element of a compound, as Brixhe (2004a, 57) suggested. In any case, this question remains open.
Neumann 1997, 21; Brixhe 2004a, 57.

πατρες see πατερης.

pạtriyiọ̣ʔisʔ (noun) 'relatives'
OPhr. pl.acc. *pạtriyiọ̣ʔisʔ* B-04
Substantivized thematic adj. in the pl. acc. (< PIE **-oms*). It is a derivative, through the suffix **-i̯o-*, from the word for 'father' PIE ** $ph_2tḗr$*, attested in Phr. only in pl.nom. πατερης / πατρες. This formation is parallel to Gr. πάτριος, α, ον 'of or belonging to one's father', so the meaning must be something similar to 'relatives of the father's side'. It is coordinated with the word for 'brothers': *ḅṛạt-erạis pạtriyiọ̣ʔisʔ ke* 'brothers and relatives'.
Bayun and Orel 1988c, 136; Orel 1997a, 56, 452; Brixhe 2004a, 41–42.

pẹ̣i (?)
OPhr. *pẹ̣i m*[-?-] or *pḷi m*[-?-] or *pẹ̣in* or *pḷin* W-13
The reading of this doubtful and precariously preserved inscription (read on a wall with a small niche, perhaps a façade) is far from certain. Even the editors (Brixhe and Sıvas 2003, 67–69) are unsure whether this is a written sequence. If the last remaining letter is read as *m*, Brixhe thinks it could be the abbreviation of a word (perhaps *matar*), because it is not expected as the ending of a word. However, such a segmentation is not clear and the whole sequence could be an abbreviated word or a damaged one. Consequently, it remains obscure.
Brixhe and Sıvas 2003, 67–69.

πειες see πετες.

πειρ (?)
NPhr. πειρ 43.1 (69)
Doubtful segmentation in an obscure sequence. Hämmig (fthc. a.) has recently proposed the reading ΙΠ̣ΕΙΡΑ|ΡΕ.
Hämmig fthc. a.

πεις (adj.?) 'dead'?
NPhr. πεις 43.1 (69)
This obscure word is coordinated in the form πεις with ζως, probably a borrowing from Gr. ζώς 'living', so it seems to be the nominative singular and is probably the antonym, similar to δεως with respect to ζεμελως in an analogous

construction, 'gods and men'. On the other hand, a form πειες, which has the same relationship with ζειρα and is probably the nominative plural, was read on 40.1 (12). However, if ζειρα means 'hands', a reading πετες is very suitable. With regard to πεις, the etymological proposals of Orel (1997a, 453, PIE **pēi̯-* 'harm, inflict pain, abuse') and Woodhouse (2007, 198, PIE **gʷeiu̯is* 'living') are not convincing. The context of 43.1 (69) is imprecative: τ[ος] νι | ζως κε π|εις κε τιτε|τικμενος ειτου 'let him become accursed when living and dead(?)'.
Orel 1997a, 453; Woodhouse 2007, 198.

πεν see πεννιτι.

πεννιτι (verb?)
MPhr. 3sg.? πεννιτι MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 7
Because of its ending, it may be a verb, although its meaning and its origin are unknown. The context is an obscure epitaph: πορ κοροος ..|ρος παντης πεννιτι... Brixhe (2004a, 22) considered a word boundary between the occurrences of *ny* because he assumed that in this inscription geminates are not marked, as in OPhr. inscriptions. However, it is written in the Gr. alphabet, so there seems little justification for this segmentation. Otherwise, πεννιτι is preferred because it provides a more common root to this this possible verb.
Brixhe 2004a, 22.

p²er see *p²erbastidages*.

p²erbastidages (PN?)
OPhr. *p²erbastidages* HP-101
A complete sequence incised on a clay spindle whorl from northern Lydia. Perhaps this unparalleled word is a compound, athematic noun in pl. acc. with the same element *per* attested in περβεδαν if not *p²er bastidages*, a preposition + PN (preferred by Brixhe 2004a, 103–106). It is also possible that we are dealing with a PN *p²erbastidages* of Thracian or "Persianised Thracian" origin, according to Dinç and Innocente (1999, 69–71) and Vassileva (2015, 94), in light of the occurrences listed by Detschew (1976, 45). If this is the case, it may be a common name with sg. nom. in *-es*.
Dinç and Innocente 1999, 69–71; Brixhe 2004, 103–106; Vassileva 2015, 94.

περβεδαν (noun) 'grave'?
NPhr. sg. acc. περβεδαν 29.1 (114)
A clear *a*-stem noun that works as the direct objet. On the other hand, since it happens in a clear imprecative protasis, ιος | κε βρειτ περβεδαν, it must refer

to (some part of) the monument. Indeed, -βεδα- can go back to a PIE root *$b^hed^hh_2$- 'pierce, dig' (*LIV*^{2} 66, *IEW* 113–114) attested in Hitt. *padda-^{i}* / *padda-* 'dig (the ground), to bury(?)', Lat. *fodio* 'dig', Lith. *bedù* 'stick, dig'. It means that περ could be inherited from PIE **per* 'cross, pass', equated to Gr. περί (see also *p$^?$erbastidages*).

petes (noun) 'feet'
OPhr. pl. nom. *pẹtes* G-02
NPhr. pl. nom. πετ̣ες 40.1 (12)?
Nominative plural forms of the Phrygian word for 'feet', which goes back to PIE **ped-* 'id.' (*NIL* 526–540), Gr. πόδες. This identification for G-02 was suggested by Kloekhorst (2015) following his own reading, which improved the previous interpretation, *iktes*. In its context it agrees with *agariṭoi*: *agariṭoi pẹtes adoikavoi*... The NPhr. form was previously read as πειες and related to the obscure word πεις. However, since the word for hands is also attested in the same apodosis, ζειρα κε οι πειες κε τιτ|τετικμενα ατ τιε αδειννου, and is not the only instance of confusion over this letter in both readers' copies, showing that the inscription was damaged at this point, these new interpretations must be taken into account.
Kloekhorst 2015.

πινκε (numeral?) 'five'
OPhr. πινκε 16.1 (116)
Brixhe and Neumann (1985, 178) suggested that a segment πινκετας could be an agent noun because of the presence of suffix *-ta-*. Nevertheless, Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 187 = 2018, 1820) gave the segmentation πινκε and considered it the numeral 'five' (< PIE **penk^{u}e* 'id.', Gr. πέντε, Lat. *quinque*, Skt. *pañcan*) referring to the five parts of the grave mentioned in the beginning of the inscription (l. 1–4). The context favours this explanation: ... ποκ γονιον τευτωσι ιε[.]|ṿọυταις εδαες πινκε τας δ[α$^?$]|ḳερης ονομανιαις... Orel's interpretation (1997a, 132, 453) of a PN of uncertain origin must be rejected.
Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 178; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 187.

†**πινκετας** see πινκε and τας.

p$^?$is$^?$ (?)
OPhr. *p$^?$is$^?$* W-04 l. 5
The isolation of this word is given by Brixhe (2004a, 40). It is preceded by *eḍạviy* and *ạṇernevey* (a verb?). Its nature, function and origin are unknown.
Brixhe 2004a, 40.

pitave[---] (?)
OPhr. *pitave*[---] G-113
A fragmented graffito on a potsherd. According to Orel (1997a, 174, 453), it is the word for 'pithos' borrowed from Gr. πίθος. However, the presence of the sequence *-ave-* casts some doubt on this interpretation. Given the obscure context, it is preferable to be cautious and acknowledge that the meaning is unclear.
CIPPh 1, 106; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 193; Orel 1997a, 174 and 453.

πλαδε (adverb or preposition?) 'near, nearby'?
OPhr. πλαδε MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 6
According to Brixhe (2004a, 21–22), it is a word featuring the zero grade of the PIE root **plh₂-* 'approach' (Gr. πλησίος / πλασίος 'id.') and the non-personal pronoun **dʰe-*, cognate of the Gr. -θε. If it works as preposition, it probably requires the case of *porkoro*, the following word: υιταν παρτιας πλαδε πορ κοροος ..|ϱϱς παντης.
Brixhe 2004a, 21–22.

ploṛiataṇ[---] (?)
OPhr. *ploṛiataṇ*[---] G-132
A graffito incised on a potsherd. The only interpretation is given by Orel (1997a, 453), who considered it a loanword from Hitt. *pulluriya* 'vessel'. His segmentation was *ploria*, and he explained it as a nominative singular of an *a*-stem fem. Nevertheless, the suggested Hitt. word is not attested (a misinterpretation of *pul*[*l*]- [n.] 'lot; allotment, share; destiny, fate' or the obscure *pulla-*, noun that appears with the determinatives DUG 'vessel' and É 'house'?). Consequently, this word remains unclear.
Neroznak 1978, 102; CIPPh 1, 121–122; Orel 1997a, 184, 453.

†***podas*** see *podaskai*.

podaskai (verb?)
OPhr. 3sg.? *podaskai*[?] G-02c
Before Kloekhorst's reading (2015) of *petes* in the first part of the inscription, *podas* was considered the word for 'feed' (after Lejeune 1969b, 291, still de Lamberterie 2013, 27). However, since the curse can be divided into the protasis *ios oporokitis*[.[?]] *kakoioi tovo* and the apodosis *podaskai*[?], this word must be a verb, so the ending *-aị* must be third singular. The suffix *-ske/o-* probably appears here. Kloekhorst (2015, 117) also gives the hypothetical meaning "'he will be trampled upon' (namely by the protective feet?)." However,

without more occurrences we remain far from establishing a convincing interpretation of this verb.
Lejeune 1969b, 291; de Lamberterie 2013, 27; Kloekhorst 2015, 117.

ποκραιου (?)
MPhr. ποκραιου MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 2
This obscure word seems to be a sg. gen. related to the personal name πουκρος. Could it also be an anthroponym? The context is no clearer: ποκραιου κη γλουρεος γαμενǫ̣ų̣ | ǫ̣ą σοροι ματι μακραν.
Brixhe 2004a, 17.

polodrętes (appellative?)
OPhr. sg. nom. *polodrę̣|tes* T-03aI
An e-stem anthroponym in the nominative singular. Since it agrees with the anthroponym *otu*, Brixhe (2004a, 101) considers it an appellative: *a*↑*iiai* ⋮ *polodrę̣|tes* ⋮ *poreti* ⋮ *ǫ̣tu*. Orel (1997a, 313 and 453) suggested that the beginning was parallel to Gr. πολυ- / πολλο-.
Orel 1997a, 313, 453; Brixhe 2004a, 101–102.

popostois (noun?)
OPhr. acc. pl.? *popostois* B-05 l. 6
Read in an obscure part of this large inscription: … *nidus ạd kạliyay kạrạtụ pạnạto ạndo popostois kḷạṇiv kelmis ke umnịset evrạduṣ dạḳerạiṣ key iverais* [..]… Brixhe (2004a, 58), rejecting Neumann's (1997, 22) segmentation *ạndop opostois*, read the single word *ạndopopostois*. Because of its ending it can be considered a thematic noun in acc. pl., **-ons* > *-ois*. Either way, its meaning remains unclear.
Neumann 1997, 22; Brixhe 2004a, 58; Hämmig 2013, 137.

por (preposition) 'for'
OPhr. *por* W-05b
MPhr. πορ MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 6
NPhr. πουρ 6.1 (88)
A preposition that governs acc., on the basis of πουρ ουανα|κταν κε ουρανιον ιστ?ειικετ διουνσιν (6.1) 'let him be responsible before the heavenly lord Dionysos'. Nevertheless, in MPhr-01 it perhaps governs gen., πορ κοροος ..|ρǫ̣ς, better than πορ κοροο ǫ̣..|ρǫ̣ς, as Lubotsky (2017) suggested, or πορκοροος ..|ρǫ̣ς, given by Brixhe (2004a, 21–22) and Avram (2015, 210). Its oldest occurrence, in W-05b, is ambiguous because of the loss of the ending of the following noun: [---]*nst*[---*e*]*daes por mạtę̣*[---]. Note that, following *CIPPh* (1, 49), it has been interpreted

as the Lyc. name attested as *purihimeti* (TL 99) and Ποριματις (in a Gr. inscription), yet the presence of *Matar* is far more likely on this kind of cult façade, as established by Lubotsky (2017, 430). In any case, the origin of the preposition *por* must be found in the zero grade of the PIE adverb **pr̥* 'before' (*LIPP* II, 633), cognate of El. πάρ, and the element **pr-* is attested in the Gr. forms πρό, πρίν and πρός, Go. *faur*, etc.

CIPPh 1, 49; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 184; Lubotsky 1989b, 151–152; Brixhe 1993, 332–333; Brixhe 1997, 55; Orel 1997a, 45 and 454; Wittke 2004, 349; Brixhe 2004a, 21; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 80; Neumann 2007, 293; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 186; LIPP II, 633; Lubotsky 2017, 430; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1822.

poreti (verb)
OPhr. 3sg. pres. act.? *poreti* T-03 a 1
The ending *-ti* shows that it is a 3sg. present subjunctive of an unknown verb: *a↑iiai* ⋮ *polodrẹ|tes* ⋮ *poreti* ⋮ *ọtu*.
Heubeck 1986, 77; Brixhe 1991, 43; Sowa 2007a, 73–74.

†πορκορο see *por* and κορραν.

†***pormạtẹ***[---] see *por* and *matar*.

porṅyoy (PN?)
OPhr. *porṅyoy* B-07
Read on a stele following an anthroponymic sequence: *s≈manes ịyungidas manitos apelev porṅyoy esṭ*[..]|[..]*es va ḳnais*. It is clearly an *o*-stem in the dat., probably a hypocorism or patronym derived by the suffix *-ịo-* from an unattested name. Gusmani (2001, 165) suggested we may be dealing with a derivative from PIE **porh₂-neh₂-*, attested, e.g., in Gr. as πορνή 'prostitute, whore' or πέρνημι 'to sell'.
Gusmani and Polat 1999b, 156–157; Gusmani 2001, 165; Brixhe 2004a, 79.

pʾos (postposition and adverb?)
OPhr. *pʾos* B-05 l. 4
NPhr. ποκ 16.1 (116)
A preposition governing acc., also documented as preverb in NPhr. ποσεκανες (16.1). It is derived from the PIE adverb **pos* 'after' (*LIPP* II, 628), Ved. *paścā́*, OCS *po* 'behind, after' (< **pos*), Lat. *post* (< **posti*), etc. The Gr. forms *po-si* (Myc.), πός, ποτ- and πο- are related but all go back to the compound **po-ti*. The consonant of NPhr. ποκ assimilated to the following one: ποκ γονιον. Brixhe and Neumann (1985, 176–177) considered this sequence a compound noun. The OPhr. *pʾos*

appears in a strange position after an acc. and the conj. *key*: *pạntạ vebrạṣ ạdun p$^{?}$os key estạt pator.$^{?}$ike*[...]*ẹ*[..] *ạndạti*...
Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 176–177; Brixhe 1997, 56; Brixhe 2004a, 56–57; LIPP II, 628.

ποσεκανες (verb) 'to dig'?
NPhr. ποσεκανες 16.1 (116)
The 3sg. aor. of an obscure verb, with the strengthened grade of the root, parallel to *edaes*. Its ending is -ες < *-*s*-*t* and it presents the augment ε- < *(h_1)*e*- and a preverb ποσ- (see *p$^{?}$os*). Its root, -καν- < **kēn*-, has been said to go back to PIE **ken*- 'to rub, scrape, scratch off' (*IEW* 559–563, see Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 176); however, it never appears as a verb. It is perhaps related to PIE **ḱen*- 'empty', Gr. κενός 'id.'. Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 191 = 2018, 1827) suggest a meaning 'to dig' and isolate εκανες. If this is the case, it is tempting to equate the preceding αιπος to Gr. αἶπος 'hill'.
Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 176; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 191; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1827.

πουκρος (PN)
OPhr. πουκρος 40.3 (31)
Since πουκρος is followed by Μανισ|[ο]υ it has been considered an anthroponym: πουκρος Μανισ| [ο]υ ενεπαρκες δετουν. Indeed, it seems to be an *o*-stem nominative and, consequently, the agent of ενεπαρκες. The origin of this name is unknown, as it is possible related to ποκραιου MPhr-01 (Brixhe 2004a, 17).
Orel 1997a, 333 and 455; Brixhe 2004a, 17.

πουντας (ethnic) 'Pontan'
NPhr. sg. gn? πουντας 1.1 (48)
This words seems to be syntactically related to the god Βας. In the same inscription 1.1 (48), from Eskişehir, another god, μας, it is qualified with the epithet τεμρογειος 'of the Thymbris'. Consequently, this word has been suggested to be a borrowing from Gr. Πόντος, the south shore of the Black Sea. However, there is a village in the south of Eskişehir with the Gr. name **Potana* or **Potanos*. This toponym is preserved only in the ethnic Ποντανηνός (modern Gemiç, see Ramsay 1890, 435 and 1905, 104, also *KON* 504 § 1085), applied to a man (on a funerary stele from Akoluk, Haspels 1971 I, no. 105), the mother goddess (in a vow from Gemiş, *MAMA* V Lists Note:188,5) and the gods Hosios and Dikaios (in another vow, *MAMA* V Lists Note:188,5). Because of the proximity of these inscriptions and the use of this ethnic to qualify gods, the second origin is more likely. In any case, Lubotsky (1997, 132) also considered it a fem. adj. in the nominative singular, which would imply that Βας is a female divinity. However, this must

be rejected because the sg. nom. of the *a*-stem fem. adj. is *-a-ø*, as *kubileya* (W-04) shows. Although ethnics are commonly found as epithets of the gods, in πουντας we cannot rule out a sg. gen. of the toponym. Since it seems to go back to PIE **pont-eh$_1$-* 'path' (*IEW* 808–809, Gr. πόντος 'sea', Skt. *pánthāḥ* 'way, path, road', Lat. *pons* 'bridge, passage', etc.) and **-eh$_1$-* yields Phr. *-ā-*, a Phrygian *ā*-stem inflection for this word is possible. Note, however, that the preservation of **-nt-* may indicate a Greek borrowing (Ligorio and Lybotsky 2018, 1822). In conclusion, πουντας βας can be translated as 'Bas from Ponta-'. See *tias* for a similar formation and problems.

Ramsay 1905, 104; Bayun and Orel 1988b, 148; Orel 1997a, 101, 454; Lubotsky 1997, 123; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 186; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1822.

πουρ see *por*.

πουσ[...] (?)
NPhr. πουσ[...] 50.2 (55)
An obscure sequence read in a damaged protasis of a curse without parallels: ιο[ς νι σεμ]ουν | κ[νουμα]νει | κ[ακουν] αδδα|κ[ετ,]ι οι που|σ[...]ι διισιν. The last part of the word is lost: although the reading πουσ[...]ι could be accepted, it may be only a stroke of a longer letter. Consequently, the reading it is too uncertain for any interpretation to be given.

προ (?)
NPhr. προ 40.3 (31)
Although this is very similar to the Gr. preposition πρός, since there is not preceding text it could be read as [---]προ: [.....] δεκμουταης ιου | [.....] προ τοσου. Also, a segmentation προτος is possible, see προτυς. The following sequence ου can be related to ους MPhr-01. Nevertheless, the obscure context does not offer much information.

proitavos (noun) title
OPhr. sg. nom. *proitavos* M-01b; *proitavo*[*s*] M-02
This noun is used in reference to the same person in both occurrences: M-01b *baba memevais proitavos kΦiyanaveyos si keneman edaes* and *bba memevais proitavo*[*s*] *k↑ianaveyos akaragayun edaes*, read on a façade and a step-monument, respectively. Since *memevais* seems to be a patronymic, *proitavos* has been considered a title in sg. nom. Brixhe (2004a, 60), on the other hand, identified a possible sg. gen. of a PN in *-ēu̯-*, parallel to Gr. -εύς /-ῆϝος. However, neither of the candidates that share this ending (*akenanogavos* and *oskạvos*) is independently documented as a PN, and the ending is in fact considered sg. nom.

(see § 4.2.1.1.5.9.). On the origin of the word, only Orel (1997a, 13, 454) considered it derived from PIE verbal root *h_1ei- 'to go' with a preverb *pro-* and the suffix *-avo-* and translated as 'leader, chief'. Although Lat. *praetor* is an attractive parallel, neither the Phr. verb *i-* < *$h_1e\underset{\cdot}{i}$- nor the suffix *-avos* explains the presence of a *-t-*, so this interpretation is unsatisfactory.
Neroznak 1978, 72–73; Orel 1997a, 13, 454; Brixhe 2004a, 60; Wittke 2004, 202.

προτυς (?)
NPhr. προτυς 2.1 (15)
This unparalleled word is read in a funerary inscription that describes the monument: ξευνη ταν ειξα υψοδαν προτυς σ[ε]σταμ̣εναν μανκαν αμι̣ασιαν ιοι αναρ δορυκα[νος ---]. Its ending is the same as παρτυς. Despite the opacity of this word, Lubotsky, after rejecting previous explanations which identified it as a verb (morphologically impossible) or an adverb (equated to Gr. προτί), suggested a thematic noun in pl. acc. governed by the possible preposition υψοδαν. This can be accepted if the shift *-*ons* > *-ois* considered by Brixhe is ruled out.
Lubotsky 1994, 132 fn. 5.

pseikạ$^?$ (noun?)
OPhr. pl. nom.-acc. *pseikạ*$^?$ W-02
A badly preserved word read in a dedication engraved on a small façade: *iketaios pseikạ eḍ*$^?$*[a]ę*$^?$*s*. Despite the lack of parallels and the loss of its ending, because of its position in the sentence it is very likely the patronymic of *iketatios*, the direct object of the sentence or the addressee in dat. In the light of the remaining strokes of the last letter, an ending *-a* is the best option, in which case it could be a neuter noun in pl. nom.-acc. However, this remains unclear. Orel (1997a, 41, 454), on the other hand, based on a forced reading of the inscription, considered it an ethnic attested in Dd-101 as *pserkeyoy* in the light of his adduced parallel from Pisidia Ψερκιοκωμητης. However, neither the reading nor the parallel can be accepted. In W-02 the sequence must be read as *pseik*, not *pserk-*, and the Pisidian word cannot be considered a parallel, since Ψερκιοκωμήτης simply means 'villager of Pselquis' in Gr. and it is not related to Anatolia. Indeed, it is an ethnic from the second and third c. AD with two occurrences in Pisidia (*KON* 661 § 1440) but solid attestation in Egypt (also with the variant Ψελκιτες on papyri), since it is based on the name of an *oppidum* located in the Nubian west bank of the Nile (Pleiades place no. 795846): Egyptian *Pr-Slk.t* (*Pr-Slq*), Gr. Ψελκις or Ψελχις. So, the presence in Pisidia can be explained as a very late migration of a particular people inside the Roman Empire. Because the initial *ps-* only has one other attestation in the whole Phrygian corpus that can also be interpreted as a PN, *pseukeyoy* or *pserkeyoy*, both

occurrences may be variants of a name borrowed from an unidentified language. Nevertheless, it remains unclear.
CIPPh 1, 43; Orel 1997a, 41 and 454; Obrador-Cursach 2018, 666.

pseṛkeyoy (PN)
OPhr. sg. dat. *pseṛkeyoy* or *pseukeyoy* Dd-101
Read on a stamp seal before a clear PN in sg. nom: *pseu²keyoy atas*. Although the reading of the fourth letter is not at all clear because of a dent (but given the shape of the end of the strokes a *u* can be preferred), it can be considered a thematic PN in dat., perhaps related somehow to *pseik*. Since no parallel can be found, a very attractive possibility suggested by Pisani (1982) is to consider *pseṛkeyoy* a PN borrowed from Gr. Σπερχειός, a PN found in Roman Caria (Tralles 83, the form Σπερχύλειος is attested in Ephesos and Smyrna and Σπερχίς in Thessalia). On Orel's interpretation as a DN, see *pseikạ²*.
Pisani 1982; CIPPh 1, 43; Orel 1997a, 41 and 454; Obrador-Cursach 2018, 666.

p²upratoy see *ḍ²upratoy*.

†***p***[---] see *kraniyas*.

P (*r*) – P ρ

ray̰ see *bay̰*.

ρεκτεοι (noun) 'edification, monument'?
NPhr. ρε|ḵτεοι 47.1 (51)
Despite the fact that the text is not complete, this hapax is attested in a common protasis occupying the place of κνουμανει: [ιος σεμ]ον ρε|ḵτεοι [κακου]ν αδα|κε instead of ιος σεμουν κνουμανει κακουν αδδακετ. The last letter has always been read as a ny (probably because of the ending of the previous word), but only an 'upright stroke' remains, as Calder (1911, 195, the first editor) described; only Brixhe and Neumann (1985, 172) suggested the possible reading ⟨i⟩. According to this and in light of the pronoun [σεμ]ον, the reading ⟨i⟩ must be preferred. Consequently, it is an *o*-stem masc. or neuter dat., as is expected in this position. Defending the common reading brings totally ungrounded interpretations (see Brixhe 1978b, 19). Two possible meanings have been suggested on the basis of two respective etymological interpretations. The first was suggested by Calder (1911, 195) and followed by Orel (1997a, 339, 455), who considered it a borrowing from Lat. *rectio* 'a leading, guiding, government, direction' or *erectio* 'a setting

up, erecting'. While *rectio* does not fit in this context, *erectio* does, and this means that certain processes must be assumed: an apheresis, the semantic evolution from 'a setting up' to 'construction', the adoption in the *o*-stem paradigm of this Lat. *n*-stem and the common hesitation between /e/ and /i/ (see δεως ~ διως). The second interpretation, which is absolutely impossible, was given by Haas (1996, 80), who considered the word a derivative from a form **leǵʰto-* (sic), so similar to Lat. *lectus* 'a couch, bed' < **legʰ-to-* / **legʰ-tu-* (on the formation see Vaan 2008, 332, the root clearly goes back to PIE **legʰ-* 'lie'). Despite the hesitation between /r/ and /l/ in Phrygian (compare σκελεδριαι with σκερεδριας), the voiceless velar stop is unexpected and does not explain the sequence -εο- instead of -ο-.
Calder 1911, 195; Haas 1996, 80; Brixhe 1978b, 19; Orel 1997a, 339, 455.

ρεκτεοι̣ see ρεκτεοι.

ṛekun see vrekun.

ri (PN?)
OPhr. *ri* G-305
Perhaps an abbreviated anthroponym. Although the support is broken, if more letters were written, vestiges would be expected. Only one name is attested with this beginning in the Phrygian corpus, *rigaru* / *ritaru*.
Brixhe 2002a, 65.

ριδιτι (verb)
NPhr. 3sg. pres. sub. ριδιτι 16.1 (116)
The segmentation is not at all clear. It could be read as ριδιτιται, but the lack of parallels of this last ending makes ριδιτι preferable. This word must be the verb (transitive because of the acc.) of a sentence in which the construction is described: ξ̣ευνε ιοσος κε δετοι̣ [υ]ψοδ̣αν κε τα̣ν σαυναμαν [.?] κ̣νο̣υμαν κ' ακροδμαν κε λο̣δ̣ιμον μειομον ριδιτι ται τοα̣...
Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 173; Orel 1997a, 129, 455.

rig?aru (PN)
OPhr. *rig?aru* G-222
The letter read as ⟨g⟩ could be ⟨t⟩. However, the first option is preferred because the appendix of the horizontal stroke in the right part is very short. Morphologically, it is very likely a *u*-stem PN in the sg. nom. without the *s* ending, as *otus* ~ *otu*. However, no parallel has been found for this anthroponym.
CIPPh 1, 179; Brixhe 1996, 141; Brixhe 2004a, 89.

†ροκα see κοροκα.

ś (*s*) – Σ σ

***s*[1]** (owner's mark)
OPhr. s G-204, NW-106, NW-117
Graffiti incised on sherds. In NW-106 and NW-117 this letter is isolated and seems to be an owner's or commercial mark. In G-204, however, it occurs in an unusual context where at least one PN (*alu*) has been identified: [---]*ḍa alu m s* [-?-].
CIPPh I, 168; Brixhe 2002a, 15–16, 22.

***s*[2]** see σεμουν.

ṣạbas (PN)
OPhr. sg.nom. *ṣạbas* M-08
This is the only sequence that has been read in this damaged inscription. It is preceded by an illegible sequence separated by a blank. Consequently, it is very likely a complete word. As *CIPPh* (I, 27–28) remarks, this probable PN is very similar to Σαβις or Σαβυς (*KPN* 449 §1349), both found in Phrygia. If this is the case, it is an *a*-stem PN in the nominative with the ending *-s*. Bayun and Orel (1988a, 181, also Orel 1997a, 31, 456) identify this name in the DN Σαβάζιος.
CIPPh I, 27–28; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 181; Fol 1997, 263; Orel 1997a, 31, 456; Fol 1997.

σαι see σεμουν.

sakor see *akor*.

σαν see σεμουν.

saragis (PN)
OPhr. sg. nom. *saragis* B-108; *ṣaraḍiṣ* M-101 (Brixhe and Sıvas 2003–2004a)
The first occurrence, B-108, is a graffito incised on a fragment of a bowl followed by a probable interpunction and the sequence *magọ²*[---]. Here, this PN was read in light of the other occurrence (Gusmani and Polat 1999, 64 read it as [---]*saragiś* or [---]*saraliś*). M-10 is an isolated graffito on another damaged sherd (hard to date because it was found on the surface without a clear context). On the basis of the contexts in which it appears, it would seem to be an

i-stem anthroponym. Because of the lack of parallels in other languages it has been considered by Brixhe (2004a, 93) a genuine Phr. PN. In addition, since a name Σαγαρις and variants such as Σαγαριος are especially well attested in Gr. inscriptions from Galatia and Phrygia dated between the 2nd and third c. BC, a metathesis in OPhr. occurrences of *saragis* can be considered (see a similar problem in *si*↑*idos*, suggested to be the Sidetic PN *śdi*↑*s*). Moreover, an Aramaic bulla (Balkan 1959, pl. XXXIVb) found in Daskyleion (as well as B-108) reads *LSGRY* or *LSGDY*. If the first reading is preferred, as in Lamaire (2000 II, 4, 3), the text means 'to Sagaris' (the second reading 'to *SGDY*' is difficult to defend pace Benvenuto 2016, 32 and Benvenuto and Pompeo 2017, 35), a possibility made stronger by the Greco-Aramic inscription from Faraşa (Cappadoccia, dated later to the third c. BC according to Lipiński 1975, 174), in which this PN is also found: (Gr. text) Σαγάριος | Μαιφ[ά]ρνου | στρατηγ[ὸ]ς | Ἀριαραμνει̣(ας) | ἐμάγευσε | Μίθρῃ 'Sagarios, (son) of Maipharnēs, commander of Ariaramneia, became magus of Mithra' (Aramaic text) *sgr br mhyprn rb ḫy*[*l*]? | *mgyš* [*lm*]*trh* 'Sagari, son of Mahifarna, chief of the army, became magus of Mithra'. Also, in light of this occurrence (despite the chronological divergence), *saragis* :? *magọ*?[*s*?] could mean 'Saragis the magus'. Finally, the origin of the name Saragis / Σαγγάριος seems to be related to the homonymous river (worshiped as a god by the Phrygians). The presence of initial s- and the nasal [ŋ] (as deduced by spellings with ny and gamma in Greek) point to a non-Phrygian origin. Any relation to Syrian *Saggar* (see Fales 2008, with some attestations in Hittite) is difficult to establish, although *Sa*(*n*)*gar*(*a*) was a royal name in Iron Age Karkemiš (see also Marchetti and Peker 2018, 98 for a recent identification in HLuw. *sa*$_5$-[*k*]*a*+*ra*/*i*-*s*[*a*]).

Brixhe 2004a, 93; Brixhe and Stvas 2003, 70.

σαρναν (DN)

NPhr. sg. nom. σαρναν 11.2 (18)

Since this hapax appears in a clear apodosis, βε⟨κ⟩ο|ς ιοι με τοτοσσ' ευγισαρναν read as βε⟨κ⟩ο|ς ιοι με τοτοσσειτι σαρναν by Hämmig (fthc. a), which has a very good parallel in 7.1 με κε οι | τοτοσσειτι βας βεκος, it has been interpreted as an epiclesis of the god Bas. According to Hämmig, it is very likely a sg. nom. in *-*ēn*. Recently, Avram (2016b, 77–78) has identified this word in the epithet of Zeus Σαρνενδηνος, found in northeast Phrygia / northwest Galatia, Bithynia and Dacia. Unfortunately, neither the origin nor the meaning of this word has been explained.

Avram 2016b, 77–78; Hämmig fthc. a.

σας see σεμουν.

σαυναμαν (noun)
OPhr. sg. acc. σαυναμαν 16.1 (116)
This word occurs in a sequence of several nouns in the sg. acc. that refer to different parts of the monument: ιοσος κε δετοŋ [(o)υ]ψοδ̣αν κε τα̣ν σαυναμαν κ̣νο̣υμαν κ' ακροδμαν κε λο̣δ̣ιμον μειομον ριδιτι... According to this interpretation, Lubotsky (1993a, 132) considered that this word could be 'the term for the foundation, the pedestal of the monument', and in light of the Hitt. *šāmăna-* 'foundation(s); foundation deposit' he considered it a borrowing from an Anatolian language (followed by Gorbachov 2009, 106 fn. 32 in order to strengthen his interpretations of the borrowed words). Although this interpretation is very attractive, it brings with it problems that cannot be solved by Lubotsky's suggestion of an intermediate Anatolian language: the metathesis of the resonants (σαυναμαν instead of **σαυμαναν) and the raising of the diphthong *-a-* > *-au-*. A significant element is the presence of ταν before the word σαυναμαν. This pronoun shows us that the word is undoubtedly fem. (Lubotsky 1993a, 131). Alternatively, one can suggest a segmentation τα̣ν σα υναμαν, parallel to NPhr. 10 σεμουν του κνουμανει. The resultant form ˚υναμαν could be a phonetic or graphic variant of *onoman* (OPhr. W-01b *onoman* and NPhr. 30 ονομα[-?-]), with only one possible error, ⟨a⟩ for ⟨o⟩, made by the engraver in a sequence of several ⟨a⟩, and the constant hesitation of the letters ⟨o⟩, ⟨ou⟩ and ⟨u⟩, even in the same inscription. As such, the presence in this text of ονομανιας and ονομανιαις does not invalidate this interpretation, although the question remains open.
Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 170–171; Lubotsky 1993a, 132; Gorbachov 2009, 106 fn. 32.

sa*ϘʔϘ*ta (?)
OPhr. pl. nom.-acc. *sa*ϘʔϘ*ta* W-08
The context of this sequence is more or less clear: *ates agomoi* | *saϙʔta tedaes*, where *ates* is the agent, *agomoi* the indirect object and *edaes* the verb. So, the meaning is 'Ates made/put *sa*ϘʔϘ*ta* for Agomos'. Consequently, *sa*ϘʔϘ*ta* must be the direct object and therefore a neuter noun in pl. nom.-acc. (contrary to Orel 1997a, 47–48, 456, who considered a neuter singular). Whatever it means, this word presents a reading problem in the third letter, transcribed as ϙ and similar to Gr. qoppa, which greatly complicates the interpretation because it is the only occurrence in the whole Phr. corpus.
CIPPh 1, 53; Orel 1997a, 47–48, 456.

†σειτι see τοτοσσειτι.

†***se*Ⅴ*eltias*** see *seʔⅤʔeʔl* and *tias*.

se*⩛*el (noun) 'weight'

OPhr. sg. nom. *se*⩛*el* G-249

The *se*⩛*elt|ias* inscription was incised on an alabaster weight and is considered one of the oldest Phrygian text according to *CIPPh* (I, 195–196) and Brixhe (2004b, 276–277). Since it is found on a weight, the sequence *se*⩛*el* must be a borrowing from the Aramaic *šqel* 'weight' (also found in Gr. as σίκλος, σίγλος 'weight, shekel' and Lyc. *sixla-* 'shekel', see Neumann 2007, 324–325). Consequently, *se*⩛*el t|ias* can be equated to, e.g., *šql ḥmt* 'Shekel of Ḥamath', *šql ṣydn* 'Shekel of Sidon', *šql qrqr* 'Shekel of Qarqar' (see Riis and Buhl 1990 and Deutsch and Millard 2014).

CIPPh I, 195–196; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 199; Orel 1997a, 234–235, 457.

σεμουν (demonstrative pronoun) 'this'

OPhr.	sg. dat. masc.-neut.	⟨s⟩*imun* B-05 l. 10
	particle	*s=* B-07, M-01dI
	pl. acc. masc.?	*ses* P-02?
	sg. nom.-acc. neut.	*si* B-01, B-08; M-01b, G-11 b
	sg. acc. masc.	*sin* B-05
MPhr.	sg. dat. fem.	ϙϙ MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 3
	sg. nom. fem.?	σας MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 1
	sg. acc. masc.	ϙϙυν MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 8
NPhr.	sg. dat. fem.	σαι 43.1 (69), 62.4 (35); σα 17.5 (91), 21.1 (42), 25.1 (115), 44.3 (67), 64.1 (81), 65.3 (21), 65.4 (124); [σ]α 36.3 (94); σαν 60.2 (60); σας 14.1 (73), 55.1 (56)
	sg. gen. fem.	σας 29.1 (114)?
	sg. dat. masc.-neut.	σεμουν 2.2 (130), 6.1 (88), 7.3 (14), 8.1 (86), 9.1 (87), 11.2 (18), 17.6 (119), 18.2 (5), 18.3 (6), 20.1 (63), 20.2 (128), 21.2 (62), 24.1 (40), 25.1 (115), 27.1 (92), 31.1 (111), 33.1 (28), 33.2 (95), 34.1 (37), 37.1 (10), 40.1 (12), 40.3 (31), 41.1 (45), 42.1 (101), 44.1 (61), 46.1 (53), 48.2 (84), 49.1 (110), 50.1 (54), 50.2 (55), 51.1 (80), 56.1 (57), 57.1 (78), 58.1 (72), 59.3 (79), 59.4 (106), 62.1 (32), 62.2 (33), 62.5 (36), 62.6 (105), 63.1 (123), 65.1 (20); [σε]μουν 13.1 (122)?; σε[μουν] 23.1 (89)?; ϙ[εμουν] 38.1 (44); σεμ⟨ου⟩ν 62.3 (34); σεμου 5.1 (19), 17.1 (4 b), 45.1 (65); σεμον 3.1 (97), 7.1 (99), 10.1 (112), 14.1 (73), 15.1 (120), 16.1 (116), 17.5 (91), 18.1 (4), 21.1 (42), 25.1 (115), 29.1 (114), 30.1 (39), 32.1 (93), 33.3

(127), 36.1 (26), 37.2 (27), 39.1 (11), 47.1 (51), 58.1 (72), 66.1 (103); ⟨σ⟩εμ̣[ον] 30.2 (68)?; σεμυν 20.3 (62); σεμιν 53.1 (76), 59.1 (107), 61.1 (100); σιμουν 35.1 (25)

pl. dat. masc.-neut.? σως 2.2 (130)

A clear demonstrative pronoun that goes back to PIE **so-* / *to-* or, better, **ḱi-* (this possibility is considered by Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 185 = 2018, 1824; see § 4.2.1.2.1). Most occurrences appear in the protasis of a NPhr. curse; see, e.g., 64.1 ιος νι σα του μανκα κακουν αδ|δακετ…, or 7.3 ιος νι σεμουν κνο|υμανει κακιν αδα|κετ… Note that the forms σεμιν, σεμον, σεμου and σεμυν are simply alternative spellings of σεμουν. On one occasion, σεμουν is attested as sg. acc.: 40.3 ας σεμουν κνουμαν αδιθερακ | ξευνεοι αδικεσει (Brixhe 1999, 306). Even B-05 *imun* is found in this position at the beginning of the protasis after the pronoun instead of the expected **simun*; however, the spelling here is aberrant (see Hämmig 2013, 149): †*iv*† ⟨*s*⟩*imun inmeney ạsenạn dạket*… Furthermore, its fem. inflection, shared with *a*-stem nouns, shows some unexpected forms. Because of the loss of the final nasal and the *-i* of the diphthongs, σαν and σα are variants of the etymological form σαι. Also σας, with gen. ending, is used instead of the dat. σα(ι) in 14.1 (ιος νι σεμον κνουμανι κακον αββερετορ αιṿι σας μδṿει) and 55.1 ([ι]ος σας του σκερεδ̣|ṛιας κακουν δακετ). This use in 29.1 (ιος νι [σ]εμον κν[ου]μανη κακον αββε|ρετ ατ νουκτον μρος σας or μρο σσας) and MPhr-01 (μανκα μεκας σας) is still unclear. The other OPhr. forms are more complex: on three occasions it is complemented with the particle *t* (related to the anaphoric τος), *ses≠t*, *sin≠t* and *si≠t*. It can also occur with **(h₁)e-* (see *esai*). The form *ses≠t* has been interpreted as a determinative pronoun in the sg. nom. or sg. acc. (Neumann 1988, 7 fn. 12 and Neumann 1997, 119) in concordance with *bugnos*: P-02 *sest bugnos va|sos kanutiievanos*. The sequence is similar to *esai≠t*, so it is easy here to interpret the last *-t* as the emphatic particle. However, the vocalism of the pronoun is difficult to explain. Perhaps it is a levelling from other cases. Orel (1997a, 292 and 429), on the other hand, considered it the verb 'to be' in the third singular present (going back to PIE **h₁es-ti* 'this is Bugnos…'), but this is difficult to substantiate because of the position of this word at the beginning. The form *si* agrees twice with the neuter noun in sg. nom.-acc., B-01 *si bevdos* and M-01b *si keneman*, but also stands alone once, G-11 b *sit kraroy veao* | *dis*. The form *sin* clearly agrees with a masculine noun in sg. acc.: B-05 *sin≠t imenạn*… The form ṣṇṿν also seems to agree with a masculine noun: MPhr-01 (W-11) δετοṿι ṣṇṿν (see Brixhe 2004a, 23–24). Finally, the proclitic particle *s≠*, which must have its roots in this pronoun and be parallel to *t* with regard to τος, is found attached to nouns (in acc. and nom. respectively): M-01dI *midas* | *s≠materan* | *tvemes eneparkes*? and B-07 *s≠manes iyungidas manitos apelev porniyoy*… The enclític particle *≠s*, attached

to verbs, may be the same element: MPhr-01 ιος κοροαν δετοṿṇ | ʂọṿṇ ομαστα ομνισιτου≠ς (ομνισιτ ους according to Brixhe 2004a, 24), 62.2 αυτος κε ουα κο¹ροκα γεγαριτμενος ας βαταν τευτου≠ς and 62.5 αυτος κ᾽ ουα κοροκα [γ]εγ[αριτ]με[ν]ος α βαταν τευτου≠ς.
Lejeune 1969b, 296–297; Neroznak 1978, 72, 75, 80, 114, etc.; Brixhe 1978b, 12–20; Neumann 1988, 7 fn. 12; Neumann 1997, 119; Orel 1997a, 292, 429; Brixhe 1999, 306; Brixhe 2004a, 23–24 Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 185; LIPP II, 739–740; Obrador-Cursach 2017, 309; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1824.

σεμυν see σεμουν.

σερ̣οα (PN?)
NPhr. sg. dat. σερ̣|οα 19.2 (129)
The context of this obscure word is a common NPhr. protasis: ịος νι σα μạτ?[ε]||ρε κακον αββε|ṛ̣ετοι αινι σερ̣?|οα 'whoever brings harm to the Mother or to Serva'. Consequently, if not a masc. or fem. PN, it may be a fem. *a*-stem noun in the sg. dat., where the final *-i̯* of the original ending *-ai̯* has dropped. This word is expected to refer to some part of the tomb or the burial plot according to Brixhe and Drew-Bear (2010, 165). See, however, Lubotsky's interpretation (2017, 431). In addition, a relationship with OPhr. *servas* is probable, but this occurrence is documented in an entirely different context, and G-130, where it can also be read, is even more obscure than this inscription. If it is related to OPhr. *servas*, a borrowing from Lat. is impossible.
Brixhe and Drew-Bear 2010, 165; Lubotsky 2017, 431.

servas (?)
OPhr. *servas* G-130
An obscure word read in a large but broken sequence incised on a potsherd: [---]*es servas bo*.[---]. If [---]*es* is the ending of a PN, *servas* could be a patronymic in gen.: '[---]es the son of Serva'. It has been tentatively equated to Lat. *seruus* by Orel (1997a, 183, 457). However, G-130 may be dated to the fifth c. BC, so this possibility is indefensible. Consequently, the word remains unclear. Brixhe and Drew-Bear (2010, 165) considered a relationship with NPhr. σερ̣|οα, but this word is better explained as a Latin borrowing.
Neroznak 1978, 101; CIPPh I, 120; Orel 1997a, 183, 457; Brixhe and Drew-Bear 2010, 165.

σ[ε]σταμεναν see *estaes*.

sest see σεμουν.

†***ṣẹṣṭaẹṣ*** see [---]*s* and *estaes*.

ṣẹṭ[---] (PN?)
OPhr. *ṣẹṭ*[---] G-263
Damaged graffito on a potsherd. It is preceded by a mutilated triangle. Although the letters are lost at the bottom, the first ⟨s⟩ confirms the dextroverse reading. Orel's lecture *ṣạṭ*[---] is impossible because this ⟨a⟩ does not fit there. It is perhaps, then, a PN referring the owner. However, no parallel can be adduced.
CIPPh I, 203–204; Roller 1987a, 50; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 199; Orel 1997a, 240, 456.

†***svebrạ***[---] see σεμουν and *vebras*.

σζεμελως see ζεμελως.

si see σεμουν.

σιβη[-?-] (?)
NPhr. σιβη[-?-] 37.2 (30)
Since it follows the formula ευκιν αργου, it probably appears at the beginning of a sentence. However, because the following words are lost and no parallel can be adduced, its meaning, nature, origin and possible completeness remain unclear.
Orel 1997a, 329, 457.

σιμουν and ***sin*** see σεμουν.

†***sini*** see αδδαχετ and *da8pulaịsini*.

sir (PN)
OPhr. *sir* G-185
This complete graffito, read on a potsherd, is very likely an abbreviation of a PN. However, *CIPPh* (I, 158) considered the possibility of a complete Anatolian PN in light of the Pisidian occurrence Λιρ (*KPN* 272 § 819).
CIPPh I, 158; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 199; Orel 1997a, 208, 457.

sirun (noun?)
OPhr. sg. acc. *sirun* B-05 l. 10
The word occurs in a singular imprecative apodosis in agreement with the word *mireyun*: *nun ibey nevotan niptiyan sirun mireyun*. According to Simon, *sirun mireyun* means 'the whole progeny', where *sirun* stands for 'progeny', in light

of adduced Hitt. parallels. However, this identification is not corroborated by internal or linguistic evidence.
Neumann 1997, 24; Brixhe 2004a, 20, 62, 81; Hämmig 2013, 143–145; Simon 2014a.

sit see σεμουν.

sitoros (PN)
OPhr. sg. nom. *sitoros* W-12
This word is engraved on a stone with other two PNs: *sitoros aros* | *ispas*. No parallel has been identified to *sitoros* and the dubious comparison with Thracian names Σιτάλκης / Σιτάλκας given by Brixhe (in Bilgen, Brixhe and Coşkun 2011, 148) is not at all conclusive.
Bilgen, Brixhe and Coşkun 2011, 147–148.

sịṭ[---] (?)
OPhr. *sịṭ*[---] o [---]*ṭịṣ* G-194
A fragmented sequence on a potsherd. Its writing direction is not clear. If it is dextroverse we can consider it the beginning of a word, otherwise it is a word ending (a sg. nom. of an *i*-stem?). In any case, perhaps it is a PN.
CIPPh 1, 162–163; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 199; Orel 1997a, 473.

si*↑*eto (verb?)
OPhr. 3sg. imp.? *si*↑*eto* W-08, W-09, W-10
This word always occurs in a formula, where *alus* also appears, only found at the end of three inscriptions engraved on rocks: W-08 [-?-] *ates agomoi* | *sa*♀*?ta tedaes* | *alus si*↑*eto?* | *bateles bab.*[-?-]; W-09 *si*↑*eto ae.* | *alus* and W-10 *ạtai edae lel/ravo* | *vi*↑*e atevo atoios* | *alụs si*↑*eto das*. According to Brixhe (1982, 230–231), it may be a verb in 3sg. imp. in light of its possible ending *-to*. However, given the initial *s-* and the similarity with the PN *si*↑*idos*, we cannot rule out a non-Phrygian PN (a gen. used as a patronymic?).
Brixhe 1982, 230–231.

si*↑*idos (PN)
OPhr. sg. nom. *si*↑*idos* G-105, HP-110, G-346
A thematic PN incised on two kind of objects: a beam of the Midas Mound at Gordion, together with more PNs (*nana muksos* | *si*↑*idos* | *ʿurunis*), and on large bronze bowls found in this tumulus (G-105, followed by the word *akor*) and the Lycian tumulus Bayındır D (HP-110). Brixhe (2004a, 150) suggested that this PN perhaps shares its root with the verb *si*↑*eto* and considered it a compound belonging to 'the old Phrygian stock of names' (2013, 57).

According to Schürr (2017, 4 fn. 13; see also Nikolaev 2017, fn. 23), *si↑idos* cannot be equated to the Sidetic PN *śdi↑s* (S6, as Pérez Orozco 2007, 128, does, the outcome of Luwic **zida-* 'man'), adopted in Gr. as Σιδιδος (gen.) and parallel to Carian *šδτatś* (E.Me. 13, a fem. form according to Adiego 2007, 271).

Brixhe 1982, 230–231; Varinlioğlu 1992, 15; Brixhe 2004a, 150; Liebhart and Brixhe 2009, 149–151; Brixhe 2013, 57; Schürr 2017, 4 fn. 13; Nikolaev 2017, fn. 23.

σκελεδριαι (noun)
NPhr. sg. dat. σκελεδριαι 44.3 (67)
pl. dat.? σκερεδριας 55.1 (56)

Despite the divergences in the spelling (the recurrent -ας for the expected dat. -αι and the hesitation between liquid consonants), both forms of this a-stem fem. noun happen in the same position in a common imprecative protasis: 44.3 ιος | σα τι σκελεδριαι | κακουν δακετ and 55.1 [ι]ος σας του σκερεḍριας κακουν δακετ. Since this is the same position as the more frequent κνουμανει, it has been interpreted as a word meaning something similar to 'monument, stele, tomb' (Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 194). Alternatively, 'cadaver' or 'skeleton' has been suggested by equating it to Gr. κενέβρεια 'carcase of dead cattle' (doubtfully, Orel 1997a, 458) or σκελετός 'dried body, mummy, skeleton' (Woudhuizen 2008–2009, 189). These interpretations, especially the second one, are attractive; see, e.g., Gr. parallels such as Strubbe 1997, no. 250 τίς οὖν π̣[ο]τε τὰ ὀστέα σ[κυβλίσε]ι 'whoever at some time desecrates the bones…'. However, references to the monument are more common by far and the relation between σκελεδριας and σκελετός does not fit at all because of the divergences in their consonants.

Lejeune 1969b, 295; Orel 1997a, 458; Woudhuizen 2008–2009, 189; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 194.

σκερεδριας see σκελεδριαι.

smateran see σεμουν and *materan*.

sǫ[---] (?)
OPhr. *sǫ*[---] or [---]*ǫs* G-191

Even the direction of writing of this fragmentary graffito on a potsherd is obscure. If [---]*ǫs* is preferred, it could be a sg. nom. ending of an *o*-stem (a PN perhaps).

CIPPh I, 161; Orel 1997a, 210, 472.

sokposa (?)
OPhr. sg.nom. *sokposa* G-229
Read on a potsherd, this word follows the PN *mamutas*, which is repeated in the following line: *mamutas sokposa* | *mamutas itoiesgloka*. Perhaps the name of this *mamutas* was compounded: *mamutas sokposa*. However, it is substituted in the second line and no parallel can be adduced to this so-called PN because the proposal G-189 made by Orel (1997a, 210) does not fit at all.
CIPPh I, 183–184; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 197; Orel 1997a, 210, 227, 458.

σοροι (noun) 'cinerary urn, sarcophagus'
MPhr. sg. dat. σοροι MPhr-01 (W-11) l .3
NPhr. sg. dat. σορου 65.3 (21), 65.4 (124)
The three occurrences are read in funerary stele and preceded by the fem. pronoun σα. So, it is a clear *o*-stem fem. noun. On the basis of the context and the resemblance, it has been identified as a borrowing from Gr. σορός -ου 'cinerary urn' by Brixhe, used in the Gr. part of 65.3 (21): κατεσκεύασαν τῇ ματρὶ τὴν σορόν '[They] built this sarcophagus for the mother'. Regarding the meaning, Kubińska (1968, 32–35) shows that in Anatolia this word is used as 'sarcophagus'. Despite the different spellings, all three forms are in the sg. dat. Indeed, σοροι MPhr-01 stands for /soro:j/ in a inscription where omega is not used. The ending of the NPhr. form σορου, which appears in the common imprecative protasis instead of the more common σεμουν κνουμανει, has lost the final *-i̯* after the long vowel and the shift to close the close vowel: *-ōi̯* > **-ō* > *-ū* (according to Brixhe and Drew-Bear 1997, 103).
Haas 1966, 248; Brixhe and Drew-Bear 1997, 103; Orel 1997a, 248, 458 Brixhe 2002b, 258; Brixhe 2004a, 18.

σορου see σοροι.

ϙϙυν see σεμουν.

speretạ (noun)
OPhr. *speretạ* B-01
This word appears in an imprecative sentence, in a position where we expect a direct object: *yos tivo* [*t*]*ạ speretạ ayni kin te*[*l*]*ẹmi*... That is why Lubotsky (1997, 125, fn. 19) considered it a neuter word in the pl.acc. He also considered the interpretation 'seeds' in the light of Gr. σπείρω 'to sow, to seed' and σπέρμα 'seed'. However, this latter proposal is very tentative. On the other hand, the segmentation ασπερετ used by Bayun and Orel (1988a, 187 and Orel 1997a, 142,

416, who considered it a verb) is less probable, after Lubotsky's reading *speretạ* instead of the previous *speretd* (1993b, 94–95).
Lubotsky 1993b, 94–95; Orel 1997a, 142, 416; Lubotsky 1997, 125, fn. 19.

ṣṛ[---] (?)
OPhr. *sr*[---] K-011
A very short sequence that was not preceded by another word, as the fragment shows. Since the word cannot be supplied because of the lack of any parallel in Phrygian, it is doubtful whether the word actually begins with a strange *sr-* (also poorly attested in PIE) or if the *s* is the syncopated demonstrative pronoun *si*, which also occurs in sequences such as *s≈materan*.
Brixhe and Summers 2006, 115–116.

ṣtaḷ²a (noun) 'stele'
OPhr. sg. nom.? *ṣtaḷ²a* B-06
This is probably a loanword from Aeol. στάλλα 'stele' (better than Dor. στάλα, as suggested by Vassileva 1995, 28–29), since the Phrygian alphabet does not represent geminates, indeed *stala* could represent /stalaː/. Then, the word in B-06 may refer the monument on which it is engraved. It is the first word of the remaining text but, because of the following *ke*, the text probably had at least one more line at the beginning. Unfortunately, the context is not clear: *ṣtaḷ²a ke* : ↑*ek*.[---]*ẹṣkey*[---]*ạ²yọ²*[---] | *ḍẹṣ*[---] : *ẹventnoktoy* : *ẹmetẹtariyois*…
Vassileva 1995, 28–29; Brixhe 1996, 133; Brixhe 2002b, 257; Brixhe 2004a, 71.

surgastoy (DN)
OPhr. sg. dat. *surgastoy* Dd-102
Since the complete text Dd-102, incised on a silver bowl, is *surgastoy inas*, the best way to interpret it is to consider a present given by a man called *inas* (in the nominative) to **surgasto*s. Indeed, *surgastoy* is very likely an *o*-stem dat. It has also been suggested to be attested in G-164 [---].*astoy* and G-113[---]*astoi pitave*[---] (see Avram 2016b, 72–74). It was considered a DN by Orel (1997a, 459, although he debated between an anthroponym or a DN in 361) and Avram (2016b, 72–74) in light of the Bithynian Zeus Συργάστης and Συργάστειος (Thracian *Surgasteus*). The Dacian inscription from Apulum *IDR* III,5 706 (*SEG* 48.984), which reads Διὶ | Ṣυργάστῳ, can also be adduced as an occurrence. However, the form *śrkaśtus* attested as a PN in Lyd. (Gusmani 1964, 199) is a closer parallel. Even the name *Sergestus*, a follower of Aeneas in Verg. *Aen*., has been taken into account in this issue (*EDG* 20). However, it is better to adduce the gloss Hsch. σ 2767 συργάστωρ· συοφορβός. καὶ ὄνομα βαρβαρικόν 'σ.: swineherd. Also, a barbaric name'. On its origin, the presence of the initial *s-* points

out a non-Phrygian origin. A very attractive etymology for this name is given by Gusmani (1980–1981, 21–27; see also Beekes's remarks 2003, 19 fn. 21), who suggested that it is derived from the Hitt. adj. *šarku-* / *šargau̯-* 'eminent, illustrious, powerful' (inherited from PIE **srḱ-(e)u-* or **sorḱ-(e)u-*, according to Kloekhorst 2008, 734, and related to ToB *ṣärk-* 'to surpass, to be better than' and Lat. *sarcio* 'to patch up, to mend'). See Schürr 2006, 1583–1584 for an alternative account. The relationship with Gr. σύργαστρος 'sweeping with its belly, swineherd' (Hsch. σ 2767 συργάστωρ) and ἐργάτης 'farmer' seems phonetically probable, but the semantic development remains unclear.
CIPPh I, 272–273; Neumann 1988, 14; Orel 1997a, 361, 459; EDG 19–20; Avram 2016b, 72–74.

σως see σεμουν.

s[---] (?)
OPhr. *s*[---] G-142
The double *s* in the sequence of this doubtful graffito, [---]*ạvaṣṣ*[---], suggests a word boundary after[---]*ạvas*. Nevertheless, in the absence of a more complete sequence, this beginning of a word remains unclear and no interpretation can be given.

⊤ (***t***) – **T τ**

***t*¹** (mark)
OPhr. *t* G-337 a
This isolated letter is incised on a cup where the sequence *tu* and a nonverbal mark were also inscribed. It is probably an abbreviation of the same name represented by the other abbreviated name *tu*. However, it could be a simple mark.
Brixhe 2002a, 91–92.

***t*²** see τος.

***ta*¹** (PN)
OPhr. *ta* G-182
[-?-]*ta* NW-103
Both graffiti were incised on potsherds, and G-182 is a complete graffito. In NW-103 it is possible that a letter has been lost at the beginning. In any case, it can be interpreted as a complete *a*-stem monosyllabic PN in nom. sg. without the ending *-s* or as an abbreviation of a PN such as *tatas*.
CIPPh I, 156; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 199; Orel 1997a, 207, 459; Brixhe 2002a, 13.

[*t*]*ạ*^{2}, τα see τος.

tadila[---] (noun)
OPhr. sg. nom.-acc. tadila[---]
This word occurs in an eroded cultic inscription on a rock (near B-01): [--- *mata*]*r ḳụbeleẏ*[*a* ---] | *si tadila*[---] | [---] *bevdos key* [---]. Although the segmentation is unclear and its ending is perhaps illegible, the presence of the pronoun *si* shows that it must be a neuter noun in sg. nom.-acc. Its meaning and origin remain unknown. Brixhe and Vottéro (2016, 138) suggested a segmentation *si tadi la*[---].
Brixhe and Vottéro 2016, 138.

tadoy (PN)
OPhr. dat. sg. *tadoy* G-136
Although no parallel can be adduced, this is very likely a PN. In its context, an inscription engraved on a small alabaster bird of prey that reads *tadoy iman bag²un*, it is clearly the recipient of the object (*bagun*) given by a man called *iman*.
CIPPh 1, 124–125.

ται see τος.

ταϗρις (noun)
MPhr. nom. sg.? ταϗρις MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 3
Perhaps an *i*-stem noun in the nom. sg. or, less probably, in the acc. pl. The obscure context (βλασϗον κε ταϗρις κε λọ̣ụ̣ỵị̣ọ̣ụ̣ μροτις) does not provide clear information with regard to its meaning.
Brixhe 2004a, 19.

tan, ταν see τος.

tanarị̣..[---] (?)
OPhr. *tanarị̣..*[---] HP-02
This word, like others read in the dubious inscription from Kocagür (near Parion), has no parallel. Like the rest of the text, it is incomplete and obscure. In addition, the segmentation is not clear, since the initial *ta* could be the pronoun attested in other inscriptions, as Brixhe and Keleş suggested (2011, 157–158).
Brixhe and Keleş 2011, 157–158.

†***tanegertoy*** see *tan* and *egertoy*.

tariyois (noun?)
OPhr. acc. pl? *tariyois* B-06
A very unclear sequence that could be also segmented as *ẹṃetẹtariyois*. The ending *-ois* could be interpreted as a pl. dat. (< PIE *-*ōis*) or pl. acc. (< PIE *-*ons*, preferred here), according to Brixhe. Consequently, it could be a noun. The context, however, does not offer clear information.
Brixhe 1996, 134; Orel 1997a, 153; Brixhe 2004a, 72.

†***tata*** see *tataniyen*.

[-?-]*tataẹ*[?][..?] (PN)
OPhr. [-?-]*tataẹ*[?][..?] W-11
This is probably an *a*-stem PN in the nominative, a variant of *atas* or *tates*. This badly preserved inscription is read on a step monument with a possible idol: [.?]*y*[.?]*agaua* | [-?-]*tataẹ*[?][..?] | [-?-]*e*[.].
Brixhe and Sıvas 2002, 107–108.

taniyeṇ[?] (PN)
OPhr. nom. sg. *taniyeṇ*[?] K-01 VI–VII b
Although Brixhe (on *taniyeṇ* in Brixhe and Summers 2006, 127) offered the segmentation *tata niye*[.] *ẹḍaes*, only space for one letter remains after *niye*[, and in the light of *aniyen* in W-01c it is very likely that it must be read as *taniyeṇ*. Indeed, this *ny* fits very well with the remaining part of a vertical sign. Consequently, this word is a mere variant of *aniyen*, as *tatas* is of *atas*. As in the case of *aniyen*, it is preferable to understand this word as an anthroponym in the nominative, although its ending is expected to be *-an* in the light of *iman*, *imenos*. So, we have a sequence *taniyeṇ*[?] *ẹḍaes*, which means 'Tataniyes made/put (it)'.
Brixhe and Summers 2006, 126–128; Draycott and Summers 2008, 68–69.

tatas (PN)
OPhr. nom. sg. *tatas* G-04
nom. sg. *tates* G-122; [*t*][?]*ạtes* G-148?
It is very likely that *tatas* is an *a*-stem Lallname PN in nom. with the ending *-s*, a mere variant of *atas* or *tates*. Nevertheless, the inscription in which it is read is badly damaged and far from clear. Ophr. *tates* is a variant in *-e*. Both graffiti in which it is read are isolated names incised on potsherds. However, in G-148 it is doubtful whether the first *t* was present as in G-112, hence it could be the

PN *ates* attested in M-01a. In any case, it is a very common type of PN across the whole of Anatolia (see *KPN* 494–498 § 1517-1–1517-6).
Neroznak 1978, 97, 98, 108; CIPPh I, 90, 114, 134; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 199; Orel 1997a, 178, 460.

tates see *tatas*.

τε (?)
OPhr. τε 43.1 (69)?, τε 16.1 (116) l. 13?
Despite the similarity with Gr. τε 'and', it cannot represent this conj. because it is well attested in Phr. as *ke*, *key* and κε. Even the existence of this segmentation is doubtful, since it only occurs in two problematic texts. Indeed, in 43.1 (69) the reading and segmentation ει|ροι τε̣ αλενπ|ᾳτης is far from being clear, and in 16.1 (116) it was probably followed by one or two letters (Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 166) and the sequence ις κε ε̣ṿτοiṣινιοι κνουμαν τιαν τε[.]|[.]μαρδ̣ι ιδετοι οινις remains obscure, it could be an unknown longer word.
Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 166.

τεαμα and τεαμας see ατιαμας.

tedatoy and ***tedạt***[---] see τος and αδδακετ.

ṭ²eies see *geies*.

τειττετικμενος see τιττετικμενος.

tevanọ....[-?-] (?)
OPhr. *tevanọ*....[-?-] M-05
This word follows an anthroponym qualified by *mekas*: *apelan* uac. *mekas tevanọ*[---]. However, its nature remains unclear, as do its segmentation and reading. Haas (1960, 28), in his questionable reading (Morante Mediavilla 2006, 328–329), considered it an anthroponym read as *Evanos*. Lubotsky (1988, 14), on the other hand, suggested that the first element *t* could be the known particle, so *t=evanọṣ*. However, the last ⟨s⟩ does not fit the trace of a letter there (*CIPPh* I, 25). Orel (1997a, 28 and 461) understood this word to be an *a*-stem meaning 'cultic object', but since this inscription is read on a 'broken' façade (Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 235), his explanation is unlikely. Another problem is that we do not know the length of the inscription after the last traces. Consequently, it remains unclear.
Haas 1960, 28; CIPPh I, 25; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 180; Lubotsky 1988, 14; Orel 1997a, 28 and 461; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 78; Morante Mediavilla 2006, 328–329.

tekmoṛ (noun) 'sign, omen'
OPhr. sg. nom.-acc. *tekmoṛ* P-04 a; [*t*]*ẹḳmọ*[*r*] B-05, l. 1?
The correspondence with the defective Gr. word τέκμωρ 'sign' is evident due to the non-distinction between long and short vowels in the Phrygian alphabet. The etymology of the Gr. word, as well as τέκμαρ 'id.', is found in the PIE root *$*k^{u}ek$-* 'look at, see, behold' (*LIV*^{2} 383–385, *IEW* 638–639; see specific morphological details and discussion in Nussbaum 2014). Consequently, because it is known that *$*k^{u}e$* becomes *ke* in Phr., it must be considered a Gr. borrowing. In P-04 this noun occurs in a clear curse, probably in its apodosis. However, the sequence is unclear due to the lack of parallels and the existence of several gaps: *ios ni ąḳenan egeseti ọḳirterḳọ*[---] *tekmoṛ ot*[---]*seti vebru*. It probably works as the direct object. In B-05, the presence of this word is debated. While Neumann (1997, 20) argued that the sequence]*ẹḳmọ*[fits with [*t*]*ẹḳmọ*[*r*] or δεκμουνταης, Brixhe (2004a, 53) read *dekm*[---].
Lubotsky 1988, 13; Neumann 1997, 20; Orel 1997a, 296, 460; Brixhe 2004a, 53.

tel$^{?}$ẹmi (noun?)
OPhr. *tel$^{?}$ẹmi* B-01, l. 4
The dubious letter could be also read as ⟨y⟩, but ⟨l⟩ is the more probable according to *CIPPh* (I, 65). This unclear word occurs in a imprecation and, due to its position, seems to agree with the neuter indefinite pronoun *kin* in the sg. acc. (Lubotsky 1993b, 97), despite the fact that this ending is somewhat unusual: *yos tivo* [*t*]*ą spereṭą ayni kin te*[*l*]*ẹmi* | [..]*toyo*[.]*is* [.]*erktẹvoys ekey dą*[*b*]*ati*. That is why Orel (1997a, 460) suggested restoring *telemi*[*n*], but no trace can be observed. Moreover, since in this inscription the end of a line always coincides with a word boundary, according to Lubotsky (1933b, 94) the presence of an ending in the following line is not expected. Finally, its meaning and etymology remain unclear. Orel (1997a, 143, 460) gave an alternative proposal to his previous one (Bayun and Orel 1988a, 188, where it is considered a loanword from Gr. θαλάμη 'cave, burial chamber'), comparing it with Gr. τελαμών 'broad strap or band for bearing or supporting anything'. Nevertheless, the Phr. word, allegedly related to Gr. ταλάσσαι 'to endure, tolerate', does not fit with the laryngeal of the PIE root *$*telh_2$-* 'bear, endure' (*LIV*^{2} 622–623, *IEW* 1060–1061).
CIPPh I, 65; Lubotsky 1993b, 97, 143; Orel 1997a, 143, 460.

τεμρογειος (EN) 'Tymbrogic'
NPhr. masc. nom. sg. τεμρογε|ιος 1.1 (48)
An *o*-stem masculine adj. that agrees with the DN Μας in the nominative. In the sentence where it is found it works as the agent among three other divine names: Μιτραφατα κε Μας Τεμρογειος κε Πουντας Βας κε ενσταρνą. This word

derives from the name of the Τέμβρις or Τέμβρος (see *Tembrogius* in Plin. *NH* 6.4), tributary river of the Σαγγάριος (modern Sakarya), through the common suffix *-e̯io-*. Note that river cults are quite abundant in Greco-Roman Anatolia (also in Dorylaion, where this inscription was found; see Parker 2016).
von Prott 1898, 363; Lubotsky 1997, 122; Orel 1997a, 100, 460.

tesan (noun?)
OPhr. acc. sg. *tesan* T-02b
This word, which only appears in a fragmented stele from Tyana, is bordered by the interpunction and is followed by *a↑ion* which seems to agree with it: [---]*ṭumida* ⁝ *memeuis* ⁝ [---]|[---]*a* ⁝ *tesan* ⁝ *a↑ion* ⁝ *ν*[---]|[---]*oitumen* ⁝ *miḍḍa*[---]. Since this last word has been interpreted as an adjective, *tesan* has been considered a masculine noun in the acc. (Brixhe 1991, 42). On its meaning, Orel (1997a, 310, 461) suggested a borrowing from the Lyd. *taśẽn* 'column' (40; see Payne and Sasseville 2016, 76). On the other hand, according to Brixhe (1991, 42) *a↑ion* could also be interpreted as a noun and, if this is the case, *tesan* should be considered an adj. or an acc. pronominal sequence *t=esan*, parallel to *esai=t*. However, in all clear occurrences of such a sequence the clitic particle follows the pronoun: *esai=t*, *ses=t*, *sin=t* and *si=t*. Consequently, the word remains unexplained.
Brixhe 1991, 42; Orel 1997a, 310, 461.

τετιϰμενος see τιττετιϰμενος.

teu[-?-] (PN)
OPhr. *teu*[-?-] G-340
This graffito incised on a potsherd was perhaps followed by more letters, but no trace remains after the last letter. Although no parallel can be adduced here, according to Brixhe (2002a, 95) it is likely a PN, perhaps an abbreviation.
Brixhe 2002a, 94–95.

τευτου (verb) lack
NPhr. 3sg. imp. act. τευτου 62.2 (33), l. 6; 62.5 (36), l. 9–10
? τευτωσι 16.1 (116), l. 8
The word τευτ- has been interpreted as a Galatian loanword. Indeed, the two occurrences of τευτους are found in Sinanlı, a city in Galatia. Since the word **teu̯t-eh₂* is only clearly identified in some IE western branches (Italic, Celtic, Gm. and Baltic), it has been considered a borrowing from an unknown European language (*EDG* 461–465). However, the Celtic element *teuto-* in Galatian shifted to *touto-* in light of the tribal names *Ambitoutus* (near Gordion, accord-

ing to Plin. *HN* 5.146) and *Toutobodiaci* (associated with Tectosages, according to Plin. *HN* 5.146), thus the Phrygian word may not have this origin. Moreover, the morphology of the word presents some problems. Firstly, both occurrences of τευτους, as its traditionally segmented, are in the same sentence, an apodosis of a curse: αυτος κε ουα κο⁞ροκα γεγαριτμενος ας βαταν τευτους. The preceding word is the DN Βαταν, in the acc. because of the preposition ας. However, τευτους is not an acc. and there is no verb in this apodosis. In such a scenario, the easiest explanation is to consider it a verb in 3sg. imp. act. τευτου (as suggested in Obrador-Cursach 2017, 309), with a clitic ≠ς also found in MPhr-01 ομνισιτου≠ς. The meaning of this verb and its origin are still unknown, although it can be equated to Gr. δέω 'lack, miss'. Also unclear is the form τευτωσι, considered an *o*-stem noun in pl. dat. by Brixhe and Neumann (1985, 177, see ζεμελωσι instead of common ζεμελως), which seems to share the same root.
Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 177; Bayun and Orel 1988b, 156; Orel 1997a, 253, 461; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 194; Obrador-Cursach 2017, 308–309; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1830.

τευτωσι see τευτους.

ti and τι[1] see τος.

τι[2] see τιε.

τιαμας see ατεαμας

τιαν see τιε.

tias (ethnic?) 'from Tios'?
OPhr. sg. nom. masc. *t|ias* (G-249)
Read on a weight, it qualifies the word *se*Ψ*el* 'weight'. In light of parallels such as *šql ḥmt* 'Shekel of Ḥamath', *šql ṣydn* 'Shekel of Sidon' or *šql qrqr* 'Shekel of *Qarqar*' (see Riis and Buhl 1990 and Deutsch and Millard 2014), *t|ias* can be considered an ethnic (see also πουντας), perhaps related to the Bithynian city Τίειον, Τίος, Τήιον (*KON* 618–619 § 1337), named after *Ti-* (the Phrygian Zeus) according to FGrH 699 F 9 of Demosthenes's *Bithynian History* (St.Byz *s.u.* Τίος): Δημοσθένης δ'ἐν Βιθυνιακοῖς φησι κτιστὴν τῆς πόλεως γενέσθαι Πάταρον ἐλόντα Παφλαγονίαν, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τιμᾶν τὸν Δία Τίον προσαγορεῦσαι 'Demosthenes in his *Bithyniaca* says that the city's founder was Pataros, who conquered Paphlagonia, and that he called it Tios after Zeus worship'. Nevertheless, other unrecorded cities could be also named after this central Phrygian god, and the suggested identification is a mere possibility.

tib (PN)
OPhr. *tib* G-158
Abbreviation of a PN incised on a potsherd. The development of this abbreviation remains unknown because of the lack of parallels.
CIPPh 1, 141–142; Roller 1987a, 51; Orel 1997a, 197, 461.

τιγγεγαριτμενος see γεγαριτμενος.

τιδρεγρουν (adj.) 'unenjoyable, *innutribile*'
NPhr. nom. sg. neut. τιδρεγρουν 62.2 (33); [τιδρ]ε̣γρο|υν 54.1? (108)
nom. sg. neut. τιδρερουν 53.1 (76)
This word functions as an attribute in the three examples of the formula ακκε οι βεκος ακκαλος τιδρεγρουν 'may bread ακκαλος become τ. for him'. Thus, it agrees with βεκος in the neuter sg. acc., so it is a thematic adj. and its endings go back to PIE *-*on*. It also presents the well-known prefix τι- < *$d(u̯)is$-. The form τιδρερουν, if it is not an engraver's error for τιδρεγρουν, perhaps reflects the difficulties of articulating consonant clusters in Phrygian. Its etymology remains problematic, since the only word to which it can be equated is the Gr. verb τρέφω 'to make fat, feed, bring up, care for', according to Haas (1966, 69, 84) and Lubotsky (2004, 235–236). If we accept their hypothesis and reject Beekes's Pre-Gr. etymology (*EDG* 1504–1506) for τρέφω, both occurrences go back to a PIE form *$d^{h}reg^{u̯h}$-*ro*- whose labialised stop fits with the obscure Myc. adj. *to-ro-qa* (which modifies the term for 'oil'). However, these Gr. words call for a better explanation of their history and relation with other potential IE occurrences.
Haas 1966, 69, 84; Panagl and Kowal 1983, 187–188; Lubotsky 2004, 235–236.

τιδρερουν see τιδρεγρουν.

τιε (DN) 'Zeus'
OPhr. sg. dat. *tiei* NW-101 A II
NPhr. sg. dat. τι 9.1 (87), 38.1 (44), 39.1 (11), 42.1 (101), 44.3 (67), 47.1 (51), 49.3 (85), 50.1 (54), 51.1 (80), 53.1 (76), 53.2 (77), 54.1 (108), 56.1 (57), 58.1 (72), 59.4 (106), 66.1 (103); τιε 3.1 (97), 4.1 (2), 10.1 (112), 14.1 (73), 15.1 (120), 17.2 (3), 17.3 (7), 25.1 (115), 25.2 (126), 27.1 (92), 30.2 (68), 33.3 (127), 35.1 (25), 36.1 (26), 36.3 (94), 40.1 (12), 40.4 (102), 41.1 (45), 44.1 (61), 44.2 (70), 55.1 (56), 61.1 (100), 63.1 (123); ⌜τι⌝ε 52.1 (75); τιη 8.1 (86), 18.3 (6), 20.3 (62), 29.1 (114), 30.1 (39), 45.1 (65)
sg. acc. τιαν 2.2 (130), l. 8; 7.1 (99), 7.3 (14), 16.1 (116) l. 13; 46.1 (53) l. 9.

sg. gen. τιος 53.1 (76), 54.1 (108), 60.1 (59), 60.2 (60), 62.1 (32), 62.2 (33), 62.3 (34), 62.5 (36), 62.6 (105)

Gloss Δημοσθένης δ'ἐν Βιθυνιακοῖς φησι κτιστὴν τῆς πόλεως γενέσθαι Πάταρον ἑλόντα Παφλαγονίαν, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τιμᾶν τὸν Δία Τίον προσαγορεῦσαι (St.Byz, *Bithyniaca*).

This *i*-stem DN, equated with Gr. Ζεύς and based on the PIE root **di̯-éu̯-* 'sky' (*NIL* 70–71), was identified by Lubotsky (2004, 229–230, improving his previous proposals). Most instances occur in the common imprecative apodosis as the agent of the curse. The form τιαν is its acc. and goes back to PIE **di̯ém*, parallel Gr. forms Ζῆν, Δία, Δίϝα. In all instances it is governed by the preposition ας in 7.1, 7.3 and 46.1. In 2.2 the uses of the accusatives seem to be related to the unique sequence εικαδ present in this apodosis: τιττετι|[κ]μενος ειτου εικαδ αυτον μεκαν Τιαν 'let him become accursed by? the same great Zeus'. The last occurrence, 45.1, is in another possible imprecation, but the context remains obscure and the reason for the presence of the DN is unclear: ις κε εν̣ | τοισ̣ινιοι κνουμαν Τιαν τε[.]|[.]μαρδ̣ι ιδετοι οινις. The gen. τιος appears in the apodosis formula γεγρειμεναν εγεδου τιος ουταν 'let him have the curse? of Zeus'. The word it modifies is ουταν. Morphologically, it goes back to PIE **diu̯ós* and presents the common drop of **u̯* before the vowel *o*. Compare with Gr. Διός, Διϝός. The other occurrences, *tiei*, τι, τιε and τιη are its dat. case, equated to Gr. Διί, Διϝί, reflecting the PIE form **diu̯éi*. Here, the drop of **u̯* has been explained as a levelling from the other cases. With the exception of the OPhr. occurrence, it appears in the same context as the acc., i.e., in the apodosis. The difference is that it is governed by the preposition αδ / ατ, whose dental geminates before that of DN and is often simplified. On occasion this dative is used without the preposition, but the meaning is clearly the same. The different graphemes are due to phonetic and graphical reasons. According to Lubotsky (1997, 126, fn. 23), τι only occurs before vowels while τιη only occurs before consonants. By contrast, τιε occurs in both instances, although it is less attested before vowels (only five times). Regarding the only OPhr. form, the dat. *tiei* appears in the obscure object governed by the preposition *ad*: *de⅄eti* | *to⊤i a tiei*. It is possible that this DN can be found in words such as *tiveia* and the unclear sequences *tiv*[.|.?]*n* and *tivo*, but the readings are not clear enough to confirm this.

Heubeck 1987, 70–73; Lubotsky 1989a; Brixhe 1997, 42–47; Lubotsky 1997, 126, fn. 23; Lubotsky 1998; Brixhe 2002a, 7; Lubotsky 2004, 229–230; Matzinger 2006, 203.

tiei see τιε.

tiveia (PN?)
OPhr. sg. nom. *tiveia* G-183a
This graffito, read on the bottom of a bowl, is composed of two words: *tiveia imeneia*. Despite its simplicity, the circular disposition of the text does not allow *tiveia* to be conclusively identified as the first element, although its letters are bigger than those of *imeneia*. Some scholars think these words refer to the object itself. However, it is more likely an anthroponym, as is common in this type of text. Consequently, *tiveia* is considered an *a*-stem fem. personal name in nom. Lubotsky (2004, 230) suggested that it is perhaps related to the DN *ti-* 'Zeus'. In any case, it is very likely related to PNs read in Gr. inscriptions from Phrygia, Pisidia and Bithynia, such as Τιβιος and Τιβειος (*KPN* 513 §1556-1–1556-2; also borne by Phr. slaves in Greece, see, e.g., the slaves list Chios 62). Consequently, *tiveia imeneia* is a compound anthroponymic formula: personal name + patronymic? 'Tiveia (the daughter of) Iman' or compound name 'Tiveia Imeneia', see M-03 [*b*$^{?}$]*abas iman*.
CIPPh 1, 156–157; Innocente 1997, 39 and 40; Orel 1997a, 463; Brixhe 2004a, 83; Lubotsky 2004, 230; Wittke 2004, 201.

tivo (?)
OPhr. *tivo* B-01, l. 4
No parallel to this sequence can be adduced. It occurs in a possible imprecative: *yos tivo* [*t*]*ạ speretạ ayni kin te*[*l*]*ẹmi*. The relation with the DN *ti-* is suggested by Lubotsky (2004, 230) and Brixhe (2004a, 83).
Brixhe 2004a, 83; Lubotsky 1993, 96–97.

tiv[.|.$^{?}$]***n*** (noun?)
OPhr. sg. acc. *tiv*[.|.$^{?}$]*n* B-07, l. 2–3
Since this is the first element in a sequence of nouns in sg. acc. linked by the copulative conj. *ke*, it is very likely another noun in the acc.: *yos tiv*[.|.$^{?}$]*n ke devụṇ k*(*e*) *umnotan ordoineten*. The gap of one or two letters complicates the identification of this hapax. Lubotsky (2004, 230) and Brixhe (2004a, 83) hypothesized that it may be related to the DN *ti-* 'Zeus'.
Brixhe 2004a, 83; Lubotsky 2004, 230.

τιη see τιε.

tiṉu.[---] (PN)
OPhr. *tiṉu.*[---] G-190
In this graffito incised on a potsherd the letter ⟨u⟩ is merged with ⟨n⟩, after which no more letters can be read, only traces before the broken border.

Despite the lack of parallels, it seems to be an abbreviated PN. The reading *tiŋuị* given by Bayun and Orel (1988a, 199) is far from being corroborated.
CIPPh 1, 160–161; Orel 1997a, 201.

τιος see τιε.

tir (PN?)
OPhr. *tir* or *tr* NW-111
According to Brixhe's reading (2002a, 18–19), it is unclear whether this graffito incised on a potsherd is composed of two or three letters. However, it is likely an abbreviation of a PN, despite the lack of parallels.
Brixhe 2002a, 18–19.

τις (pronoun) 'whoever, any'
NPhr. neut. sg. nom.-acc. τι 30.1 (39)
masc. nom. τις 28.1 (71)
This sequence, read only once, presents some problems. First of all, according to the first editor (Calder 1913, 101), who was the only person to see it, "there is a space, due apparently to an ancient fault in the stone, between the first and second letters" where "no certain trace of a letter could be made out in this space." Secondly, it occurs at the beginning of a imprecative protasis instead of the common relative pronoun *yos* / ιος: τις κ' εγερε[ν/τ], τιττετικμ̣[ε]|νοι ιννου. Consequently, it is very likely used as a relative pronoun. Note, however, that τις is expected to be pl. because of the apodosis, but it seems morphologically a sg. Third, there appears to be related to the Gr. indefinite pronoun τις, τι, which sometimes functions as the relative. However, it goes back to PIE *$k^{\mu}is$, which in Phrygian is attested in the neuter κιν, showing the Phrygian development *k^{μ}- > *k*- consistent with other occurrences. Consequently, it must be a Gr. borrowing.

tiṣiṣ (PN)
OPhr. sg. nom. *tiṣiṣ* W-102
This single word incised on a potsherd is very likely an *i*-stem PN. However, no parallel can be adduced.
Brixhe and Sıvas 2003, 66.

tiyes (PN)
OPhr. sg. nom. *tiyes* M-04
The inscription in which this name is read bears the title *modrovanak* 'the King of Modro'. Some time ago *Tiyes* was interpreted as the nominative of the DN *ti-*

by Lubotsky (1988, 12 fn. 3), but he later showed that this was incorrect (2004, 229 fn. 2). However, this earlier explanation sometimes appears in the work of other scholars. As Orel (1997a, 26) argued, the origin of this name must be Anatolian in light of occurrences such as Hitt. *Tiia-* and Gr. Τιηος (also found in Phrygia) and Τιος, from Pisidia (*KPN* 513–514 § 1558).

Neroznak 1978, 75; CIPPh 1, 23; Lubotsky 1988, 12 fn. 3; Neumann 1988, 15; Innocente 1997, 38; Orel 1997a, 26, 463; Brixhe 2002a, 61; Lubotsky 2004, 229 fn. 2; Wittke 2004, 201.

†τιηιον see μροτις and *yos*.

τιτεẏ[---] (?)

NPhr. τιτεẏ[---] 26.2 (38)

This word begins a sentence after the common NPhr. imprecative formula. However, this part of the inscription, τιτεẏ[.]|[*circa* 9]ις, was badly damaged when Ramsay copied it (1905, 100) and no parallel has been found. Consequently, this word remains unclear, despite Orel considering it a possible *i*-stem word in sg. nom.

Orel 1997a, 92 and 463.

τιττετικμενος (participle) 'accursed'

NPhr.	pl. gen.	τιτετουκμενουν 33.1 (28)
	masc. pl. nom.	τιττετικμενοι 28.1 (71); τιττ[ε|τικμενοι] 17.3 (7)?
	neut. pl. nom.	τιττετικμενα 40.1 (12)
	masc. sg. nom.	τιττετικμενος 2.2 (130), 4.1 (2), 8.1 (86), 10.1 (112), 12.1 (121), 13.1 (122), 17.2 (3), 18.3 (6), 20.3 (62), 24.1 (40), 25.1 (115), 25.2 (126), 29.1 (111), 30.1 (39), 35.1 (25), 36.1 (26), 41.1 (45), 46.1 (53), 52.1 (75), 53.1 (76), 53.2 (77), 54.1 (108), 56.1 (57), 63.1 (123), 65.3 (21); τιṭ[τετικμενος] 10.2 (113); [τιττετικμε]ẏος 11.1 (17)?; [τιττετικ]μẹνος 11.3 (17)?, 15.1 (120)?; [τιτ]|τετικμενος 17.5 (91)?; [τιττετικ]μενος 26.1 (8)?; [τιττ]ετικμενος 37.1 (10)?; [τιττετικμε]νος 42.1 (101)?; [τιττετικ]|με[νος] 44.2 (70)?; τιṭ|[ετ]ικμενο[ς] 51.1 (80); ϑιτ[τ]ετικμενẏ[ς] 45.1 (65); τιτετικμενος 3.1 (97), 7.1 (99), 7.3 (14), 17.6 (119), 18.1 (4), 18.2 (5), 19.1 (96), 20.2 (128), 30.2 (68), 32.1 (93), 33.3 (127), 36.3 (94), 40.4 (102), 43.1 (69), 44.1 (61), 58.1 (72), 59.4 (106), 61.1 (100), 64.1 (81), 65.1 (20), 65.4 (124); τιτε{τε}|τι[κμενο]ς 20.1 (63); [τι]τετικμενος 26.2 (38)?; τιτετικμ[ενος] 27.1 (92)?; [τι]τετικμε|[νος] 39.1 (11); τιτετειικμενος

5.1 (19); τειττετικμενος 55.1 (56); τετικμενος 57.1 (78); τετιο|κμενος 22.2 (118); ατετικμενος 44.3 (67), 47.1 (51); ẹ̣τ̣τετικμενος 17.4 (90)

All occurrences are variants of the same basic form τετικμενο-, which only occurs in the apodosis formula: (με δεως κε ζεμελως κε ατ τιε) τιττετικμενος ειτου. Its meaning, 'accursed', has been established since the earliest studies of Phrygian. Formally, it is the reduplicated perfect participle (*-*mh₁no*-) of the root -τικ-. Lubotsky (1998, 420, fn. 22 and 2004, 235) identified the origin of this root in the PIE verbal root **deiḱ*- 'to point, indicate' (*LIV*² 108–109, *IEW* 188–189), equated to Gr. verbs such as δια-δικάζω 'to judge' and κατα-δικάζω 'to condemn'. Most of the forms present the preverb τι(τ)- < PIE **d*(*u̯*)*is*-. The last original *-*s* of this preverb is the origin of the dental geminated sequence -ττ- through an assimilation, which often is later simplified. The form τειττετικμενος reflects the Gr. itacism, and the spelling of τετιοκμενος is a hypercorrection after the Gr. shift /jo/ > /i/ (see ις for ιος), while θ̣ιτ[τ]ετικμενο̣[ς] is spelled with a hypercorrected *theta*. Also, the preverb ατ is present in two occurrences (44.3, 47.1) instead of τι(τ)-, although the last voiceless dental has been simplified after the appearance of the geminated cluster. Most occurrences are in the nominative singular, but τιττετικμενοι is in the masc. nom. pl., τιτετουκμενουν probably in the pl. gen. (Lubotsky 2004, 235) and τιττετικμενα in the neuter nominative plural.

Lubotsky 1998, 420, fn. 22; Lubotsky 2004, 235; Sowa 2007a, 89–90.

tvemes (?)

OPhr. *tvemes* M-01dI

The only occurrence of this word is in the text *midas* | *s≈materan* | *tvemes eneparkes*, in which the only verb is the last word. Its agent must be *midas* and its direct object *s≈materan*. The word *tvemes* could be a pl. acc. There is no connector between *materan* and this word. It may be an *e*-stem PI (without parallels) in the nominative, but its relation with *midas* is strange and has led to suggestions that we are in fact dealing with two sentences. In any case, the question remains open.

CIPPh 1, 14; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 178; Orel 1997a, 17–18.

τo see τος.

τοα (?)

NPhr. τοα 16.1 (116) l. 4

This is an unparalleled sequence that appears after a verb and before a preposition: ριδιτι ται τοα̣ | μ̣ε̣ ǫ̣ỵομανιας εναρκε ερμω[λ]|ą̣ǫ̣ς κναικο εκατηας. Brixhe and Neumann (1985, 166) consider that τοα may stand for /twa/. Since the inscrip-

tion is damaged at both margins and on other lines some letters are lost, it may have been followed by another letter. However, only *iota* fits there (Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 173).
Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 166, 173.

tovo see τος.

τοισινιοι (?)
NPhr. τοισινιοι 16.1 (116)
This word is read in a sentence that closes the inscription and is likely an imprecation: ις κε εẏ | τοiṣινιοι κνουμαν τιαν τε[.]|[.]μarδ̣ι ιδετοι οινις. Brixhe and Neumann (1985, 182) suggested a hypothetical segmentation τοις ινιοι. Although it is an obscure sentence, ινιοι is not expected to resemble the verbal forms ισνιο[υ], ισνου or ιννου because they appear at the end of the apodosis, not at the beginning of the imprecation like ινιοι. Consequently, it remains unclear.
Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 182–183.

tolos (PN?)
OPhr. sg. nom. *tolos* M-07
The whole remaining inscription consists of this isolated word. It looks like an *o*-stem anthroponym in the nominative, but no parallel can be adduced.
CIPPh 1, 27; Neumann 1988, 15; Innocente 1997, 38; Orel 1997a, 30, 464.

torvetun (verb) 'to cut wood'
OPhr. masc. sg. nom. pres. part.? *torvetun* B-05, l. 11
Hämmig (2013, 150, fn. 52, see also Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 185) suggested that *torvetun* probably derives from the PIE noun **doru*- 'tree, wood', found, e.g., in Gr. δόρυ 'wood, tree, spear', Skt. *dā́ru* 'wood', Hitt. *tāru* 'id.' and ToAB *or* 'id.'. Since the Gr. text of this inscription contains the imprecative protasis ὅστις περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν κακουρ⟨γ⟩ετήσαι ἢ δρῦν ἐκόψαι 'whoever messes up towards the sanctuary or cuts a tree…', and is an excellent fit with the Phr. protasis of l. 11 †*iv*† ?*imun inmeney ạsenạn dạket torvetun* ↑*irạy ạyniy oy tubnuv*, this proposal is likely. Morphologically, it can be an *o*-stem noun in sg. acc. (Brixhe 2004a, 63) or, more likely on the basis of the syntax, a masc. sg. nom. pres. part. of a denominative verb derived from **doru*- (similar to Gr. ξυλίζομαι 'gather wood', Hämmig 2013, 150, fn. 52). The suffix remains unclear. Compare its ending with *kuryaneyon*. On the prohibition of cutting trees in shrines, see the very interesting parallels in Epikrates' Testament l. 74–76 (2nd c. BC, from Yatağan, Mysia, Herrmann and Polatkan 1969) and in the confession inscriptions from Lydia and Phrygia (such as de Hoz 1999, no. 61.23).
Brixhe 2004a, 63; Hämmig 2013, 150, fn. 52; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 185; Hämmig fthc. a.

τος (anaphoric pronoun) 'that'

OPhr.	masc.-neut. sg. gen.	*tovo* G-02c; [*t*]*ovo* P-01?
	fem. sg. acc.	*tan* W-01c
	neut. pl. nom.-acc.	[*t*]*ạ* B-01
	particle	*t* B-05 l. 1 and l. 2, W-01b
	neut. sg. nom.-acc.	*ti* B-05 l. 1
NPhr.	particle	τ 53.1 (76)
	masc. sg. nom.	τος 17.2 (3), 18.3 (6), 19.2 (129), 35.1 (25), 43.1 (69), 59.3 (79), 66.1 (103)
	fem. sg. acc.	ταν 2.1 (15) l. 1, 11.2 (18) l. 5, 16.1 (116) l. 2, 37.2 (30)
	fem. sg. dat.	ται 11.2 (18), 16.1 (116) l. 4; [τ]αι 21.1 (42)?
	fem. sg. dat.	τα 11.2 (18) l. 5
	neut. sg. dat.	το 15.1 (120), 17.6 (119), 37.2 (27)
	particle	τι 30.1 (39), 35.1 (25), 44.3 (67), 66.1 (103)
	neut. sg. dat.	του 9.1 (87), 25.1 (115), 37.1 (10), 44.1 (61), 55.1 (56), 64.1 (81); τ[ου] 30.1 (39)?

This pronoun goes back to PIE anaphoric **to-* (*LIPP* II, 779–799). Although most forms are morphologically clear, some need to be explained. The OPhr. *tovo* has been interpreted as gen. with an epenthetic *-v-*: PIE **toso* > *to.o*. The presence of *tovo* in P-01 and P-04 c is highly doubtful. NPhr. του can be explained as a developing of **tōi̯*, whereas the forms *t*, τ and *ti*, τι seem to fall outside the paradigm and are used as emphatic particles in a similar position to *s*, *si*: note that it strengthen the demonstrative pronoun in, e.g., *esai=t* and σεμουν=τ. The masc. sg. nom. τος is always used as an anaphoric pronoun at the beginning of the imprecative apodosis: ιος νι… τος νι… ('whoever…, this one…'). This usage is also possible in G-02 *tovo* 'of him', considered by Kloekhost to be the ending of the imprecative protasis (*ios oporokitis* | *kakoioi tovo* ⋮ *podaskai*[?]), and W-01c, where *tan* may refer to the represented *matar* (*ataniyen* ⋮ *kuryaneyon* ⋮ *ta*|*n egertoy*). However, this usage is not so clear in other occurrences. It often appears in agreement with nouns: B-01 *yos tivo* [*t*]*ạ spereta ayni kin te*[*l*]*ẹmi*…, 2.1 Ξευνη ταν ειξα υψο|δαν… In some instances its referent is unclear, as happens in 37.2 οι αυτω αυταη κε ταν ειγ̣γ̣ọ̣γ̣. In 4.1 τα is read in the position where the pronoun σα(ι) is expected, so it is used as a demostrative: ιος σα μανκαι κακουν αδδακετ. Lejeune (1969b, 296) and Brixhe (1978b, 7) explain this oddity as the influence of the Gr. article. The form το is a mere graphic variant of του in inscriptions where the notation ου is avoided (see σεμον instead of σεμουν). Both forms perhaps function as a true article since they appear between a demonstrative pronoun and a noun: 37.1 ιος νι σεμουν του κνουμανει κακουν αδδακετ. The sequence σεμουν του κνουμανει has been equated to the common Gr. τούτῳ τῷ μνημείῳ. However, while του is expected to be a masc.-neut. sg. dat., it also appears in fem.: 55.1 ιος

σας του σκερεδριας κακουν δακετ (see also 25.1 and 64.1). So, it is difficult to consider a real concordance. It is probably used as an indeclinable particle, like *t* or *ti*. Indeed, in light of this consideration, Brixhe (1978b, 21) defined τι and του as two diferent particles whose purpose is to reinforce the demonstrative pronoun.

Gusmani 1958, 881; Lejeune 1969b, 296–297, 299; Brixhe 1978a, 11–12; Brixhe 1978b, 7–8, 21; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 190; Kloekhorst 2015, 114; LIPP II, 779–799; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1827.

tosk[---] (?)
OPhr. *tosk*[---] G-147
An incomplete graffito on a potsherd. This beginning of a word follows the well-attested word *mekas*. Due to the loss of its ending and the lack of parallels, it remains unclear, although Bayun and Orel (1988a, 195 and Orel 1997a, 192) gave the segmentation *mekas tos k*[---].
Bayun and Orel 1988a, 195; Orel 1997a, 192.

τοσου (?)
NPhr. (προ)τοσου 40.3 (31) l. 8
Anderson's drawing (1898, 121) suggests that after this text there were no more traces of letters. However, this cannot be corroborated. The word was preceded by προ. It is unclear if it was used as a preposition or if it is a single word: προτοσου. The lack of parallels and the presence of gaps complicate the interpretation of the final part of this inscription, where προτοσου is read. Kowal (1984b, 184) is right to reject Haas's identification (1966, 104) of a verb in this sequence. Moreover, Orel (1997a, 335, 457) suggested a borrowing from or a word related to Gr. πρῶτος 'first', but as a result of the last sequence ου is difficult to defend (it is true that an obscure ουν MPhr-01 is attested). In any case, this sequence remains unclear.
Kowal 1984b, 184; Orel 1997a, 335, 457.

totin (noun) 'offering'
OPhr. sg. acc. *totin* M-01f
The word *totin* is segmented by the interpunction used in this inscription. *CIPPh* (I, 17) suggested, with reservations, that it is perhaps a pronoun similar to Gaul. *sosin* (G-153, L-13) < **so-sin*, so Phrygian *totin* < **to-tin*. On the other hand, Orel (1997a, 22 and 464) equated it to Skt. *táti*, Gr. τόσ(σ)ος < **toti̯os* and Lat. *tot*, translating it as 'whole', but the first interpretation is more attractive. What is clear is that it is probably a word in the acc. and, consequently, the direct object of the sentence [--]*as tuaveniy ae esuryoyoy totin ẹḍaẹ*[*s*]. It does

not seem to agree with another word and, because of the presence of *edaes*, it perhaps refers to something related to the monument. Recently, Ligorio (2016) identified here the PIE word **dh₃-ti-* 'gift' (*NIL* 61), attested in Gr. as δόσις 'id.' and in Skt. compounds as *bhaga-tti-* 'gift of luck'. According to Ligorio, the sentence basically means '[---]as has put (it) as a gift'. Since the context is clearly religious, perhaps it is better translated as 'offering'.
CIPPh I, 17; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 179; Orel 1997a, 22, 464; Ligorio 2016.

†**τοτος** see τοτοσσειτι.

τοτοσσειτι (verb) 'give'

OPhr.	3sg. aor. act. ind.?	*etoves* B-08
NPhr.	3sg. pres. act. sub.	τοτοσσειτι 7.1 (99); τοτοσσε[?]ι[?]τι 11.2 (18)?; [τοτο]|σσει[τι] 56.3 (64)?

The segmentation of τοτοσσειτι has been discussed because of the uncommon sequence -σσ-. Although some scholars think it shows a word boundary (sometimes identifying τοτος with τευτος), Hämmig has recently interpreted it as a single word derived from the PIE **deh₃-* 'to give' (*LIV*² 105–106, IEW 223–225). Of course, this implies that it is a present reduplicated. However, a minor problem arises in the vocalisation of the reduplication, since something like PIE **dé-deh₃-* (Vedic *dádāti*) > Phr. **te-tō-* would be expected in light of δεδασσιννι 2.2 (130). Hämmig also considered *-σσ-* the reflex of the PIE suffix **-sḱ-*, although this is not at all clear (see § 4.2.2.1.1.2). In any case, it always occurs in imprecative apodosis: 7.1 με κε οι τοτοσσειτι Βας βεκος 'let Bas not give him bread', 11.2 βε⟨κ⟩ο|ς ιοι με τοτοσσε[?]ι[?]τι τοτος σαρναν (according to Hämmig fthc. a). The use of the subj. instead of the common impv. at the end of the imprecative apodosis is coherent with the presence of the prohibitive particle με. The OPhr. form is less clear. It occurs in the cultic inscription B-01: *si bevdos adi..*[..] *kạyarmọyo imroy edaes etoves niyo*[*y*[?]]. Formerly, it was segmented as *etovesniyo* (see Lubotsky 1993b, 96; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 186–187 segmented *etoves ni yo*), but the comparison with *epav[?]esniyoy* in B-08 provides the word boundary, despite the lack of space here (is *niyoy* a clitic word?). Recently, Brixhe and Vottéro (2016, 137) reconsidered the possibility that we are dealing with a verb (as Haas 1969, 77 suggested before). As a working hypothesis, and in light of NPhr. τοτοσσειτι, one can consider *etoves* the Phr. outcome of PIE aor. **déh₃-* / **dh₃-* found in ved. *ádāt* '(s)he gave', Gr. ἔδομεν 'we gave', Lacon. ἔδον 'I gave' (*IG* V[1] 1.B1), arm. *et* '[s]he gave', etc. In that case, the glide *v* can be explained as a mere antihiatic spelling between the root and the ending (compare with *devos* 'god' < **dʰesós*). In any case, the context is still obscure and it is difficult to corroborate this hypothesis.
Haas 1969, 77; Hämmig fthc. a; Brixhe and Vottéro 2016, 137.

του see τος.

to*𐤕*i (PN?)
OPhr. sg. nom. *to*𐤕*i* NW-101 A II
According to Brixhe (2002a, 8), this word may be an *i*-stem PN in nom. without ending *-s*. It is clearly the only word that can function as the agent of its sentence: *de*𐤅*eti* | *to*𐤕*i a tiei*. However, no parallel can be adduced. The word presents the strange letter 𐤕 (n. 19 c of *CIPPh* I, 282 catalogue), discussed in § 3.1.2.
Brixhe 2002a, 8.

tr see *tir*.

τρα[.....]τη[---] (noun?)
NPhr. τρα[.....]τη[---] 21.1 (42)
Despite the fact that there are some gaps which cannot be restored due to the lack of parallels of this word and its context, it is probably a fem. noun with a meaning related to the tomb, as it occurs in an imprecative protasis after the pronoun σα. On the other hand, some scholars think the word is σατρα[...]τη[---]. Orel (1997a, 95) suggested a reconstruction in light of Gr. τράπεζα 'table', but it is an unfounded proposal without parallels.
Orel 1997a, 95, 464.

tu (PN?)
OPhr. *tu* G-337 b
According to Brixhe (2002a, 91–92), this is a probable abbreviation of a PN. This graffito was incised on a ceramic vessel that also bears an isolated *t* and a non-verbal mark.
Brixhe 2002a, 91–92.

tuaveniy (?)
OPhr. *tuave*|*niy* M-01f
A word delimited by interpunction. The final glide is raised because of the initial vowel of the following word: [---]*as tuaveniy ae esuryoyoy totin ẹḍaẹ*[*s*]. The nature and the function of the word remain obscure.
CIPPh I, 17.

tubetiv (verb)
OPhr. 3sg. subj. pres? *tubetiv* B-05 l. 9
OPhr. 3pl. impv. *tubnuv* B-05 l. 10
Two variants of an obscure verb that are read in two different but equivalent imprecative protases (following Hämmig 2013, 132–133): *tubetiv oy nevos deraliv...; ay niy oy tubnuv nevos mederitoy...* Since *tubetiv* is spelled differently from the expected **tubetiy*, Neumann (1997, 23) and Gorbachov (2008, 100–101) preferred the segmentation *tubeti*. Gorbachov considered the possibility of a borrowing from Luw. *tūb(a)i-* 'strike' (found both in CLuw. and HLuw.), although he also admits that the Phr. form may continue PIE *(*s*)*tub*^{h}-, a protoform suggested by Melchert (1994, 242) for this Luw. verb and Lyc. *tubidi*, *tubeiti* 'strike down', also compared with Gr. στυφελίζω 'to strike hard, maltreat' (this etymon is not considered in *EDG* 1418–1419). Consequently, a loanword can be excluded (see also Simon 2017c).
Neumann 1997, 23; Gorbachov 2008, 100–101; Hämmig 2013, 132–133; Simon 2017c.

tubnuv see *tubetiv*.

ṭuvatis (PN)
OPhr. sg. nom. *ṭuvatis* or *guvatis* G-133
I-stem anthroponym in nom. Both readings are possible. However, the form *ṭuvatis* is preferred (following Innocente 1997, 325) because of the Luw. parallel *Tuwattis* (contrary to Bayun and Orel 1988a, 198).
CIPPh 1, 122; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 198; Neumann 1988, 17; Brixhe 1993, 339; Neumann 1995, 135; Innocente 1997, 35.

tumoy (noun?) 'house'?
OPhr. sg. dat.? *tumoy* B-06
This word is found after the relative pronoun *yos*, and both are written together between interpunctions because the pronoun is clitic. Although the inscription is in a precarious state of conservation (it was reused some centuries later), since *yos tumoy* occurs at the end of the text it is perhaps the beginning of a curse: [---]*y* : *yostumoy* : ↑*ekmatin* | [---]*atonkeyen*. However, there are too many gaps to clearly determine what the text says. Bakır and Gusmani (1991, 163) and Brixhe (2004a, 72) considered it a verb in the 3sg. opt. However, the verb is not commonly found immediately after the relative pronoun and, if the sentence is a curse, we must remember that the optative is not used in the protasis. Vassileva (1995, 29–31) interpreted it as a variant of the word δοῦμος 'religious association', but this is difficult to defend from a phonetic perspective because no other example of the shift OPhr. *t* > NPhr. *d* is found. It is probably

an *o*-stem noun in the sg. dat. and is perhaps based on the PIE root noun **dṓm* 'home, house' with a secondary *o*-stem, as well as Gr. δόμος 'house, living, room' (often used in funerary contexts) and Skt. *dáma-* 'house' (*EDG* 347). This proposal is made on the basis of the change **d* > *t* (see e.g., τιττετιχμενος), the vowel shift **o* > *u* (see, e.g., *muksos*) and the possible reference to the monument itself as a 'funerary house'. Indeed, if it is a curse, this reference is expected in such a position. Nonetheless, the word remains unclear because of the poor preservation of the text.

Bakır and Gusmani 1991, 163; Vassileva 1995, 29–31; Orel 1997a, 153 and 464; Brixhe 2004a, 72.

tuo[?][---] (?)

OPhr. *tuo*[?][---] G-302

Only two complete letters survive on this pottery fragment. The third shows a circular trace that may or may not be accidental. It could be an anthroponym, but this remains to be explained.

Brixhe 2002a, 63–64.

tutut.. (?)

OPhr. *tutut*.. W-01a

Text appearing after a relative pronoun: *yos tutut … ą-m-noy*… The following letters are illegible. However, *CIPPh* (I, 38) considered the reading *tututęy* : *ąmnoy* to be the most probable. If they are right, these two words could be two datives (Lubotsky 1988, 16). They have recently been claimed to contain the root **deh*$_3$- present in NPhr. τοτοσσειτι. However, this is not the common position for the verb and it does not fit the *CIPPh* reading. Consequently, this sequence remains obscure.

Neroznak 1978, 76; CIPPh 1, 38; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 182; Lubotsky 1988, 16; Hämmig fthc.

τυ.|[…] (?)

OPhr. τυ.|[…] 59.3 (79)

A sequence in a very damaged part of an imprecation. It is preceded by [….]ΤΟΣ. If this last sequence is the known pronoun, it could mark the beginning of the apodosis. Nevertheless, this sequence is difficult to interpret.

𐤉 (*u*) – Υ υ

υ (adverb) 'neither, nor'
NPhr. υ 4.1 (2)
The presence of this word at the beginning of the apodosis υ≠κε ακαλα οουιτε-του ουα has been explained as a graphic variant of the dat. pronoun (ι)οι 'to him' by Heubeck (1958, 22–23) and Brixhe (1997, 49, 67). However, it is an unusual spelling of /oj/ that has no parallels in the NPhr. corpus. Moreover, the presence of this suggested pronoun seems too pleonastic, since there is another reference to the accursed in the possessive ουα. Finally, if the verb means 'to find', it needs a negative particle in order to be something undesirable. *LIPP* (II, 340) provides another explanation: υ≠κε goes back to **h*$_2$*u-k*^{w}*e* 'but also', but such an interpretation hardly fits the context. Consequently, neither interpretation is defensible and another reading is required. Indeed, it is more easily explained as the negative adverb parallel to Gr. οὐ, and if this is the case, the construction υ≠κε would be a parallel of Gr. οὔτε 'and not'. The prohibitive particle *me* is expected here because of the imperative verb, but it is not an unattested occurrence in light of the Gr. funerary formula from Phrygian Eumeneia οὐ τεθῇ and variants, see, e.g., *MAMA* VI List 147,130 ἰς ὃ ἕτερος οὐ | τεθῇ 'into which no one else will be placed'. The verbs in these adduced parallels are in the subjunctive, but also the prohibitive particle μή would be expected instead of οὐ. Then, this form should be compared with Gr. οὐκ, οὐκ(ί), οὐχ(ί) 'not', Arm. *oč'* 'id.' and Alb. *as* 'id.', which is commonly considered the result of a PIE formation **h*$_2$*o*$_1$*iu*(*-k*^{u}*id*) (see *EDG* 1123, Martirosyan 2010, 531 and 2013, 91, with references). The NPhr. text points out a form without **i*$_1$, although a phonetic erosion—common in such grammatical words—cannot be ruled out, if not a consequence of the Gr. influence. In any case, the sentence in which it is found may mean 'and shall he not find his *akala*'.
Heubeck 1958, 22–23; Neumann 1971, 156; Brixhe 1997, 49,67; LIPP II, 340.

u$^{?}$ (mark)
OPhr. *u*$^{?}$ G-278 a
Although there are more letters on this cup, this one, as well as 𐤉, occurs in an isolated position with the sequence [-?-].$^{?}$[---]*ai*$^{?}$. It is very likely to be a mere commercial or owner's mark.
Brixhe 2002a, 38–39.

uei (PN?)
NPhr. *uei* G-338
Complete graffito. According to Brixhe (2002a, 92–93) it is an abbreviated anthroponym, better than a complete nominative form (without the ending *-s*). However, no parallel has been identified.
Brixhe 2002a, 92–93.

uva (PN)
NPhr. *uva* K-01 V
This PN features a nominative without the ending *-s*. It is characterised by the sign, ˹ which is always followed by a PN. Since the following word presents the same sign we can assume that it is an anthroponymic sequence, despite the fragmentation of the text: [---].*pa* ˹ *uva* ˹ .[---].
Brixhe and Summers 2006, 123.

υιταν (verb?)
MPhr. 3pl. op. act.? υιταν MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 6
According to Brixhe (2004a, 21) it can be analysed as an *a*-stem noun in the sg. acc. or as a verb in the 3pl. opt. act. He considers the latter option more likely because παρτης is assumed to be its subject. Its root seems to show that it is related to *vitaran* B-05, l. 3 and οουιτετου, which goes back to the PIE root **u̯eid-* 'behold, see' (*LIV*^{2} 665–667, *IEW* 1125–1127). Nonetheless, the sentence in which υιταν is read remains obscure: νικοστρατọ̣ς ḳλ̣ευμαχοι μιρος αιδομενου ματιν κισυις μọ̣.κρος υιταν παρτιας πλαδε πορ κοροος ..ọ̣ọ̣ς παντης πεννιτι.
Brixhe 2004a, 21.

u²l²ekey (?)
OPhr. *u²l²ekey* G-11 a
The whole text in which this sequence is read remains obscure; even the disposition of the text has yet to be established. Following Brixhe (2002a, 35), while *key* could be identified as the copulative conj., it is preferable to take this sequence as one word. Thus, it could be a consonantal stem noun in the sg. dat. However, the word remains unclear.
Brixhe 2002a, 35.

umniṣet (verb)
OPhr. 3sg. pres. act. sub. *umniṣet* B-05, l. 7
MPhr. 3sg. impv. act. ομνισιτου MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 8
Perhaps in B-05 the agent of umniset is kelmis: *kelmis ke umniṣet evrạduṣ dạḳerạiṣ key iverais* [--]| *ạtikrạiu*. The form ομνισιτ occurs in a relative clause: ιος

κοροαν δετοṿṇ | ṣọṿṇ ομαστα ομνισιτου≠ς. Despite the vocalic differences, these are probably different (but common) spellings of the same form. Nevertheless, the root **umn-*/ ομν- (probably also present in the adj. *umnotan*) is not identified, so the meaning is unknown. In light of its possition in MPhr-01, it may go back to PIE **h₃emh₃-* 'to insist, urge' (**h₂emh₃-* in *LIV*² 265–266; see *EDG* 1078) and mean something similar to Gr. ὄμνυμι 'to swear, affirm with an oath, take a vow'. Its presence in the MPhr. epitaph is not surprising if one takes into account that later Phrygian epitaphs commonly include terms related to 'make a vow'. Previously, ομνισιτου≠ς was segmented as ομνισιτ ους. Compare the presence of the clitic with the verb τευτου≠ς (62.2 = 33 and 62.5 = 36).
Brixhe 2004a, 24, 59.

umnotan (adj.)
OPhr. acc. sg. *umnotan* B-07
It is very likely it is an *a*-stem deverbative adj. with the suffix *-ta-* of the same root attested in *umniset* and ομνισιτου. It agrees with the noun *ordoineten* in a relative clasue: *yos tiv*[.|.?]*n ke devụṇ k*(*e*) *umnotan ordoineten*...
Brixhe 2004a, 84.

uposọy (PN?)
OPhr. dat. sg. *uposọy* G-189
This complete isolated word on a potsherd is very likely an *o*-stem PN in the dat., although no parallel is found. The second *o* is barely visible and the first letter presents an accidental stroke. Bayun and Orel (1988a, 199 and Orel 1997a, 209–210) identified [---]*kposọy* as the same name that occurs in G-229 *sokposa*. However, their interpretation must be rejected because it is clear that G-189 did not contain any letter before the first letter of the reading.
CIPPh 1, 160.

urakạ[---] (PN?)
OPhr. *urakạ*[---] G-292
Although the last letters are lost and no parallels can be adduced, this isolated word on a potsherd is expected to be a PN.
Brixhe 2002a, 53.

urgitos (PN)
OPhr. sg. gen. *urgitos* K-01 VI–VII a2
PN in gen. used as a patronymic of the name in nom. *masa* (with Hitt. origin). According to Brixhe (in Brixhe and Summers 2006, 125), **Urgis* may be the nominate (for its inflection see *artimitos*). In any case, such a name is found

only in the Hurrian PN of Mursili III, *Urḫi-Tešub* 'Tešub is truth' (*vel. sim.*, *LNH* 198 §1443). If the equation *urḫi-* > *urgi-* is right (a hypocoristic), it is a new example of the continuity of Anatolian royal onomastics in Phr. This is more plausible given where the block was found: Kerkenes Dağ, in Cappadocia.
Brixhe and Summers 2006, 125.

uriienoisḳu[---] (?)
OPhr. *uriienoisḳu*[---] G-145
An obscure sequence preceded by the PN *voineios* (with a correction in the last letter). The presence of two *i* has been considered a possible word boundary (*CIPPh* I, 132) as in M-06 *davoi iman*; however, two opposing parallels can be adduced: T-03 a I *a*↑*iiai* and P-02 *kanutiievanos*. Another possibility is to suggest a word boundary after *uriienois* (a word in dat. pl.?). With their arguable etymological speculation, this last segmentation appears in Orel (1997a, 191) and Bayun and Orel (1988a, 195). In any case, this sequence remains unclear.
Neroznak 1978, 101; CIPPh I, 132; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 195; Orel 1997a, 191.

url (PN?)
OPhr. *url* G-109
This sequence is the second and last of the G-109 ceramic graffito. It is preceded by the anthroponym *aladis*, and a small amount of space is appreciated between the two words. Because of the unusual ending *-rl* it must be considered an abbreviation of a possible patronymic. However, no clear parallel can be adduced. Tentatively, Orel (1997a, 171, 465) suggested a relation with Οαρωλλου (*KPN* 393 §143–2), read in a Gr. inscription of unspecific origin. However, the difference in vowels casts doubt on his proposal. Another possibility is to read it as *urg* and consider it an abbreviated form of *urg*(*itos*) (K-01).
CIPPh I, 103; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 200; Orel 1997a, 171, 465; Liebhart and Brixhe 2009, 150.

urunis (PN)
OPhr. nom. sg. *urunis* G-346
This *i*-stem PN is written on a beam of Tumulus MM at Gordion, near three other PNs: *nana*, *muksos* and *si*↑*idos* (Liebhart and Brixhe 2009). Regarding its origin, it must be the Luw. PN ^{m}*Urawanni* (an ethnic in origin, see Melchert 2013, 37), with the common simplification *wa* > *u*. In The the Phrygian inscription, *urunis* is preceded by the mark ˹, which occurs before a PN.
Liebhart and Brixhe 2009, 150.

†υσδουνετ[.]ου see υς and δουμ?ετυου.

υς (PN?)
NPhr. υς 22.1 (9)
It appears at the beginning of a epitaph followed by a Lat. name: υς δουμ$^{?}$ετυου πασε δεκμουταις... The inscription is bilingual, but the Gr. contexts differ from the Phr., though this part is obscure. Because of its position, it is very likely a PN followed by its patronymic in gen.: υς δουμετυου 'Ys (the son) of Domitius'. Orel (1997a, 73–74) manipulated the reading in the light of the name given in the Gr. text of the same inscription, Κοίτος Ῥούφου 'Quintus son of Rufus': ẋọ[υ]θυ[ς] ετ [ρ]ουπασ̣.

υψοδαν (adverb) 'above, on the top'
NPhr. υψο|δαν 2.1 (15); [ο$^{?}$υ]|ψοḍ̣αν 16.1 (116)
An adverb identified by Lubotsky 1993a and compared to Gr. ὑψόθεν 'from on high, from above'. Both forms go back to **upsod^{h}n̥*, derived from PIE **up-s-* 'above' (*LIPP* II, 833). The Phrygian word shows the zero-grade of the locative particle **-d^{h}n̥*, attested in some Gr. dialects as -θα (e.g., Aeol. πρόσθα 'before'). In both inscriptions, this adverb occurs alongside nouns referring to parts of the funerary monument.
Lubotsky 1993a; Orel 1997a, 77 and 465; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 183; LIPP II, 833.

u̯ɟd (?)
OPhr. *u̯ɟd* G-106
This unparalleled sentence occurs in isolation on a bronze bowl. Because of the *-d* ending, it is probably an abbreviation, perhaps a PN. The second letter is difficult to read in the light of other known examples. It can only be likened to a sign written in G-244 (see § 3.1.5). According to Brixhe (2004a, 28, who follows Lejeune 1970, 59–60) it could be a diacritic ɟ denoting a voiced affricate sound (see also Brixhe 1982, 240–241). Orel's (1997, 170, 465) identification of the Pisidian or Lycaonian place name Οὐσάδα is unfounded.
Brixhe 1982, 240–241; CIPPh I, 101; Morante Mediavilla 2000, 185–196; Brixhe 2004a, 28.

ɾ (*y*)

y (owner's mark)
OPhr. y G-254
Since it is an isolated letter on a potsherd, it is probably a commercial mark, not necessarily an abbreviated form of a PN.
CIPPh I, 198; Roller 1987a, 38; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 200; Orel 1997a, 237, 469.

[.ˀ]*y*[.ˀ]*agaua* (?)
OPhr. [.ˀ]*y*[.ˀ]*agaua* W-11
The ending has a parallel in *mˀonokaua*. On the basis of its ending in *-a*, [.ˀ]*y*[.ˀ]*agaua* has been considered an epiclesis of the goddess *Matar* by Brixhe (Brixhe and Sıvas 2002, 108–109). However, he did not rule out a neut. pl. nom.-acc. noun as a secondary possibility. Its context, as well as the word itself, is badly damaged: [.ˀ]*y*[.ˀ]*agaua* | [-?-]*tataẹˀ*[..?] | [?]*e*[.].
Brixhe and Sıvas 2002, 108–109.

yẹˀ (?)
OPhr. *yeˀ* NW-129
This sequence is written by a ligature and below an isolated *a*. Although these kinds of short sequences are considered anthroponymic abbreviations, Brixhe (Brixhe and Sıvas 2009, 133) does not rule out the possibility that we are dealing with a complete *e*-stem Lallname in the nominative without the ending *-s*.
Brixhe and Sıvas 2009, 133.

yẹḅ..[---] (?)
OPhr. *yẹḅ..*[---] K-011b
The beginning of a very damaged sequence. The first letter could also be read as *i-*, which is less likely but remains defensible because the non-notation of the glide is found in the same inscription: *-tio-*. The last remains of letters are vertical, but illegible. This sequence remains unclear. It is preceded by [---]*vos*(|*i*).
Brixhe and Summers 2006, 115.

[-?-]*yemeẏọn* (?)
OPhr. [-?-]*yemeẏọn* G-312
This graffito on a potsherd is complete at the end but unclear at the beginning. Brixhe (2002a, 70) suggested the possibility of a lost initial letter *i*, as in the case of *iyungidas*, because of the lack of words beginning with *y-* except the relative pronoun. This is categorically untrue; see *yenvṛą* and *yẹḅ..*[---]. Also, the last yod has lost its bottom and, in fact, the reading is given in light of the very suitable parallel *kuryaneyon*, a nom. sg. of a present participle **-ōn*. However, the contexts are very different and in G-312 an anthroponym is expected. It could be an *n*-stem anthroponym.
Brixhe 2002a, 70.

yenvṛą (?)
OPhr. *yenvṛą* B-03
This word occurs after the reduplicated relative pronoun *yosyos* in a probable imprecative protasis: *yosyos yenvṛą* | *etitevtevey me-oun lakeaọ* | [-?-]. It could be an *a*-stem word, but its case it is unknown. It appears to be an *a*-stem nominative, but that case it is not expected here.

yos see *ios*.

†***yostumoy*** see *ios* and *tumoy*.

yosyos see *ios*.

Acephalous Words

[---]***a*** (?)
OPhr. [---]*a* T-02b
Ending of a word segmented by interruption read on a stele: [---]*ṭumida* ⋮ *memeuis* ⋮ [---] | [---]*a* ⋮ *tesan* ⋮ *a*↑*ion* ⋮ *ν*[---]... It does not agree with the words that follow (in sg. acc.). Orel (1997aa, 471) considered it a sg. nom. of an *a*-stem, but this cannot be corroborated.
Orel 1997aa, 471.

[---]***a..***[(?)
OPhr.]*a*..[ ] B-03
A seriously damaged part of this inscription on a stele. Its context is no clearer: *ẹṣk...a*[ ] *a*.. [ ] | *evtevey*...

[-**?**-]***.a*** (PN?)
OPhr. [-?-].*a* G-227
Graffito on a potsherd whose first letters are lost. Because the original text is only suggested to have four letters at most, *CIPPh* (I, 182) considered it a possible dissyllabic Lallname. However, it could also be an abbreviation. Bayun and Orel (1988a, 199), on the other hand, read it as a sinistroverse *aị*[---], but the central appendix of the *a* is good evidenc, e for the *CIPPh* (I, 182) reading. Finally, Orel's reading ...*ita* (in light of G-223, 1997, 225, 472) is difficult to corroborate on the basis of the remaining strokes.
Bayun and Orel 1988a, 199; CIPPh I, 182; Orel 1997aa, 225, 472, 225.

[-?-]***ạb*** see [-?-]*ạbas*.

[-?-]***ạbas*** (PN)
OPhr. [-?-]*ạb* G-217
[-?-]*ạbas* P-104
Graffiti read on sherds. Both seem to contain a PN very likely related to Αβ(β)ας (very common in Anatolia *KPN* 43–44 § 1). However, a relation with Βαβας (*KPN* 113 § 133–1) cannot be ruled out. G-217 is very likely an abbreviation.
Neroznak 1978, 111; CIPPh I, 248.

[---]***ạgineiạ*** see *lagineios*.

[---]***ạ²ḍạḍ***[---] (PN?)
OPhr. [---]*ạ²ḍạḍ*[---] G-308
A damaged graffito on a potsherd. Although no parallel can be adduced in the Phrygian corpus, Brixhe (2002a, 68) suggested that it could be a Lallname (see *LNH* 241 *Adada*).
Brixhe 2002a, 68.

[---]***.ạesi..***[---] see [---]*m²ạesi..*[---].

[---]***ạes*** (?)
OPhr. [---]*ạes* G-149
Because of the evident similarity, Orel (1997a, 471) considered this fragmented graffito on a potsherd to be a 3sg. aor. verb (see, e.g., *edaes*). However, a verb like this is only read in monumental inscriptions.
Lubotsky 1988, 18; Orel 1997a, 193, 471.

[---]***ạvaṣ*** (PN?)
OPhr. [---]*ạvaṣ* G-142
Read on a potsherd, the complete graffito is [---]*ạvaṣs*[---]. Because the Phrygian alphabet does not note the geminates, a word boundary can be inserted between the two *s* (as suggested by *CIPPh* I, 129). However, no analysis can be given for [---]*ạvaṣ*, only that it could be a sg. nom. *a*-stem (Orel 1997a, 471) perhaps a masculine PN; see, e.g., *Midas*.
CIPPh I, 129; Orel 1997a, 189, 471.

[-**?**-].[?][.]***ai***[?] (?)
OPhr. [-?-].[?][.]*ai*[?] G-278a
Two isolated letters incised on the same potsherd: *u*[?] and ᛉ. If the last letter is indeed an ⟨i⟩, it could be a sg. dat. *a*-stem (Brixhe 2002a, 39). However, the sequence remains obscure.
Brixhe 2002a, 39.

[---]***ạios***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*ạios*[-?-] G-159 b
A fragment read on a potsherd that seems to contain another fragmented inscription: G-159b [---]*ser.*[---]. According to *CIPPh* (I, 142–143), [---]*ạios* could be an ending of a word; see *iketaios*.
CIPPh I, 142–143; Orel 1997a, 197, 471.

[---]***ạinẹ***[---] (PN?)
OPhr. [---]*ạinẹ*[---] G-299
A word suggested doubtfully by Brixhe (2002a, 61) to be a PN. However, no parallel can be adduced.
Brixhe 2002a, 61.

[---]***ạiṣạ***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*ạiṣạ*[---] G-267
Read on a potsherd, this sequence has no parallels.
CIPPh I, 206–207; Orel 1997a, 241 and 471.

[---]***ak***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*ak*[---] G-309
Two letters read on a potsherd.
Brixhe 2002a, 67.

[---].***akavi***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---].*akavi*[---] G-172
Read on a potsherd. Before the first ⟨a⟩ an angular remaining is observed, which could be an *ṃ* according to *CIPPh* (I, 150; accepted by Orel 1997a, 202, 472). Orel speculatively interpreted it as a 3sg. pres.
CIPPh I, 150; Orel 1997a, 300.

[---]***ạke.ano***[---] see *akenanogavos*.

[---]***ạkios*** (PN?)
OPhr. [---]*ạkios* G-272
Read on a potsherd. It is a sg. nom. *o*-stem word that Bayun and Orel (1988a, 196)equated to *akio*[---], but it remains unclear.
CIPPh 1, 210; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 196; Orel 1997a, 243, 471.

[-?-]***akiti...s*** (?)
OPhr. [-?-]*akiti...s* P-06
Written on an 'altar', it is not known if it was preceded by more text: [-?-]*akiti...s* | *ai* ⋮ *ios aeiketio* [?] *ivi..se*.[?]*n*. The sequence remains unclear.
CIPPh 1, 242–243; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 196; Orel 1997a, 243, 471.

[---]***alaḅịọṣ***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*alaḅịọṣ*[---] C-01
Incised on a calcareous slab, this inscription is badly damaged: [---]*e*[...]*ala-ḅịọṣ*[---]. Orel (1997a, 246 and 471) interpreted it as a PN (without parallels) and suggested a relation with the gloss ἀλάβη· λιγνύς. σποδός. καρκίνος. ὑπὸ δὲ Κυπρίων μαρίλη. ἄνθρακες (Hesch. α 2719). However, the text is not clear enough for this suggestion to be seriously considered.
CIPPh 1, 242–243; Orel 1997a, 246, 471.

[---]***.ạlẹ***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---].*ạlẹ*[---] G-171
This fragmented sequence on a potsherd could be read as [---]*kạlẹ*ˀ[---] or [---]*uạlẹ*ˀ[---]. Although Orel (1997a, 435) considered it a variant of [---]*kalaị*[---] G-177 (specifically, a PN), the sequence is similar but not the same, and the reading of the first letter of G-171 is not at all clear.
CIPPh 1, 150; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 198; Orel 1997a, 202, 435.

[---]***ạmai..***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*ạmai..*[---] G-155
A damaged graffito incised on a potsherd. The first doubtful letter could be read as *v* or *r* while the second is very dubious because only a vertical stroke remains. Interpretations such as the one offered by Orel (1997a, 196, 471, who segmented [---]*amai* as *a*-stem sg. dat.) are very tentative.
CIPPh 1, 139–140; Orel 1997a, 218, 471.

[---]***ạṃị.ẹ***[---] see [---]*ạṇị.ẹ*[---].

...ạ.m.ʔnoy (?)
OPhr. sg. nom? ...*ạ.m.ʔnoy* W-01a
A damaged sequence read on a façade, possibly part of an imprecative apodosis: *yos tutut ... ạ.m.ʔnoy* ⋮ *akenanogavos* | *aey*... According to Orel (1997a, 35, 423), whose reading of the beginning of the word (as well as his interpretation) is very tentative, it could be a sg. dat. noun.
CIPPh 1, 37–38; Orel 1997a, 35, 423.

[---]***.ạn*** (PN?)
OPhr. [---].*ạn* G-291
A sequence on a potsherd followed by a a non-graphical mark. Following Brixhe (2002a, 52), it could be an abbreviated PN (the most likely possibility), an ending of a PN in the light of *iman* or an unknown noun.
Brixhe 2002a, 51–52.

[....]αν (?)
NPhr. [....]αν 39.1 (11)
A fragment of a damaged but clear imprecative apodosis: [ιος σε]μον κνου|-[μανε]ι κακων | [....]αν αββε|[ρετ... The curse itself is very common, but this sequence is never attested as part of it. The older restoration [ζειρ]αν has been rightly rejected because of the lack of parallels. Its ending can refer to a sg. acc. *a*-stem or *c*-stem noun or an adverb.

[---]***ane***[---] (PN?)
OPhr. [---]*ane*[---] G-232
Graffito read on a potsherd. This sequence only has a parallel in the PN *manes*, but the identification is very tentative.
CIPPh 1, 185; Orel 1997a, 228, 471.

[---]***ạṇị.ẹ***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*ạṇị.ẹ*[---] or [---]*ạṃị.ẹ*[---] G-209
An unparalleled sequence read on a potsherd. The reading (and its consequent interpretation) given by Orel (1997a, 196, 471) does not fit with the remaining strokes.
CIPPh 1, 171; Orel 1997a, 196, 471.

[---]***arg*** (PN?)
OPhr. [---]*arg* G-157 a
This fragmented graffito on a potsherd is written above an (uncertaintly read) Aramaic text. Because the ending *-rg* is wholly unexpected, it has

been considered an abbreviated PN by *CIPPh* (I, 141). However, no parallel can be adduced.
CIPPh 1, 141; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 199; Orel 1997a, 196, 471; Sowa 2005, 178.

[---]***ạres*** (?)
OPhr. [---]*ạres* G-197
The end of a word read on a potsherd. The ending *-es* could correspond to a PN in the nom. However, no parallel can be adduced.
CIPPh 1, 164; Orel 1997a, 213, 471.

[-?-]***aratapạ***[-?-] (?)
OPhr. [-?-]*aratapạ*[-?-] G-221
An obscure, unparalleled sequence on a potsherd, following the PN *atas*: [-?-]*a.i̯y*[-?-] | [-?-]*keno*[-?-] | [-?-] *atas* [-?-] | [-?-]*aratapạ*[-?-] | [-?-]*o batạ²m²*..[-?-].
CIPPh 1, 178–179; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 196; Orel 1997a, 223, 471.

[---]***as*** (PN?)
OPhr. sg.nom. [---]*as* M-01f
This is very likely the subject of its sentence: [---]*as tuaveni̯y ae esuryoyoy totin ẹḍaẹ*[*s*]. So, a masculine *a*-stem PN.
CIPPh 1, 21; Orel 1997a, 213, 471; Ligorio 2016.

[---]***.as*** (PN?)
OPhr. sg. nom.? [---].*as* G-218
Fragmented graffito incised on a potsherd. Very probably an ending of an *a*-stem masculine PN in nom. The remaining stroke at the beginning could be from a ⟨u⟩ or ⟨n⟩, for example.
CIPPh 1, 177; Orel 1997a, 221, 471

[---]***.astoy*** (PN)
OPhr. sg. dat. [---].*astoy* G-164
sg. dat. [---]*astoi* G-113
Sequences incised on a potsherd. G-113 is followed by *pitave*[---]. The two occurrences are likely to be different spellings of the same PN (the dedicatee). Bayun and Orel (1988a, 199 and Orel 1997a, 199, also followed by Avram 2016b, 74) suggested that G-164 may be the ending of the *surgastoy* (Dd-164). However, their reading of the last part of G-113 (*ios toi pitave*[---]) is ungrounded.
CIPPh 1, 177; Brixhe 1996, 145; Orel 1997a, 199, 459; Brixhe 2002a, 76; Brixhe 2004a, 92: Avram 2016b, 74.

[---]***ạsiẏạ..***[?] (?)
OPhr. [---]*ạsiẏạ..*[?] B-05 l. 5
An unparalleled, damaged sequence: *dạker kạrạtu enpsạtus mekạ*[---]*ạsiẏạ..*[?] | *nidus ạd kạliyay*... It was earlier read as *mek . a as-k⟨e⟩y* by Neumann (1997, 18).
Neumann 1997, 18, 22; Brixhe 2004a, 48, 65.

[---]***astoi*** see [---].*astoy*.

[---]***..ạtạ***[---] (PN)
OPhr. [---]*..ạtạ*[---] G-120
A damaged PN on a potsherd. The unidentifiable strokes at the beginning could fit with a sequence *ạtạta*[---], similar to *atatas*. However, this identification is very tentative.
CIPPh 1, 112; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 197; Orel 1997a, 177, 416.

[-?-]***atesito.***[-?-] (?)
OPhr. [-?-]*atesito*.[-?-] G-252
A fragmented graffito on a potsherd. We do not know whether it should be segmented into two words. Bayun and Orel (1988a, 197; also Orel 1997a, 252) considered that a first word that can be read is the PN *ates*, but this remains unclear.
CIPPh 1, 197; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 197; Orel 1997a, 252.

[---]***atonkeyen*** (?)
OPhr. [---]*atonkeyen* B-06
Written on a marble stele, this is what survives of the last line of the text: *yos tumoy* : ↑*ekmatin* | [---]*atonkeyen*. Since it appears to be a curse, *keyen* has been suggested to be a 3pl. opt. by Brixhe (1996, 135). The segmentation [---]*aton keyen* was proposed earlier by Gusmani (Bakır and Gusmani 1991, 162 fn. 23), who considered *keyen* an *e*-stem sg. acc. noun. However, the gaps and the lack of parallels render the sequence obscure, and these proposals are very tentative.
Bakır and Gusmani 1991, 162; Brixhe 1996, 135–136.

.au.[---] (?)
OPhr. *.au.*[---] G-169
Graffito incised on a potsherd. Because the bottom part is broken, we do not know whether the first letter is ⟨l⟩ or ⟨y⟩. It is expected to be a PN, but no parallel can be adduced. Bayun and Orel (1988a, 199 and 1988b, 134) considered

it another occurrence of *lavageta-*, while Orel (1997a, 201 and 440) also connected it with the verb *lakedo*. However, neither of these proposals fits with the remaining angular stroke of the last conserved letter.
CIPPh 1, 148–149; Bayun and Orel 1988b, 134; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 199; Orel 1997a, 201, 440.

[---]***.ạụṣ*** (?)
OPhr. [---].*ạụṣ* G-270
Graffito incised on a potsherd. It is clearly the ending of an unparalleled word. Perhaps a sg. nom. *u*-stem PN.
CIPPh 1, 207–208; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 197; Orel 1997a, 242, 471.

[---]***ạẏḷ***[---] (owner's mark)
OPhr. [---]*ạẏḷ*[---] or [---]*ẏḷạ*[---] G-235
Graffito read on a potsherd. Because the bottom part of the text is badly damaged, both the letters and the writing direction are unclear. Orel (1997a, 229) suggested the segmentation [---]*ay* (*a*-stem sg. dat.) *l*[---], but given the difficulties of reading and the shortness of the fragment, this interpretation is tentative. Consequently, the sequence remains obscure.
CIPPh 1, 18687; Roller 1987a, 41; Orel 1997a, 229, 440, 471.

[---]***.ạẏosṭ²eṣ***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---].*ạẏosṭ²eṣ*[---] G-176
Graffito incised on a potsherd. The segmentation [---].*ạẏos ṭ²eṣ*[---] has been doubtfully suggested by *CIPPh* (1, 153). Orel went one step further and interpreted [---].*ạ ẏos ṭ²eṣ*[---], taking *yos* as the relative pronoun. However, these segmentations are not well grounded: the sequence *-st-* in a word is not unknown (see *areyastin* and *surgastoy*), but the pronoun is not expected in such a text.
CIPPh 1, 153; Orel 1997a, 204, 461, 471.

[---]***ạ²yọ²***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*ạ²yọ²*[---] B-06
Read on the damaged first line of a stele: *sṭaḷ²a ke : ↑ek.*[---]*ẹṣkeẏ*[---]*ạ²yọ²*[---]... The fragment is too short and the sequence too obscure to be interpreted satisfactorily.

[---]***a.iẏ***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*a.iẏ*[---] G-221
The first conserved line of a large graffito incised on a sherd: [---]|[-?-]*a-iẏ*[-?-]|[-?-]*keno*[-?-]. Orel (1997a, 222, 414) equated it to *areyastin*, and while the

second remaining letter could be read as ⟨r⟩, this is far from clear and the contexts are very different.
CIPPh I, 153; Orel 1997a, 222, 414.

[---]***ḫal*** (PN?)
OPhr. [---]*ḫal* G-193
Incised on a potsherd, this graffito is considered an abbreviation by *CIPPh* (I, 162). No parallel can be adduced; it is perhaps a PN.
CIPPh I, 162; Orel 1997a, 211, 419; Sowa 2007a, 161–162.

[---]***ḫas***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*ḫas*[---] G-186
Graffito incised on a potsherd. It could be a complete PN; however, according to *CIPPh* (I, 158), it is more likely to be the ending of a longer PN such as *abas* or *babas*. It may even be a PN ending in *-asis* or *-asos*.
CIPPh I, 158; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 197; Orel 1997a, 208.

[---]***g***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*g*[---] G-05
The only remaining letter on a fragment of calcareous stone. Orel (1997a, 164) suggested that it could be an abbreviated noun, as often found on potsherds. However, this is not the case here, and the text is too short to make an alternative suggestion.
Orel 1997a, 164.

[.]***gat*** (verb?)
OPhr. 3sg. imperfet [.]*gat* B-07
The use of interpunction identifies this as a clear ending of a word and very likely the ending of a sentence. Unfortunately, it is the first preserved word of this funerary inscription and its beginning has been lost: [.]*gat* : *s manes iyungidas manitos apelev porniyoy*… According to Gusmani (2001, 165, who read [.]*ṭat*) and Brixhe (2004a, 76), it may be a verb, which fits well in this position, similar to *estạt*. Gusmani also suggested that this verb could be the 3sg. imperfect of *egeseti*, εγεσιτ and εγεδου and, consequently, a form [*e*]*gat* could be considered. However, it remains unclear since the word is badly preserved and has lost its context.
Gusmani 2001, 165; Brixhe 2004a, 76.

[---]***gen*** (?)
OPhr. [---]*gen* or [---]*ṭen* M-10
Because it is followed by interpunction, this sole conserved sequence of an inscription on a stone block is a clear ending. The first remaining letter is not clear. On the other hand, Lubotsky (1988, 23) pointed out that *-en* is a highly unusual ending in Phr., though by no means unattested, see, e.g., *ataniyen*.
CIPPh 1, 29; Lubotsky 1988, 23; Orel 1997a, 32, 473.

[-?-]***go..***[---] (?)
OPhr. [-?-]*go*..[---] G-201
Graffito incised on a potsherd. The last two traces of letters could be read as ⟨y⟩ or ⟨r⟩ and ⟨i⟩ or ⟨k⟩. However, there are no parallels to this sequence to clarify both the reading and the meaning.
CIPPh 1, 167; Orel 1997a, 214, 431.

[---]***d***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*d*[---] G-300
Damaged graffito on a potsherd where only a letter remains.
Brixhe 2002a, 61.

[-?-]***ḍ²***[-?-] (?)
OPhr. [-?-]*ḍ²*[-?-] G-330
Damaged graffito on a potsherd where only two fragmented strokes remain.
Brixhe 2002a, 61.

[---]***ḍa*** (?)
OPhr. [---]*ḍa* G-204
Incised on a fragment of a pithos, this sequence begins with a strange inscription: [---]*ḍa alu m s* [-?-]. Orel (1997a, 216) connected it to the obscure W-10 formula *aluṣ si↑eto das* and, in 421, tentatively considered it a PN. However, the contexts are significantly different and this graffito remains obscure.
CIPPh 1, 168; Orel 1997a, 216, 421.

[---]***.da.***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---].*da*.[---] G-238
Graffito incised on a potsherd. Bayun and Orel (1988a, 198 and 1997a, 230, 445) considered it the dat. of *midas*: [*m*]ịdaị. Although it fits well with the remaining damaged strokes, it cannot be corroborated.
CIPPh 1, 188; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 198; Orel 1997a, 230, 445.

[---]***ḍeḍa***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*ḍeḍa*[---] G-01 a
Written on a highly fragmented calcareous slab, this sequence, as well as the rest of the text, remains unclear: [---]*isvolkay* ⋮ *dumey ay* ⋮ [---]*ḍeḍa*[---]. According to *CIPPh* (I, 183), the tempting identification with the verb *edaes* is imprudent (even so, Orel 1997a, 156–157 restored this verb here).
CIPPh I, 183.

[---]***ḍio***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*ḍio*[---] or [---]*oḍi*[---] or [---]*ṇo*[---] or [---]*oṇ*[---] G-343
A graffito incised on a potsherd, its writing direction, as well as the reading itself, is ambiguous. Consequently, this sequence remains unclear.
Brixhe 2002a, 97.

[---]***dⁱoiⁱ?ọ?***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*dⁱoiⁱ?ọ?*[---] G-102 b
Graffito incised on a potsherd contiguous to [-?-]*kad*. Orel (1997a, 168, 424), taking the reading as certain, connected it to PNs such as Δοα (Cappadocia) and Δοια (Pisidia, see *KPN* 149–150 § 291). However, since the reading is highly uncertain, this interpretation is of little value.
CIPPh I, 96–97; Orel 1997a, 167–168, 424; Kloekhorst 2015, 115.

[---]***ḍoika.***[---] see *adoikavos*.

[-?-]***e***[..]***u***[...] (?)
OPhr. [-?-]*e*[..]*u*[...] P-01
A very obscure sequence at the beginning of the inscription on this stone block: [-?-] | [-?-]*e*[..]*u*[... *ṭ*]*ovo iman* [-?-] | [-?-]. Orel (1997a, 209) read it as *evṿuio*, but that does not fit well with the remaining traces.
CIPPh I, 228; Orel 1997a, 209.

[---]***.e*** (?)
OPhr. [---].*e* G-256
Graffito incised on a potsherd. It seems that the complete remaining letter is the last one because no more traces are found, but the text is too short to be interpreted.
CIPPh I, 199; Orel 1997a, 237–238, 471.

[---]***e***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*e*[---] C-01
The remaining letter between two gaps on a fragment of calcareous slab, which cannot be identified. Its context is not much clearer: [---]*e*[---]*alaḅịọṣ*[---].
CIPPh 1, 220; Orel 1997a, 246, 471.

[---]***ẹ***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*ẹ*[---] B-05 l. 4
An unclear sequence. The context does not shed light on a possible interpretation: *key estạt pator.ʔike*[...]*ẹ*[..] *ạndạti* | *vạy niptiyạy*...

[**.....**]**ε** (?)
NPhr. [.....]ε 58.1 (72) l. 6
Surviving text on a badly damaged unparalleled NPhr. imprecative apodosis: [αι] κος ϰ[ακον αδα]κκιτορ, | [.] κε [.....]ε αυ|τος ειτου.

[---]***egʔiʔ***.[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*egʔiʔ*.[---] G-206
Incised on a potsherd, this unparalleled sequence has not been definitively read and remains obscure.
CIPPh 1, 169; Orel 1997a, 206, 472.

[---]***ed***|***eia***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*ed*|*eia*[---] T-03a II l. 3–4
An unparalleled sequence on a badly damaged stele: [---]*sn*|*a*[---]|[---]*ed*|*eia*[---]*ọʔr*↑*e*|*s* ⋮ *ar*[---].
Brixhe 1991, 39; Orel 1997a, 472.

[---]***edekm***[---] see *tekmor*.

[---]***.eveịʔs***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---].*eveịʔs*[---] G-143
Graffito incised on a potsherd. Despite the difference of the vowel, it has been equated to the ending of *memevais* by Orel (1997a, 189–190). While this is the only feasible parallel, the sequence is so badly preserved that it must remain tentative.
CIPPh 1, 130; Orel 1997a, 186–187, 472.

[---]***evi.***[?] (?)
OPhr. [---]*evi.*[?] G-04
An obscure, damaged sequence on a fragmented calcareous block: [---]*evi.*[?] | *tatas* .[---] | [---].*ṃ*.[---] | [-?-]. The last doubtful letter could be an ⟨o⟩.
CIPPh 1, 90; Orel 1997a, 163.

[-?-]***ẹi̯y***[---] (?)
OPhr. [-?-]*ẹi̯y*[---] G-279
Fragmented graffito incised on a potsherd. We do not know if its beginning is lost. Brixhe (2002a, 41). This sequence is only attested in the word P-03 *kanutieivais*. However, as Brixhe admitted, it could be the product of chance.
Brixhe 2002a, 41.

[---]ει (noun?)
NPhr. sg. dat.? [---]ει 37.2 (30)
Read on a Phrygian stele door, this inscription is badly damaged and has no clear parallel: [.....]ι επρι | [.....]ει ϗ' ονομα | [.....] Δ̣ουδας ακαλας ευκιν αργου. It is probably the sg. dat ending of a noun. It should be noted that the common segmentation is εικονομα. However, this has been rejected here because ονομα is a clear word. On the other hand, Orel (1997a, 323) considered the beginning of this text to be Gr.: [---]ι̣ ἐπρ[ίατο ---] εἰϗῷ ονομα. However, this does not fit with the remaining letters and the expression ἐπρίατο is highly unusual in tombs from Phrygia.
Orel 1997a, 323.

[-?-]***.eivanouṣ*** [-?-] (adjective?)
OPhr. sg. nom.? [-?-].*eivanouṣ*[-?-] G-250
This fragmented graffito on a potsherd has been equated to *kanutiievanos* (sg.nom.) by Bayun and Orel (1988a, 200), despite the difference in *ie* ~ *ei*. However, it could be an analogous adj. formation. The spelling *-ous* remains the ending of the PN *vasous* (nom.). In light of this parallel, a word boundary can be assumed after the last remaining letter.
CIPPh 1, 196; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 200; Orel 1997a, 235, 472.

[---]***ekạ***[?][---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*ekạ*[?][---] T-01 a
One of the fragments of a stele on which only this sequence remains. Because of its brevity, this sequence remains unclear. The reading [*vr*]*eku*[*n*] given by Orel (1997a, 307) does not fit the last readable letter.
CIPPh 1, 259; Orel 1997a, 307.

[---]***ę̣kę̣ą̨*** (DN?)
OPhr. sg. dat. [---]*ę̣kę̣ą̨* G-10
Read on a fragment of stone. According to Brixhe (2002a, 31), it can be an *a*-stem sg. dat. word, perhaps an epiclesis of *matar* if this is the dedicatee of the inscription. The word is only followed by *imelan*, a possible noun referring to the object to which it is dedicated. However the text is too short to give a clear interpretation: [---]*ę̣kę̣ą̨* ⁝ *imelan*.
Brixhe 2002a, 31.

...ę̣kę̣s (noun)
OPhr. pl. nom. *...ę̣kę̣s* HP-114
Read on the clay tablet from Persepolis, it is preceded and followed by the number thirty. Despite the unreadable letters, it is likely the ending of an athematic noun in the pl. nom, similar to the other words in the text such as *mʔakeṛes*.
Brixhe 2004a, 125.

[---]***ę̣ʔl̨ɣ̨***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*ę̣ʔl̨ɣ̨*[---] or [---]*ę̣ʔɣ̨ɣ̨*[---] G-180
Found on a potsherd, this graffito is badly damaged and even the reading remains unclear.
CIPPh 1, 155; Orel 1997a, 206, 472.

[.....]ⲉ̣ⲙⲉⲣⲏ (noun?)
NPhr. sg.dat.? [.....]ⲉ̣ⲙⲉⲣⲏ 59.3 (79)
Partial word read on a large worn slab used as tombstone. It occurs in an unparalleled imprecative protasis: [ⲁⲃⲃ]ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲟⲣ | [-----]ⲉ̣ⲙⲉⲣⲏ | [---]ⲩ̣ ⲟⲣⲃⲟⲩⲛ | [----]. Since in this inscription the word boundaries fit with the lines it is clearly the ending of a word and because of the ending -ⲏ it is very likely an athematic sg. dat.

[.]***erktę̣voys*** (?)
OPhr. sg.dat.? [.]*erktę̣voys* B-01
According to Bayun and Orel (1988a, 188, also Lubotsky 1993b, 97), this sequence on the Germanos inscription is likely to be an *o*-stem sg. dat. of an unidentified word. Orel's (1997a, 143) reading *verktevoys* and his consequent interpretation are difficult to defend in light of the remaining letters and the lack of parallels.
Bayun and Orel 1988a, 188; Lubotsky 1993b, 97; Orel 1997a, 139, 143, 467.

[---]***es*** (PN?)
OPhr. [---]*es* G-126; [---].*es* G-130
Graffiti on potsherds, in G-126 this ending has been identified by Orel (1997a, 183) as the ending of a verb in aor. However, it could be also the ending of a masc. PN in the sg. nom., e.g., in light of *ates* or *manes*, as he also admits for G-130. In the latter inscription it is followed by the unparalleled word(s) *servas bo*.[---].
Orel 1997a, 180, 183, 472.

[---]***ę̣ʔy̰y̰***[---] see [---]*ę̣ʔl̰y*[---].

[-?-]***e***[.] (?)
OPhr. [-?-]*e*[.] W-11
Severely damaged text on an undated stone 'altar': [.ʔ]*y*[.ʔ]*agaua* | [-?-]*tataę̣*ʔ[..ʔ] | [-?-]*e*[.].
Brixhe and Sıvas 2002.

[---].***vei***[.ʔ]***s*** (?)
OPhr. [---].*vei*[.ʔ]*s* G-247
Graffito incised on a potsherd. The first stroke could correspond to l or *y*. Close to this first sign are two points considered accidental by *CIPPh* (I, 194) but taken to be interpunction by Orel, who segmented the graffito as [---]*y* : *vei*[*o*]*s*, although this interpretation must be rejected in the light of the first considerations. The final doubt concerns a blank space where a small *o* could be written, according to the first editors. If this were the case, it would correspond to an sg. nom. *o*-stem ending with the suffix *-eo̯-* attested in *langineios, voineios* and *kφiyanaveyos* / *k↑ianaveyos*.
CIPPh I, 194; Orel 1997a, 234.

[---]***y̰ę̣ṣṭą*** (?)
OPhr. [---]*y̰ę̣ṣṭą* G-165
Unparalleled graffito on a potsherd. Orel (1997a, 200) suggested that it could be a separate word and equated it to Gr. ἑστία 'hearth, fireplace, altar'. However, given the size of the space, where more letters would fit, this interpretation is highly tentative.
CIPPh I, 146; Orel 1997a, 200.

[---]***vo***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*vo*[---] G-01 a
The two remaining letters of the first two lines of this stone slab.

[---]***vọṣ*|*i***[---] see *vosiḳ²*[---].

[---]***v.i.s***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*v.i.s*[---] G-152
Incised on a potsherd, this graffito could be read, without a clear favourite, as [---]*vaias*[---], [---]*vaies*[---], [---]*veias*[---] or [---]*veies*[---], according to *CIPPh* (I, 138). Orel (1997a, 194–195, 466) overlooked the other possibilities and read it as *vaias*, for which he suggested an Iranian origin. However, his interpretation is ungrounded since no parallel can be adduced.
CIPPh I, 138; Orel 1997a, 194–195, 466.

[---]↑[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]↑[---] T-02 c
An isolated letter read on a badly damaged fragment of stele from Tyana: ⋮ *ea.*[---] | [---].*na* [---] | [---] | [---]↑. This is not an expected ending, so we can assume that the text continued after it.
CIPPh I, 267.

[---]**T*is*** (?)
OPhr. [---]T*is* NW-120
The end of a graffito incised on a potsherd that fits well as a sg. nom. ending of a *i*-stem word. Note the presence of the rare letter, tentatively read as /-ts²is/ by Brixhe and Sıvas (2009, 129). However, it remains unparalleled.
Brixhe and Sıvas 2009, 129.

[---]ι (?)
NPhr. [---]ι 37.2 (30)
The first letter conserved in 37.2. It occurs in an unparalleled and badly damaged word: [---]ι επρι | [---].

[---]***ia*** (PN?)
OPhr. [---]*ia* P-102
On a fragment of handle, the whole sentence [---]*ia aspẹ*[---] has been interpreted, doubtfully, as a two-limbed PN by *CIPPh* (I, 245). Consequently, it is an *a*-stem nom. of an unknown PN.
CIPPh I, 245; Orel 1997a, 303 and 472.

[---]***ies*** (?)
OPhr. [---]*ies* G-265
This fragmented graffito on a potsherd is convincingly equated by *CIPPh* (I, 205) to the nom. ending of PNs such as *eies*, *garies* or *paries* and *ieies*.
CIPPh I, 205; Orel 1997a, 241, 472.

[-?-]***i̯o.*** (?)
OPhr. [-?-]*i̯o.* or *v̯o.*[-?-] G-287
A very doubtful grafitto read on a sherd. The writing direction is not at all clear, the key being found in a small stroke of what has been identified as a *v*, which could be accidental. Brixhe (2002a, 47–48) suggested that if it is to be read as [-?-]*i̯o*, it can be a sg. gen ending. However, an abbreviated PN (the most common text in this kind of graffito) cannot be excluded here.
Brixhe 2002a, 47–48.

[---]***ime***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*ime*[---] G-179
Incised on a potsherd, this graffito contains a sequence which is only attested in the name *iman*, *imenos* (only in oblique cases, perhaps a dat. *ime*[*ney*]) and its fem. *imeneia*. However, the reading is far from certain and should be treated with caution because we could be dealing with a word boundary like [---]*i me*[---].
CIPPh I, 154; Orel 1997a, 206, 472.

[---]***in*** see *ni*[---].

[-?-]***i̯r***[-?-] (?)
OPhr. [-?-]*i̯r*[-?-] or [-?-]*k̯r*[-?-] NW-114
The writing direction of this damaged graffito incised on a potsherd is unknown, so the reading of the remaining strokes is unclear.
CIPPh I, 20.

[---]ιϛ (?)
NPhr. [---]ιϛ 26.2 (38)
A damaged sequence found after a clear and complete imprecation. Because of the gaps, it remains obscure: τιτεγ[-] | [- c. 9 -]ιϛ.

[.ˀ]***isdọ***[---] (?)
OPhr. [.ˀ]*isdọ*[---] o [---]*ọusi.*ˀ[---] B-106 a
Incised on a potsherd, the writing direction of this graffito is unclear, so any interpretation must be highly tentative. If we accept the first reading, proposed by Brixhe (2004a, 91), a word boundary can be considered between the two consonants: [.ˀ]*is dọ*[---]. On the other hand, if [---]*ọusi.*ˀ[---] is preferred, the presence of an ending *-ous* (see *vasous*) could be identified. The text, then, remains obscure.
Brixhe 2004a, 90–91.

[---]***isvolkay*** (?)
OPhr. [---].*isvolkay* G-01 a
Found on a calcareous slab, the context and the word itself are unclear: [---]*ọˀlavị*[---]*isvolkay* | ⋮ *dumeyay* ⋮ [---]*ḍeḍa*[---]. The reading given by Orel (1997a, 157–158) [---]*ạisvoyḳay* is ungrounded because the alleged first *ạ* is totally incompatible with the remaining strokes and the alleged first yod is not inclined.
Lubotsky 1989b, 152.

[---]***ita***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*ita*[---] G-01 a
The few legible letters of a badly damaged inscription on a slab: [ ]*ita.*[ ]*ṭerkeya ask*|[---]. The text is too short to be interpreted. Orel's (1997a, 158) restitution, [*pr*]*oita*[*vos*], is based on the reading of an accidental mark on the surface of the stone and must be rejected.
Orel 1997a, 158.

[---]***itan*** (?)
OPhr. [---]*itan* T-03 b
A clear ending of a noun read on a fragment of stele found in Tyana: ⋮ *eptuve*[---] | [---]*itan mẹ*|[---]*pˀis* ⋮ [---]. It may correspond to a word in sg. acc.
Brixhe 1991, 39.

[-?-]***kad*** see *kad*.

[---]***kakrayun*** (?)
OPhr. sg.ac. [---]*kakrayun* G-03
Read on a block, this unparalleled sequence is followed by a fragmented word: [-?-]*kakrayun ni*[-?-]. It could be a sg. acc. noun with the same ending as *akaragayun*, but this is not at all clear. On the other hand, Orel (1997a, 162 and 412)

read here an adj. *akrayun* equated to Gr. ἀκραῖος 'dwelling on heights' and considered it an epithet of a masculine god. However, the context does not allow this to be corroborated.
CIPPh I, 88.

[-?-]***kalaị***[---] (?)
OPhr. [-?-]*kalaị*[---] G-177
A fragmented graffito incised on a potsherd. Perhaps the beginning is preserved. It is very likely a PN. Bayun and Orel (1988a, 198; Orel 1997a, 204–205) considered it to be the anthroponym that occurs on G-171, which they read as *ḳaḷẹ* instead of [---].*aḷẹ*[---]. However, this last graffito is not as clear as it seems in Bayun and Orel, and the relation is far from certain.
CIPPh I, 153–154; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 198; Orel 1997a, 204–205.

[-?-]***keno***[-?-] (?)
OPhr. [-?-]*keno*[-?-] G-221
This sequence, incised on a potsherd, can only be equated to *kenos* G-297, but the relation is unclear. Note that in G-221 it appears in an obscure text ([-?-]*a.iy*[-?-]|[-?-]*keno*[-?-]|[-?-] *atas*...), while in G-297 it is isolated. Orel (1997a, 222–223) gave the reading [---]*kena*[---] in his commentary (but not in the transliteration) and considered it another occurrence of *akenanogavos*. However, *CIPPh* (I, 178) shows his adduced ⟨a⟩ (and his consequent interpretation) must be refuted.
CIPPh I, 178–179; Orel 1997a, 222–223.

[---]ᛉ*ọ*[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]ᛉ*ọ*[---] or [---]*ọ*ᛉ[---] G-306
An obscure sequence incised on a potsherd. Even the writing direction is unclear.
Brixhe 2002a, 66.

[---]***koḅ***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*koḅ*[---] G-168
An obscure sequence incised on a potsherd. Bayun and Orel (1988a, 200; Orel 1997a, 201) interpreted it in light of B-01 *evkobeyan* as an epithet of a divinity. Nevertheless, the contexts and locations of the two words are completely different, so this interpretation remains unclear.
CIPPh I, 148; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 200; Orel 1997a, 201.

[---]***ko***[..$^{?}$]***ạv***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*ko*[..$^{?}$]*ạv*[---] G-316
A highly problematic sequence incised on a potsherd, which remains obscure.
Brixhe 2002a, 73–74.

[-?-]***ḳr***[-?-] see [-?-]*i̯r*[-?-].

[---]***ḳ$^{?}$tra*** see [---]*u̯$^{?}$tra*.

[---]***.k.ui*** (?)
OPhr. [---].*k.ui* P-107
A clear ending of a word incised on a potsherd before the beginning of another word: [---].*k.ui* ⋮ *n*[---]. It remains obscure.
CIPPh 1, 251–252; Orel 1997a, 307.

[.$^{?}$]***l̩*** (mark?)
OPhr. [.$^{?}$]*l̩* or [.$^{?}$]*y̩* G-344
An isolated letter incised on a potsherd. The reading is not at all clear.
Brixhe 2002a, 97–98.

[---]***.l*** (PN?)
OPhr. [---].*l* NW-104
A fragmented graffito on a potsherd. Only the last letter remains legible. Brixhe (2002a, 14) considered it an abbreviation of a PN.
Brixhe 2002a, 13–14.

[---]***lasime.***[---] (PN?)
OPhr. [---]*lasime*.[---] G-216
A fragmented graffito incised on a potsherd that remains obscure. Bayun and Orel (1988a, 200) suggested a segmentation [---]*las imeṇ*[---], where *imeṇ*[---], which they equated to the fem. PN *imeneia*. However, if this is true, here [---]*las* must be the ending of a masculine PN, thus it cannot be a compound PN in sg. nom. On the other hand, the adduced *imeṇ*[---] could be a dat. *imeṇ*[*ey*]. Nevertheless, this is far from certain and cannot be corroborated. Note that Orel (1997a, 220) equated it to PNs such as Λασαμος and Λασσαμος (attested in Gr. inscriptions from Phrygia, see *KPN* 269 § 798–2). However, the Phrygian occurrence does not fit the adduced Gr. parallels.
CIPPh 1, 175–176; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 196, 200; Orel 1997a, 220.

[---]***le.***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*le.*[---] K-01 VIII
An isolated fragment of the block from Kerkenes Dağ. It is too short to provide any useful information.
Brixhe and Summers 2006, 129.

[---]***leṇ***$^{?}$ (?)
OPhr. [---].*leṇ*$^{?}$ T-01 b
A clear ending of a word in the severely damaged context of the stelae from Tyana: [---]*sid.*[---] | [---].*leṇ* ⋮ *it*[---] | [---]*ponani* ⋮ [---]. Although the reading of the last letter is dubious (but *n* is more plausible than an ending in *-l*, which is another possibility), it is perhaps a word in sg. acc.; note that this ending is recorded in the fragment T-02 b, *oitumen*.
CIPPh I, 260.

[---]***ḷiake*** (?)
OPhr. [---]*ḷiake* HP-02
Read on the stone inscription found in Parion. Brixhe and Keleş (2011, 158) suggested the possibility of an *a*-stem word [---]*lia* and the copulative conj. *ke*. However, it remains unclear because of the fragmentation of the text: [-?-] | *tanarị*[---] | [---]*ḷiake* | *edaie* [-?-].
Brixhe and Keleş 2011, 158.

[---]***ḷ$^{?}$i.ẹ...mị***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*ḷ$^{?}$i.ẹ...mị*[---] G-196
A very problematic graffito incised on a potsherd. The reading is far from clear. Bayun and Orel (1988a, 198; Orel 1997a, 213–214, 442) postulated it is a beginning of a PN.
CIPPh I, 164; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 198; Orel 1997a, 213–214, 442.

[---]***.m.***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---].*m.*[---] G-04
The only certain letter of the third remaining line of this stone block: [---]*evi.*$^{?}$ | *tatas* .[---] | [---].*ṃ.*[---] | [-?-]. Orel (1997a, 163) read the word *iman* here, which is a plausible fit with the remaining strokes. However, the text's poor conservation urges caution.
CIPPh I, 90.

[---]***ma*** (PN?)
OPhr. [---]*ma* G-301
A graffito incised on a potsherd. According to Brixhe (2002a, 62), it is the ending of an *a*-stem PN in sg. nom., such as *mama*.
Brixhe 2002a, 62.

[---]***ṃ²agi.***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*ṃ²agi.*[---] G-240
An incomplete graffito incised on a potsherd. Although the first letter is not at all clear, *CIPPh* (I, 190) ruled out the reading ⟨l⟩. Consequently, previous and subsequent (such as Orel 1997a, 231, 440) interpretations that equated it to *lagineios* must be rejected.
CIPPh I, 190.

.μαρδι (?)
NPhr. .μαρδι 16.1 (116)
An unparalleled sequence that appers in an obscure NPhr. curse: ις κε εẏ | τοι-ṣινιοι κνουμαν τιαν τε. | .μαρḍι ιδετοι οινις.

[---]***ṃ²ąesi..***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*ṃ²ąesi..*[---] G-07
The sole remaining sequence of this stone inscription. It has no parallel. Orel (1997a, 164) suggested a word division and the reading [---]*ṃ²ąes iẏą*[---]. However, despite his explanation (a verb equated to Gr. μαίομαι 'strive, pursue, seek' and a PN), this theory is absolutely ungrounded. Consequently, the sequence remains unclear.
CIPPh I, 91; Orel 1997a, 164.

[---]***ṃe.***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*ṃe.*[---] G-220
A fragmented graffito incised on a potsherd. It is too short to warrant discussion.
CIPPh I, 177–178; Orel 1997a, 221–222, 472.

[...]***meąṣ²ḍ²u²ṃiḍ*** (?)
OPhr. [...]*meąṣ²ḍ²u²ṃiḍ* B-05
A very dubious sequence at the end of the first line, whose reading and segmentation are unclear, as is the context: *sin≠t imenąn kąliyą ti tedąt*[...]*edekm*[...]-*meąṣ²ḍ²u²ṃiḍ* | *iben edątoy dąkerąn*... Perhaps there are two words: [...]*meąṣ²ḍ²u²ṃiḍ*.

[-?-]***me***$^{?}$***Ⅎi***[-?-] (?)
OPhr. [-?-]*me*$^{?}$*Ⅎi*[-?-] G-244
One of the two possible occurrences of the rare letter Ⅎ. However, a Gr. inscription cannot be ruled out. In any case, this graffiti remains unexplained.
CIPPh 1, 192; Orel 1997a, 232, 472; Morante Mediavilla 2000, 190–196.

[---]***n*** (?)
OPhr. [---]*n* T-02 b; [---]*ṇ* T-02b, G-288; [-?-]*n* G-260; [.$^{?}$]*n* B-07
In all cases it is the last letter of a lost word. In T-02, a stele fragment from Tyana, both instances seem to be the sg. acc. ending, especially the second one, which could agree with *batan*: [---]*oitumen* ⋮ *mịḍạ*[---] | [---]*n* ⋮ *a*↑*ios* ⋮ *mi*[---] | [---]*ṇ* ⋮ *batan* ⋮ *e*.[---]... In B-07 it is a damaged word in an imprecative apodosis: *yos tiv*[.|.?]*n ke devụṇ* k(*e*) *umnotan ordoineten*... The other two occurrences are graffiti on potsherds where only this letter remains and are very likely to be owners' marks. G-260 is perhaps written in Gr. and not in the Phrygian alphabet (*CIPPh* I, 201–202).
CIPPh 1, 201–202; Roller 1987a, 41; Orel 1997a, 472.

[---]***.na*** (?)
OPhr. [---].*na* T-02c
An unknown sequence on a badly damaged stele fragment from Tyana: [---] | ⋮ *ea*.[---]|[---].*na*.

[---]***ne***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*ne*[---] G-156
A broken graffito incised on a potsherd.
CIPPh 1, 140; Orel 1997a, 196 and 472.

[---]***ṇimoi*** (noun?)
OPhr. [---]*ṇimoi* T-03c
A clear ending of a word, perhaps sg. dat. or pl.nom., read on a badly damaged fragment of a stele from Tyana: [---]*ụṣ.t*[---]|[---]*ṇimoi* ⋮ *ekọ*.[---].
Varınlıoğlu 1991, 30; Vassileva 1992, 3; Orel 1997a, 315, 472; Brixhe 2004a, 102.

[---]***no*** (?)
OPhr. [---]*no* G-320
According to Brixhe (2002a, 77), a clear abbreviation of a unclear word. It is read on a potsherd that shows an arrow incised under the word.
Brixhe 2002a, 77.

[---]***ṇo***[---] see [---]*ḍio*[---].

[---]***nolọ***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*nolọ*[---] G-255
A broken graffito incised on a potsherd. This sequence is unparalleled in Phr. and remains obscure.
CIPPh 1, 198–199; Orel 1997a, 237, 472.

[---]***nst***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*nst*[---] W-05b
A severely damaged sequence read on a rock under a niche: [ ]*nst*[*e*]*daes por mạtẹ*[...].
Orel 1997a, 45.

[---]***ọ***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*ọ*[---] T-02a
The sole remaining letter of the first line of this obscure stele fragment from Tyana: [---]*ọ*[---] | [---].*tade*.[---] | [---]*ṗipi*.[---] | [-?-].

[---]***ọ*** (?)
OPhr. [---]*ọ* G-111
The last letter of a lost word. On the potsherd where it is read it is followed by an adjective, but the two forms do not seem to agree: [---]*ọ mekas*.
CIPPh 1, 104; Orel 1997a, 172, 472.

[---]***oḍi***[---] see [---]*ḍio*[---].

[---]ⲟⲓ (?)
NPhr. [---]ⲟⲓ 11.2 (18)
An unclear ending of a word in the first line of a NPhr. funerary stele: [---]ⲟⲓ ϰⲛⲟⲩⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲓ ⲇⲉⲁ̣ⲇ̣ⲁ̣ ⲙⲁⲛⲕⲁ|ⲛ. Perhaps this ending corresponds to a noun or adj. in sg. dat. or a pl. nom.

[---].***oiduo***.[---] (?)
OPhr. [---].*oiduo*.[---] P-105
An unparalleled, broken sequence incised on a potsherd. Orel (1997a, 305, 425) suggested that the sequence contains the numeral two after a sg. dat. ending. However, this must be rejected because the sequence is extremely doubtful and the conservation of the voiced stop is not expected.
CIPPh 1, 248–249; Orel 1997a, 305, 472.

[---]***oitumen*** (?)
OPhr. [---]*oitumen* T-02 b
Read on the larger fragment of a stele from Tyana: [---]*a* ⋮ *tesan* ⋮ *a*↑*ion* ⋮ *v*[---] | [---]*oitumen* ⋮ *miḍḍa*[---]... Orel (1997, 444) segmented [---]*oitu men* and equated the last word to the *men* Gr. μήν, μέν.
CIPPh 1, 266; Lubotsky 1988, 23.

[---]***ọitio*** (?)
OPhr. [---]*ọitio* K-01 III
Read on a fragment of the Kerkenes Dağ block: [---]*ọitio* ⋮? *vosiḳ*? [---]. The ending of this obscure word is problematic, as are the other occurrences; see, e.g., *kạvạrmọyo*.
Brixhe and Summers 2006, 118.

[---]***ọ*ʔ*lavị***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*ọ*ʔ*lavị*[---] G-01a
One of the fragments of this badly damaged inscription on a slab: [---]*vo*[---]|[---] *ṣạyuve*[---] | [---]*ọ*ʔ*lavị*[---]*isvolkay* | ⋮ *dumeyay* ⋮ [---]*ḍeḍa*[---].

[---]***ọ*ʔ***moy*** (PN?)
OPhr. sg.dat.? [---]*ọ*ʔ*moy* G-323
According to Brixhe (2002a, 79), this fragment of a graffito on a potsherd is likely the ending of a PN in dat.
Brixhe 2002a, 79.

[---]***oṇ***[---] see [---]*ḍio*[---].

[---]***ọ*ʔ***r*↑***e*|***s*** (?)
OPhr. [---]*ọ*ʔ*r*↑*e*|*s* T-03 a II
A badly damaged sequence read on a stele fragment from Tyana: [---]*sn* | *a*[---] | [---]*ed*|*eia*[---] | [---]*ọ*ʔ*r*↑*e*|*s* ⋮ *ar*[---]. It is a clear ending of a word that, according to Brixhe (1991, 39), may correspond to an athematic pl. acc. or a verb in aor. However, a PN in sg. nom. cannot be ruled out. In any case, it remains remains unclear.
Brixhe 1991, 39.

[---]***os*** (?)
OPhr. sg. nom.? [---]*os* G-318
Incised on a potsherd, this graffito shows an ending of a word and the beginning of another: [---]*os* ⋮ *im*[---]. Although the words are unclear, [---]*os* is very

likely a thematic sg. nom. ending. The same may also be said of [---]*o̤s* G-191, if it is not read as *so̤*[---].
Brixhe 2002a, 74–75.

[---]***o̤sve***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*o̤sve*[---] G-08
Read on a stone fragment, according to *CIPPh* (I, 92–93) a word boundary can be considered between [---]*o̤s* and *ve*[---], where the first element is a thematic sg. nom (thus Orel 1997a, 165). However, it remains unclear.
CIPPh I, 92–93; Orel 1997a, 165.

[-?-]***oˀss*** (?)
OPhr. *oˀss*[-?-] or [-?-]*ssoˀ* G-248
An obscure sequence incised on a potsherd. Even the writing direction is unclear. Note that the gemination is not expected in texts written in the Phr. Alphabet; when it appears, a word boundary can often be considered. However, this sequence is so short that it is difficult to apply the rule in this case. On the other hand, G-204 inidicates the possibility that we are dealing with "monogrammes indépendants" (Brixhe 2002a, 194) cannot be ruled out.
Brixhe 2002a, 194; CIPPh I, 194–195; Orel 1997a, 234.

[---]***o̤usi***[---] see [---]*isdo̤*[---].

[-?-]***p*** see [-?-]*pˀasakas*.

[-?-]***pˀasakas*** (PN?)
OPhr. [-?-]*pˀasakas* W-101 b
Incised on a potsherd, where [-?-]*p* was also written before firing. The whole sequence is unparalleled, but *asakas* is found on a potsherd from Gordion. Consequently, this initial *p* is problematic. Is it a different PN from *asakas* or does it stands for another word? Note that the isolated *p*, which could be same element, may be an abbreviation of another PN. It is perhaps a compound noun whose first element is abbreviated, but this is a very tentative explanation and the reading remains unclear.
Bilgen, Brixhe and Coşkun 2011, 145.

[---]***.pa*** (PN?)
OPhr. sg. nom. [---]*.pa* K-01 V
A sequence read on a fragment of the stone block fragment from Kerkenes Dağ: [---]*.pa* ʿ *uva* ʿ .[---]. Since it is followed by an onomastic sequence, it may be a PN in sg.nom. without the ending *-s*. However, it remains obscure.
Brixhe and Summers 2006, 123.

[---]***pbaṣ***[-?-] (?)
OPhr. [---]*pbaṣ*[-?-] G-174
Incised on a potsherd, this graffito shows an unparalleled cluster, tentatively compared with *bba* by *CIPPh* (I, 152). It is possible that the ending of the word is conserved and we can read a PN in sg. nom. However, this remains unclear.
CIPPh I, 151–152; Bayun and Orel 1988a, 199; Orel 1997a, 203.

[---]***ṗipi.***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*ṗipi.*[---] T-02 a
An unparalleled sequence read on a stele fragment from Tyana: [---]*o*[---] | [---].*tade*.[---] | [---]*ṗipi.*[---] | [-?-]. Orel (1997a, 308 and 453) suggested that it could be a Lallname, but the sequence is not clear enough for this to be stated with any certainty.
Orel 1997a, 308, 453.

[---]***ṗonani*** (?)
OPhr. [---]*ṗonani* T-01 b
An unparalleled sequence read on a stele fragment from Tyana: [---] | [---]*sid.*[---] | [---].*leṇ*ʔ ⋮ *it*[---] | [---]*ṗonani* ⋮ [---] | [-?-].
CIPPh I, 260; Orel 1997a, 308, 473.

[---]***ṗ*ʔ*is*** (?)
OPhr. [---]*ṗ*ʔ*is* T-03b
Due to the interpunction, this sequence found on a stele fragment from Tyana is a clear ending of a word: [---]*itan meṇ*|[---]*ṗ*ʔ*is* ⋮ [---]. However, no other conclusions can be drawn. Perhaps, as Orel (1997a, 315, 473) suggested, it is a sg. nom. of an *i*-stem word.
Brixhe 1991, 39; Orel 1997a, 315, 473.

[---]***ṛ.***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*ṛ.*[---] G-326
A badly damaged sequence on a potsherd. It is too short to be analysed.
Brixhe 2002a, 80–81.

[---]***.ṛe*** (?)
OPhr. [---]*..ṛẹ* G-200
[---]*.ṛe²*[-?-] G-205
Fragmented graffiti on potsherds.
CIPPh 1, 166, 169; Orel 1997a, 214, 216, 473.

[---]***ṛ²emẹ²***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*ṛ²emẹ²*[---] G-09
An obscure sequence read on a fragment of stone.

[---]***ripos*** (PN?)
OPhr. [---]*ripos* HP-115
A graffito incised on the bottom of a bowl or vessel. It is very likely a PN, perhaps an *o*-stem in sg. nom. or a consonant stem in sg. gen.
Brixhe and Keleş 2011, 134.

[---]***ṛḳ²***.[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*ṛḳ²*.[---] G-207
A fragment of a graffito incised on potsherd. It is far from being clear.
CIPPh 1, 170; Orel 1997a, 217.

[---]***ṛmaniv***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*ṛmaniv*[---] G-199
An unparalleled, fragmented sequence incised on a potsherd. Orel (1997a, 214) read here a PN related to *manes*. However, this interpretation is very tentative and the whole sequence remains unclear.
CIPPh 1, 165; Orel 1997a, 214.

[---]***ronoṭ²oy*** (?)
OPhr. sg.dat.? [---]*ronoṭ²oy* G-125
A graffito incised on a potsherd: [---]*ronoṭ²oy* ⋮ *eneparkes ṭ²eies*. Despite the reading problems (note that *ṭ²* could be read as ⟨i⟩ or ⟨g⟩), it is very likely a PN in sg. dat., the addressee of the object given by *ṭ²eies*. However, this fragmented PN has no parallel. Orel (1997a, 179) suggested as a working hypothesis that if it is read as]*ronǫpios*, it could be interpreted in light of Gr. προνώπιος 'in front, before the door'. However, this is mere speculation.
CIPPh 1, 116; Orel 1997a, 179.

..ϱϱ̣ϱ̣ (noun?)
MPhr. οϱ̣..|ϱϱ̣ϱ̣ MPhr-01 (W-11) l. 6–7
An obscure sequence of unknown nature (perhaps a noun) with epigraphic reading problems. It occurs on a funerary stele: πλαδε πορ κοροος ..|ϱϱ̣ϱ̣ παντης πεννιτι... Brixhe (2004a, 22) considered a segmentation οϱ̣..|ϱϱ̣ϱ̣. On the segmentation, see κοροαν. The word can perhaps be restored as [σο]ρος, as found in l. 3, but this cannot be corroborated without a better understanding of the context.
Brixhe 2004a, 22.

[---]***s*** (?)
OPhr. [---]*s* M-11
The end of a word incised on a rock before a clear verb: [---]*s estaes* [---].

[---]***sạes***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*sạes*[---] G-163
A fragmented graffito incised on a potsherd. This sequence remains unclear.
CIPPh 1, 145; Orel 1997a, 199.

[-**?**-]***sar.***[-**?**-] (?)
OPhr. [-?-]*sar.*[-?-] G-192
A fragmented sequence incised on a potsherd. Orel (1997a, 211) considered it the beginning of a PN of Anatolian origin. However, this cannot be corroborated.
CIPPh 1, 145; Orel 1997a, 199.

[-**?**-]***ṣ̌ʾau*** (PN?)
OPhr. [-?-]*ṣ̌ʾau* G-188
A fragmented graffito incised on a potsherd. According to *CIPPh* (1, 159), it is an abbreviation because of the unparalleled ending *-au*. Perhaps a PN.
CIPPh 1, 159; Orel 1997a, 209, 471.

[---]***ṣạɣuve***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*ṣạɣuve*[---] G-01 a
A fragment of the very damaged slab: [---]*vo*[---] | [---]*ṣạɣuve*[---] | [---]*oʾlavị*[---]... This sequence, and indeed the whole inscription, remains unclear.
CIPPh 1, 83.

[---]***ser.***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*ser.*[---] G-159 a
Read on a potsherd that seems to have another non-contiguous written fragment: G-159a [---]*ạios*[-?-]. According to *CIPPh* (1, 142–143), they may be parts

of the same text. Orel (1997a, 197 and 457), on the other hand, considered it another occurrence of *servas* in G-130. However, these interpretations are very tentative.
CIPPh 1, 142–143; Orel 1997a, 197, 457.

[---]***seti*** see *ot.*[....]*seti.*

[---]***ṣeu.***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*ṣeu.*[---] G-181
An obscure sequence incised on a potsherd. It is too short to be analysed.
CIPPh 1, 155–156; Orel 1997a, 206, 473.

[-?-]***si***[-?-] (PN?)
OPhr. [-?-]*si*[-?-] NW-102
One of three graffiti incised on this potsherd: [-?-]*si*[-?-] | *alis* | [---]. It is perhaps an abbreviation of a PN, in the light of *alis*.
Brixhe 2002a, 12.

[---]***sid.***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*sid.*[---] T-01b
One of the few damaged fragments read on a stele fragment from Tyana: [---] | [---]*sid.*[---] | [---].*leṇ*$^{?}$ ⋮ *it*[---] | [---]*ponani* ⋮ [---] | [-?-]. The text is completely fragmented and remains unclear.
CIPPh 1, 259–260.

[-?-]***sit***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*sit*[---] G-154
This graffito incised on a potsherd can also be read as [---]*tis*[-?-], but the first reading is preferable because of the strokes of its *s*. Either way, it remains unclear.
CIPPh 1, 195, 457.

[---]***sn*** (?)
OPhr. [---]*sn* T-03 a II
A very damaged sequence read on a stele fragment from Tyana: [---]*sn* | *a*[---] | [---]*ed*|*eia*[---] | [---]*o*$^{?}$*r*↑*e*|*s* ⋮ *ar*[---].
Brixhe 1991, 39.

[-?-]***sso***$^{?}$ see *o*$^{?}$*ss*[-?-].

[---]***ṣ²ate.***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*ṣ²ate*.[---] G-307
An unparalleled, fragmented graffito incised on a potsherd. It remains obscure.
Brixhe 2002a, 66–67.

[---].***tade.***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---].*tade*.[---] T-02a
An unparalleled sequence read on a stele fragment from Tyana: [---]*ọ*[---] | [---].*tade*.[---] | [---]*ṗipi*.[---] | [-?-].

[---]***ṭen*** see [---]*gen*.

[---]***ṭ²erkeya*** (?)
OPhr. [---]*ṭ²erkeya* G-01 b
An obscure sequence on a badly damaged slab: [ ]*ita*.[ ]*ṭerkeya ask*|[---]. It is very likely to be a fem. adj. in sg.nom. due to the presence of *-eya*; see, e.g., *kubeleya*. This does not mean that it is necessarily an epithet of the mother goddess, as Orel (1997a, 158) argued. However, it remains unclear.
CIPPh 1, 84; Orel 1997a, 158.

[---]***ṭ²vitenorola***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*ṭ²vitenorola*[---] G-141
An unparalleled graffito incised on a potsherd. Despite the segmentation suggested by Orel (1997a, 188–189), it remains unclear.
CIPPh 1, 128–129; Orel 1997a, 188–189.

[---]***ti*** see *it*[---].

[---].***ti*** (?)
OPhr. [---].*ti* P-106
A clear word end in a longer graffiti incised on a potsherd: [---].*ti* ⋮ *makio²ta*T*ibi* ⋮.[---]. It is perhaps a verbal ending (3sg., as Orel 1997a, 305, 473 suggested), but it remains unclear, as does the remainder of the text.
Orel 1997a, 305, 473.

[---]***t²i²a*** (?)
OPhr. [---]*t²i²a* G-223
A graffito incised on a potsherd. Its first two remaining letters can be read in the opposite direction: [---]*i²t²a*. Orel (1997a, 224, 472) considers it an *a*-stem sg. nom., but it remains unclear because it could be a mere abbreviation.
CIPPh 1, 179–180; Orel 1997a, 224, 472.

[---]***ṭivi.***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*ṭivi.*[---] G-219
A fragmented graffito incised on a potsherd. Due to the lack of parallels it remains unclear.

[---]***tʔiʔsiteoy*** (PNs?)
OPhr. [---]*tʔiʔsiteoy* or [---]*gʔiʔsiteoy* B-104
The reading of the beginning of this broken graffito incised on a potsherd is far from clear. Moreover, the second remaining letter could also be read as *u*, although this is less probable. A very likely interpretation is given by Brixhe (2004a, 89), who suggested that two names can be read here: the sg. nom. ending of the first one [---]*tʔiʔs* and a complete second one in sag. dat., *iteoy*. However, this remains a working hypothesis.
Bakır and Gusmani 1993, 144; Brixhe 1996, 140–141; Brixhe 2004a, 88–89.

[---]***toyen*** (PN?)
OPhr. [---]*toy*|*en* W-04
The last readable sequence of a text engraved on a rock niche: *matar kubileya* [---]*toy*|*en*. Its ending perhaps corresponds to a sg.acc. noun or the series of probable PN sg. nom. in *-en* (see Lubotsky 1988, 23). However, the loss of the previous word makes the interpretation of this text very doubtful.
Lubotsky 1988, 23.

[..]***toyo***[.]***is*** (?)
OPhr. [..]*toyo*[.]*is* B-01
A damaged sequence in the obscure inscription from Germanos. However, it seems to be an imprecative context: *yos°tivo* [*t*]*ạ spereṭạ ayni kin te*[*l*]*ẹmi* | [..]*toyo*[.]*is* [.]*erkṭẹvoys ekey dạ*[*b*]*ati*... Lubotsky (1993b, 95) rules out the possibility that there are two words.
Lubotsky 1993b, 95.

[---]***.tuti.***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---].*tuti.*[---] G-261
A fragmented graffito incised on a potsherd. Orel equated it to the Anatolian PNs such as Τουτας (from Pisidia and Cilicia, *KPN* 523 §1596–1). However, the unidentifiable stroke before the first readable letter invalidates this theory.
CIPPh 1, 202–203; Orel 1997a, 239, 465.

[---]***ṭumida*** (?)
OPhr. sg.nom. [---]*ṭumida* T-02 b
An *a*-stem PN in sg.nom. without the ending -s, perhaps complete. It is followed by a patronymic on a fragment of a stele from Tyana: [---] | [---]*ṭumida* ⋮ *memeuis* ⋮ [---] | [---]*a* ⋮ *tesan* ⋮ *a*↑*ion* ⋮ *ν*[---]...
CIPPh 1, 266; Brixhe 1991, 42; Innocente 1997, 40; Gusmani and Polat 1999b, 156.

[---]υ (?)
OPhr. [---]υ 59.3
The ending of an unknown word in a damaged sequence between a clear protasis and a clear apodosis. The verb suggests that it may be another kind of protasis: [αββ]ɛρετορ | [.....]ɛμερη | [...]ụ ορβουν | [....].

[---]***ụạ***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*ụạ*[---] G-328
A severely damaged graffito incised on a potsherd.
Brixhe 2002a, 82–83.

[---]***ụiva.***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*ụiva.*[---] P-103 a
Graffiti from potsherd with inscriptions on both sides: [---]*ụiva.*[---] in the interior face and [---]*ụirḳ*[---] on the exterior (P-103 b). Both graffiti remain unclear.
CIPPh 1, 246–247; Orel 1997a, 303–304, 473.

[---]***ụirḳ***[---] see [---]*ụiva.*[---].

[-?-]***unik***[---] (?)
OPhr. [-?-]*unik*[---] G-264
Graffito incised on a potsherd. The beginning is probably conserved, but it remains unclear. The lack of parallels and the loss of the ending complicate its interpretation.
CIPPh 1, 204; Orel 1997a, 240.

[---]υοις (?)
NPhr. [---]υοις 15.1 (120)
An unparalleled sequence read on a damaged sentence located after a common NPhr. apodosis: ουελας κοννου κ' ηνκ|[.....]ụọịς γɛṿτι βɛṗαι κε ṗαρτης βɛḳος. Perhaps it is a noun or adj. in pl. acc.

[-?-]***u.s***[-?-] (?)
OPhr. [-?-].*u.s*[-?-] G-151
A badly damaged sequence incised on a potsherd. It remains obscure.
CIPPh I, 137.

[---]***ụẹs***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*ụẹs*[---] NW-122
An unparalleled and obscure sequence incised on a potsherd.
Brixhe and Sıvas 2009, 130.

[---]***ụssa*** see *assụ*ʔ[---].

[---]***ụṣ.t***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*ụṣ.t*[---] T-03c
Read on a stele fragment from Tyana: [---]*ụṣ.t*[---]|[---]*ṇimoi* ⁝ *ekọ*.[---]. There is too much damage to reach any conclusions.

[---]***.uta*** (?)
OPhr. sg.nom. [---].*uta* G-296
According to Brixhe (2002a, 57–58), a probable PN in sg. nom. without the ending *-s*, similar to *mamutas*.
Brixhe 2002a, 57–58.

[---]***ụtra*** (PN?)
OPhr. [---]*ụ*ʔ*tra*[-?-] or [---]*ḳ*ʔ*tra*[-?-] G-233
A broken graffito incised on a potsherd. Despite the two possible readings, it remains unparalleled. It is perhaps an *a*-stem PN without the ending *-s*. Orel (1997a, 228, 473) equated it to the Iranian onomastic element *-puϑra* 'son', but it cannot be corroborated.
CIPPh I, 185–186; Orel 1997a, 228, 473.

[---]***y*** (?)
OPhr. [---]*y* B-06
A clear ending of an unknown word that is also the ending of an obscure sentence before a relative clause: *ẹventnoktoy* : *ẹṃetẹtariyois* | [---]*y* : *yostumoy* : ↑*ekmatin* |[---]*atonkeyen*.
Orel 1997a, 473.

[---]***y̲ʔiḅ***[---] (?)
OPhr. [---]*y̲ʔiḅ*[---] G-231
A broken graffito incised on a potsherd, without parallels. Orel (1997a, 227–228) considered the segmentation [---]*y̲ʔ iḅ*[---] in light of *ibeya*, which he considers an epithet of *Matar*. However, this theory is ungrounded, and *ibeya* is now considered a pronoun, which does not fit with this kind of text.
CIPPh 1, 184–185; Orel 1997a, 227–228.

[---]***y̲ḭạ***[---] see [---]*ạy̲ḭ*[---].

[---]***yon*** (?)
OPhr. [---]*yon* B-101
A word ending. It could be considered a thematic masc. sg. acc. or neut. sg. nom.-acc. but also a masc. sg. nom. in light of *kuryaneyon*. Either way, it remains unclear.
Bakır and Gusmani 1993, 143–144; Brixhe 1996, 137–138; Brixhe 2004a, 86.

CHAPTER 6

The Indirect Sources: The Glosses

In the study of many ancient languages with a fragmentary corpus, personal names—even when found in other languages—are an important source of information, since they are built on nominal and verbal stems and show phonetic and phonotactic patterns of their original language. This is not the case of Phrygian, however, because most of the PN borne by Phrygians were borrowed from the surrounding Anatolian languages or the ruling peoples.

Because of the complexity of Phrygian onomastics, I am unable to study here the anthroponyms, DNs (even epithets) and toponyms considered Phrygian by ancient sources (mainly Gr. and Lat.). Glosses containing only PNs, as is the case of in twenty *lemmata* in Hesychius's lexicon, are also omitted.[1] Although some of these names are found in Phrygian and Gr. inscriptions from Phrygia, finding the origin is often highly laborious, if not outright impossible. Consequently, I leave this question to be addressed in a future study.

In general, the twenty-nine glosses are not significantly valuable to the knowledge of Phrygian. In some instances they are a good complement to the inscriptions, since they provide the meaning of a word attested therein. Most of them, however, are not expected to be found in the inscriptions because of the nature of these texts. Consequently, it is impossible to corroborate their filiation and one must treat them with particular caution because of the specific problems associated with this kind of evidence.

The first point to be considered is the distinction between the true and the fictitious glosses. Indeed, their origins are often obscure and the information they give (usually very poor) lacks precision. Moreover, it is not unusual for the attribution of a word to a given community to be refuted by other scholars, who may propose a new attribution. Phrygian is particularly susceptible to such false attributions because the ethnic is used as equivalent to 'Anatolian' or even 'oriental'[2] in compositions as fundamental as the Homeric poems or Virgil's *Aeneid*.

Even when Phrygia is used as a specific denomination it is important to consider that the territory occupied by the Phrygians changed considerably

1 I follow the criteria established by Adiego 1992 and 2007, 7–8 in his overview of Carian glosses. Molina Valero 2010 applies Adiego's method to Lycian. Both Carian and Lycian, like Phrygian, are fragmentary languages.

2 See Haas 1966, 9, Heubeck 1967, 581, Innocente 1995, 216–217 and Matzinger 2005, 377.

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between the early Iron Age and Roman Imperial times. Most of the OPhr. territory was no longer considered Phrygian after the settlement of other peoples or was split in later provincial divisions. In such a scenario, it is easy to understand both why words which cannot be taken as Phrygian were attributed to this language and why some words identified as Phrygian were attributed to other surrounding peoples (e.g., Bythinians) in ancient sources.

Moreover, the textual transmition of the glosses is often highly complicated, and even their sources are unknown. To this problem, we must add the rarity of the words themselves. Indeed, most of them are hapax only transmitted in one or a small number of manuscripts. This implies that copyists could easily produce misspellings that would go unidentified and uncorrected. So, the the circumstances of the manuscripts and the palaeography are relevant questions.

The glosses now interpreted as having another origin are not included here. That is the case of Gr. ῥίσκος (borrowed in Lat. as *riscus*) 'coffer, chest', said to be Phrygian by Donatus (on *Ter. Eun*. 754). It is very likely to derive from the Proto-Celtic word **rusko-* 'bark' (attested in OIr. *rúsc* 'id.', MBret. *rusquenn* 'id.', Gaul. *rusc* 'beehive', etc.; see Matasović 2009, 317). Beekes (in *EDG* 1288–1289) states that "the word would have reached Gr. from Galatian through Phrygian because of the change *u* > *i*." Although the Galatian origin is likely, Phrygian does not explain such a shift (perhaps a mere itacism?). Consequently, there is no reason to relate this word to Phr.

Another gloss I omit is *tiara* 'a kind of cap': *tiara est pileum Phrygium quod dicunt* '*tiara* is a Phrygian cap, as others call it' (*Schol. Iuu. Sat*. 6.516).[3] Fick (1873, 415) considered it a gloss, but the scholiast does not say that the word is Phrygian; he merely describes the *tiara* in order to explain what Juvenal is recounting in his verse. At this point, the cap (not the word) is said to be Phrygian. In any case, although the etymology of *tiara* (Gr. τιάρα, τιήρης and τιάρις) is unknown, it is considered an oriental word (related to the Persian world)

3 *plebeia et Phrygia uestitur bucca tiara* 'his plebeian cheeks are covered with a Phrygian tiara'. The whole scholium reads as follows: *Sacerdotis habitu. Tiara nam galea sacerdotis est, quae per malas veniens, mento subligatur. tiara est pileum Phrygium quod dicunt* 'in priest dress, since *tiara* is a priest cap which, falling by the cheeks, is binded in the chin. *Tiara* is a Phrygian cap, as others call it'. Note that the explanation of this scholium is similar to Isidore's of Sevilla *Etymologiae* 19.31.4–5 explanation of the *mitra*, another kind of cap, also considered Phrygian (and counted in Fisk list of Phrygian glosses): *mitra est pilleum Phrygium, caput protegens, quale est ornamentum capitis devotarum. Sed pilleum virorum est, mitrae autem feminarum* '*mitra* is a Phrygian cap which, protecting the head, is an ornament of the devoted women head. Although this cap is proper of men, it is also worn by women'. Although other texts consider it Lyd. (Alcm. *Fr*. 1.1.67.69 or Pi. *N*. 8.15), nowadays its etymology is unclear (*EDG*, 959 considers a IIr. or Pre-Greek origin).

borrowed from a non-IE language (see *EDG*, 1481), so there are no grounds for claiming a Phrygian origin.

In addition, the commonly adduced Platonic passage, which explains that some Phrygian words are very similar to the Gr. ones (*Cra.* 410, 1–7, Socrates is speaking), is also omitted form this Phrygian list of glosses: Ὅρα τοίνυν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα τὸ "πῦρ" μή τι βαρβαρικὸν ᾖ. Τοῦτο γὰρ οὔτε ῥᾴδιον προσάψαι ἐστὶν Ἑλληνικῇ φωνῇ, φανεροί τ᾽εἰσὶν οὕτως αὐτὸ καλοῦντες Φρύγες σμικρόν τι παρακλίνοντες· καὶ τό γε "ὕδωρ" καὶ τὰς "κύνας" καὶ ἄλλα πολλά 'well, this word πῦρ is probably foreign; for it is difficult to connect it with the Greek language, and besides, the Phrygians have the same word, only slightly altered. The same is the case with ὕδωρ (water), κύων (dog), and many other words'. The reason this passage is disregarded is the absence of the Phrygian terms. Indeed, it is said that they are similar to the respective Phrygian words, but the Phrygian forms are not given (see, however, de Lamberterie 2013, 50).

After these considerations, only twenty-eight glosses considered Phrygian by their sources can be analysed in light of what we know about this languge:

ἀδαμνεῖν· τὸ φιλεῖν. καὶ Φρύγες τὸν φίλον ἀδάμνα λέγουσιν 'A.: to love. Also, Phrygians call A. to a friend' (Hsch. α 999). No clear etymology is given for this word. However, it is close to Gr. δάμνημι 'to tame, subdue, conquer' and some glosses such as δαμνῆτις· δαμάζουσα. τιμωρός 'δ.: she-dominating, she-avenger' (Hsch. δ 204). On the other hand, since this word goes back to PIE *$demh_2$- 'tame' (see *EDG* 301) and the preservation of the voiced stop in Phrygian is not expected, neither ἀδαμνεῖν nor ἀδάμνα can be inherited words in this language.

ἀζένα· πώγωνα. Φρύγες 'ἀ.: beard' (Hsch. α 1451), also ἀζήν (Herodianus grammaticus 1.15, 2.718). This word has been used to show the satəm treatments of velars in Phrygian, since it has been considered to be derived from PIE *ǵénu- 'chin', as well as Gr. γένυς 'jaw', Lat. *gena* 'cheek' (but *dentes genuīnī* 'molars'), Go. *kinnus* 'id.', Arm. *cnawt*, ToA *śanw-eṃ* 'id.', Skt. *hánu* 'jaw-bone', etc. However, ἀζένα has significant differences with these suggested cognates: it is not a *u*-stem noun (Lat. *gena* is reshaped after *māla*), the beginning ἀ- remains unexplained and, moreover, the Phrygian development of PIE *ǵ- is *k*-. Consequently, if ἀζένα is accepted as a Phrygian word, it cannot be considered as inherited from PIE *ǵénu-.

ἄκριστιν· πέπτριαν. ἀλετρίδα. Φρύγες 'A.: bakeress, female slave (who grinds corn). Phrygians' (Hsch. α 2576). It appears to be a spelling variant of the Hesychian gloss ἀκρηστής· δοῦλος 'A.: slave' (α 2560, as *DGE* 56 seems to assume). According to Kretschmer (1934, 205–206), the suffix

-st- could indicate Phrygian origin. However, Beekes (*EDG* 26) considers the possibility of a Pre-Gr. suffix. In any case, neither Phrygian nor Pre-Gr. is the most feasible explanation for this word. Indeed, ἄκριστιν seems to be a local variant of Gr. *ἄχρηστις[4] and its masc. ἀκρηστής of *ἀχρηστής, both with the meaning 'useless' (masc. and fem. forms, respectively), related to ἀχρησία 'disuse, non-user', ἀχρηστεύω 'not to be in use', ἀχρηστέω 'to be useless', ἄχρηστος 'useless, unprofitable', etc. All of them are derived from χράομαι 'to desire, yearn after, use'. Compare the reconstructed form *α-χρησ-τής 'useless' and ἀχρηστέω 'to be useless' with χρήστης 'prophet, soothsayer, creditor, usurer, debtor' and χρηστεύομαι 'to be kind or merciful', also derived from the same root. Anyhow, the plain pronunciation of the aspirated stop, χ > κ is a well-known feature of Gr. borrowings also found in Gr. inscriptions from Phrygia (see Brixhe 1987a, 110–113). This is very likely why the gloss was attributed to Phrygian. It is also possible that in the source(s) of these glosses (perhaps a comedy? Phrygian?) slaves were called 'useless' (incidentally, a common topos). One can adduce some verses of Aristophanes's *Birds*, where Manes (a slave with a Phrygian name!) is said to be lazy and worthless by his master: see, e.g, 1323–1325 ὡς βλακικῶς διακονεῖς. | ὡς βλακικῶς διακονεῖς: οὐ θᾶττον ἐγκονήσεις; 'what a sluggish slave you are! Won't you hurry up?', 1329 Μανῆς γάρ ἐστι δειλός 'Indeed, Manes is worthless' or 1336 οὕτως ὁρῶν σε δειλὸν ὄντα καὶ βραδύν 'since I see you are so worthless and slow'. Finally, note also that this explanation assumes a common itacism η > ι in the root of ἄκριστιν.

attagi Phrygia lingua vocantur, quos hircus dicimus 'the Phrygians in their language name billy goats *attagi*' (Arn. 5.6). The word ἀττηγός 'billy goat' is always found in relation to Ionia: see Aristophanes of Byzantium Fr. 4 Ἰωνικοὶ δέ τινες καὶ ἀττήγους καλοῦσιν ἡλικίαν τινὰ τῶν ἀρρένων 'some Ionians also name an age of the male goats ἀ.' (also in *Nomina aetatum* Fr. 279; the same is found in Eust. *Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam* 1.336). The Ionian use of this word is confirmed by the famous decree of Magnesia on the Maeander (Ionia) concerning festival of Zeus Sosipilos (197–196 BC): τῶι μὲν | [Διῖ] κριὸν ὡς κάλλιστον, τῆι δὲ Ἀρτέμιδι αἶγα, τῷ δὲ Ἀπόλλ[ω]||νι ττηγὸν 'to Zeus the most beautiful ram, to Artemis a goat, and to Apollo a billy goat' (l. 49–51) and τὸν δὲ κριὸν καὶ τὴν | αἶγα καὶ τὸν ἀττηγὸν διανεμέτωσαν τῶι τε στεφανηφό|[ρ]ωι 'and they shall divide the ram, the goat, and the billy goat among the

4 Not to be confused with Hsch. α 2560, ἀκρῆστις· ῥάχις, καὶ ἄκρα 'A.: chine, ridge, cape, crest'. A word clearly derived from ἄκρα 'headland, cape'.

stephanephoros'. The same stem seems to be found in the Greek name of other animals: ἀτταγᾶς 'francolin', ἀτταγεινός (a kind of fish), ἀττάκης 'locust' (see EDG, 165–166, with references). In conclusion, although the etymology of ἀττηγός remains unknown, there is no evidence for a Phrygian source.

βαλήν· βασιλεύς. Φρυγιστί 'β.: king in Phrygian' (Hsch. β 154, used in A. *Pers.* 657, S. *Fr.* 515), as βαλλήν is the name of a fabulous precious stone from βαλληναῖον ὄρος, = βασιλικόν 'royal mountain' in Phrygia, according to Ps.-Plu.*Fluv*.12.3,4. This word has been considered a borrowing from Semitic *BʕL* 'lord' (see Sowa 2007b, 160–164, contrary to Beekes in EDG 197, who considered an Anatolian borrowing, adducing an assumed Lyc. word παλην, which must be the Gr. πάλη 'fight, battle'). As Sowa (2007b, 164) stated, the attribution to Phrygian is given because in the ancient grammatical tradition this term was labelled a 'geographical term designating things of Asia Minor origin in general'. Consequently, it is very likely that this word is totally unrelated to the Phrygian language. This said, one can assume that it is an inherited Phryg. word, as derived from PIE *$b^{h}l̥h_{2}$- 'white', with the same suffix -ην found in κίκλην (Hsch. κ 2655). It would imply a semantic development 'the white one' > 'splendorous' > 'king'.

βάμβαλον· ἱμάτιον. καὶ τὸ αἰδοῖον. Φρύγες 'β.: a piece of dress, also pudenda. Phrygians' (Hsch. β 174). This gloss is said to encompass two different words (see Robert 1963, 153 and EDG 199). The second is perhaps a children's word (see Solmsen 1897b, 72).

βέδυ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς Φρύγας τὸ ὕδωρ φησὶ καλεῖν 'it is said that Phrygians call *bédu* to water' (Clement. *Strom*., 5.8.46–47). This word, which appears in a fragment of an Orphic ritual (*Orph. Fr*.219), is also found with the meaning 'air' in Philyll.19. Despite this divergence, its etymology seems to be clear, since it is similar to the PIE word for 'water' *$u̯ódr̥$, if one considers that beta is a late spelling for /w/. In any case, the presence of the voiced dental means that a Phrygian origin cannot be claimed for this word (see, contrarily, de Lamberterie 2013, 52).

βεκός [...] Φρύγας καλέοντας τὸν ἄρτον 'Phrygians calls β. to bread' (Hdt. 2.2.3) and βεκός· ἄρτος. [ἢ ἄβητος]. Φρύγες 'β.: bread or ἄβητος. Phrygians' (Hsch. β 472). The Phrygian origin of this word is confirmed by the NPhr. inscriptions. It must go back to PIE *$b^{h}h_{1}ǵ$-*ós*- (Panagl and Kowal 1983, 186–187 and Lubotsky 2004, 233).

βρικίσματα· ὄρχησις Φρυγιακή 'β.: Phrygian dance' (Hsch. β 1154). An unclear word, but one can consider a relationship with the ethnics Βερεκύνται and Βρίγες (see above).

γάνος· […][5] ἡ ὕαινα, ὑπὸ Φρυγῶν καὶ Βιθυνῶν 'γ.: the hyena for Phrygians and Bithynians' (Hsch. γ 1154). According to Morante Mediavilla (2006), it may be a form parallel to οὐάνουν 'fox' sg. acc. (found in St.Byz. *s.u.* Ἀζανοί and considered Phrygian on the basis of its context)[6] with the possible shift **w-* > *g-*. Although in general her analysis is highly sound, the spelling of γάνος is better explained as the common confusion between gamma and digamma.[7] So, γάνος can be a misreading of *ϝάνος and the sg. nom. of οὐάνουν. In such a scenario, Phrygian *ϝάνος may have derived from PIE **suH-* 'pig' in parallel to Gr. ὕαινα 'hyena' from ὗς 'pig, swine' (with -αινα as in λύκαινα 'she-wolf' regarding to λύκος 'wolf'). From a phonetic point of view, this gloss can be considered a Phrygian word.

γέλαρος· ἀδελφοῦ γυνή, Φρυγιστί 'γ.: wife of the brother in Phrygian' (Hsch. γ 288). To analyse this gloss one must consider the common Hesychian confusion between gamma and digamma. Then, a form

5 This lemma gathers some diferent words since γάνος is also said to mean παράδεισος. χάρμα. φῶς. αὐγή. λευκότης. λαμπηδών, ἡδονή (Eur. *Ba*. 383) 'garden, light, light of the sun, whiteness, lustre, enjoyment'. With the first meaning, γάνος is a borrowing from Northwest Semitic *gn* 'garden' (in Ugaritic, Aramaic and Hebrew, see *HALOT s.u.* גַּנָּה, *EDG* 260).

6 Ἀζανοί, Φρυγίας πόλις. Στράβων δωδεκάτῃ τῆς δ' Ἐπικτήτου Φρυγίας Ἀζανοί τέ εἰσι καὶ Νακόλεια. οἱ πολῖται Ἀζανῖται, τὸ θηλυκὸν Ἀζανῖτις. Ἡρωδιανὸς διὰ τῆς αι ἐν πρώτῃ τῶν καθόλου λέγων Αἰζὴν Ταντάλου παῖς, ἀφ' οὗ ἐν Φρυγίᾳ πόλις Αἰζανοί. τινὲς δὲ Ἀζάνιον αὐτήν φασιν. Ἑρμογένης δέ φησιν οὐδὲ οὕτως, ἀλλ' Ἐξουάνουν αὐτὴν καλεῖσθαι· λέγεται γὰρ παρὰ τὸν τόπον ἀγροικίας εἶναι, λιμοῦ δὲ γενομένου συνελθόντες οἱ ποιμένες ἔθυον εὐβοσίαν γενέσθαι· οὐκ ἀκουόντων δὲ τῶν θεῶν Εὔφορβος τὴν οὐανοῦν, ὅ ἐστιν ἀλώπηξ, καὶ ἔξιν, ὅ ἐστιν ἐχῖνος, θῦσαι τοῖς δαίμοσιν· εὐαρεστησάντων δὲ τῶν θεῶν εὐφορίαν γενέσθαι καὶ τὴν γῆν πολυκαρπῆσαι, τοὺς δὲ περιοίκους πυθομένους ἱερέα καὶ ἄρχοντα αὐτὸν καταστῆσαι. ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὲ κληθῆναι τὴν πόλιν Ἐξουάνουν, ὃ μεθερμηνευόμενον ἔστιν ἐχιναλώπηξ. ἔοικε δὲ μετηλλοιῶσθαι ἐκ τοῦ Ἐξουάνουν τὸ Ἀζάνιον. ἔστι δὲ ὅμοιον τῷ Βιθυνίῳ, περὶ οὗ ἐροῦμεν. 'Azanoi, a Phrygian city (in Strabo's book 12) Aizanoi and Nakoleia are cities of Phrygia Epiktetos. Its citizens are called *Azanītai*, fem. *Azanītis*. Herodianos writes *ai-* in the first syllable saying that 'Aizēn was the son of Talantos, after whom the city *Aizanoi* is called. Some people call it *Aznion*.' However, Hermogenes says that it is not right, but it was called *Exvanun*. Indeed, he tells that ther are some villages around this place and, because of a hunger, sheferds, who met there, sacrificed means of subsistence. Nevertheless, since the gods did not herd them, Euporbos sacrificed a *vanos*, which is a fox, and an *exis*, which is a hedgehog, to the divinities. After this reconcilation with the gods, the earth produced many food and fruits and, when the neighbors knew it, they designated him prist and leader. After it, the city was called *Exvanun*, which is translated as hedgehog-fox [*echinalṓpēx*]. It seems that *Exvanun* become Azanion in a similar way that Bythenion, about whom we speak'. Of course, despite being an etiological explanation, far from providing a good etymology for the city, this text attests the name of these animals.

7 See, e.g., γίς (Hsch. γ 71) for *ϝίς 'strength, force' (Att. ἴς, Lat. *uis*) and γοῖνος (Hsch. γ 84) for *ϝοῖνος 'wine' (Myc. *wo-no-*, Att. οἶνος, Lat. *uinum*).

*ϝέλαρος can easily derive from the reflexive pronoun *$s\underset{\cdot}{u}e$- as well as Gr. αἰλιοι (later spelling for *ἔλιοι, Hsch. α 1932), ἀ-έλιοι 'brothers-in-law' (Hsch. α 1342; literally σύγγαμβροι 'the husbands of two sisters' and οἱ ἀδελφὰς γυναῖκας ἐσχηκότες 'who have sisters as wives', respectively) and ON *svilar* 'brothers-in-law, whose wives are sisters'. All these forms share the presence of the suffix *-*lo-* / *-leh*$_2$- (see *EDG* 24–25). Finally, the Phrygian word *ϝέλα- seems to have added a secondary suffix -ρο-. In Brixhe and Drew-Bear (1997, 90, followed by Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 189), NPhr. ουελας 'relatives' (9.1 = 87, 15.1 = 120) is found to share the same origin. Consequently, there is no reason to reject *ϝέλαρος as a Phrygian word. On the other hand, γέλαρος (read as *γέλαϝος) has been related to Gr. γαλόως 'husband's sister' < *γαλ-αϝο-, a thematisation *of *$ǵ\underset{\cdot}{l}h_2$-$e\underset{\cdot}{u}$-, and Arm. *tal* 'id.' (see *EDG* 259 and Martirosyan 2010, 596). Similar formations are found in Lat. *glōs* 'husband's sister' (derived from an unexpected form without laryngeal), OCS *zъlъva* 'id.' and Ru. *zólva*, *zolóvka* 'id.' (forms with *-*u̯u̯*-). Nevertheless, this interpretation can be rejected because if γέλαρος is Phr., it cannot go back to *$ǵelh_2$- because of the *Lautverschiebung* of this language.

γλούρεα· χρύσεα. Φρύγες καὶ γλουρός· χρυσός 'γ.: golden things. Phrygians. Also γ. gold' (Hsch. γ 659). This gloss has a literary source, since it is found in Besantinus's *Bomos* 7, and was confirmed by MPhr-01 γλουρεος, a Phrygian word derived from PIE *$ǵ^{h}\underset{\cdot}{l}h_3$- 'green, yellow'.

δάος· […] ὑπὸ Φρυγῶν λύκος 'd.: wolf for the Phrygians' (Hsch. δ 241). Since it does not go back to any IE word, its origin can be found in Aramaic *dʔb*, *dʔbʔ* 'wolf' (see *CAL*, s.u. and, for Semitic cognates, Kogan 2011, 208). Phrygian seems to have borrowed it from the absolute *dʔb* [de:β], with the Aramaic allophonic [β] in such position, the common Phrygian shift *$\bar{e}$ > $\bar{a}$ and a thematisation in *-os*. Consequently, this Aramaic word may have been borrowed into Phrygian and, from this language, to Gr. Finally, note that in Aramaic it is also used as a PN (Lipiński 1975b, 225–226), and it could be the origin of the Phrygian PN **davos* (OPhr. sg.dat. *davoi* M-06 and B-05, also borne by slaves in Gr. texts as Δᾶϝος, Δᾶος and attested in Lat. as *Dauus*). Nevertheless, M-06, the earliest occurrence of this name, is dated to the 7th c., before the Achaemenid conquest. It is therefore unlikely that Aramaic had sufficient influence to be the origin of such a characteristic Phrygian name.

ἔξις corresponds to Gr. ἐχῖνος 'hedgehog' according to St. Byz. *s.u.* ἀζανοί (see γάνος). Fick (1873, 412)[8] considered it a misreading of *ἔζις and

8 See also Morante Mediavilla 2006, 331 fn. 30 and 2007, 445 and *EDG* 489.

related it to its equivalent words in other IE languages: Gr. ἐχῖνος, OHG *igil*, Lith. *ežys*, and SCr.CS *ježь*. All these forms go back to PIE *$h_1eǵ^h$-i- (*IEW*, 292; in OHG **egīla-* replaced the expected **egīna-*, while the Gr. word, as well as Arm. *ozni*, derives from *$h_1oǵ^h$-*i*(*H*)-*n*-). Consequently, Fick's reading and interpretation seem to be correct, since PIE *$h_1eǵ^his$ is expected to yield *ἔζις in Phrygian (*$ǵ^h$ > *g > ζ before front vowel).

ζέλκια· λάχανα. Φρύγες 'Ζ.: vegetables. Phrygians' (Hsch. ζ 108). This gloss is related to some IE words for vegetation derived from PIE *$ǵ^helh_3$- 'green, yellow' (*EDG* 1638–1639): Lith. *žélti* 'to green, sprout', *želmuō* 'plant, shoot, growth', *žolē* 'grass, herb, flower', Lat. *helus*, (*h*)*olus*, *-eris* 'green plants, vegetables, cabbage' and Ossetian *zældæ* 'low grass', etc. The same root is found in Phrygian γλουρεος (MPhr-01, also glossed in Hsch. γ 659 γλούρεα· χρύσεα. Φρύγες. καὶ γλουρός· χρυσός), parallel to Gr. χλωρός < *$ǵ^hl̥h_3$-*ró*-. The form ζέλκια clearly shows an *e*-grade and shows the Phrygian secondary palatalisation of *$ǵ^h$ > *g before the front vowel. Although the development of its root seems to confirm that the word is Phrygian, the suffix -κι- is unapparelled. Perhaps it may be analysed as a secondary formation with *-*i̯o*- derived from and adj. *ζελ-κο-.

ζέμελεν· βάρβαρον ἀνδράποδον. Φρύγες 'Ζ.: barbarian slave. Phrygians' (Hsch. ζ 109). The Phrygian gloss is confirmed by the NPhr. inscriptions since ζεμελως 'human being' (pl.dat.) is found in the formula με ζεμελως (κε) δεως (κε) 'in the sight of men and gods'. It derives from PIE *$d^hǵ^{(h)}e$-*m*- 'earth' with the suffix *-*elo*- (and very likely with simplification of the initial cluster): *(d^h)$ǵ^he$-*m*- > ζεμ-ελο-.

ζέτνα· Φρύγιος ἡ λέξις· σημαίνει δὲ τὴν πύλην 'Ζ.· Phrygian word, meaning door' (Photius lexicographus *s.u.*). Although there is a textual variant, πυγήν instead of πύλην 'rump, buttocks', Fick (1873, 413 *s.u.* ζέτνα) preferred the second form and suggested a relation with Gr. χανδάνω 'to hold, include, contain' and Lat. *prae-hendō* 'to grasp, seize', Go. *bi-gitan* 'to find, discover', which goes back to PIE *g^hed- 'to seize, grasp, take' (*LIV*^{2} 194, *IEW* 437–438). So, ζέτνα can be analysed as *g^hed-neh_2 (sg. fem.) or *g^hed-nh_2 (pl.neuter). In any case, since it shows the Phrygian shifts *d > t and *g^he > ζε, the filiation of this gloss is very likely.

ζεῦμαν· τὴν πηγήν. Φρύγες 'Ζ.: running water. Phrygians' (Hsch. ζ 128). A clear cognate with Gr. χεῦμα 'id.', which goes back to *$ǵ^heu̯$-*mn̥*. As can be seen, both the root and the suffix show the expected Phrygian developments *$ǵ^he$- > *ge- > ζε- and -*mn̥* > -μαν. Consequently, the Phrygian origin of this word is highly probable.

κίκλην· τὴν ἄρκτον τὸ ἄστρον. Φρύγες 'Κ.: the constellation Ursa Major' (Hsch. κ 2655). According to Fick (1873, 413), it is related to Gr. κύκλος,

Anglo-Saxon *hwēol* (*hweowol*, *hweogol*), MoE wheel and Skt. *cakrá-*, all them with the meaning 'wheel' and derived from a reduplicated form of the root **kʷel(H)-* 'turn': **kʷe-kʷlo-*. The form κίκλην shows the same reduplication, but there is no trace of thematisation: **kʷe-kʷl-*. Orel (1997–1998, 112) considered it to be derived from **kʷ-kʷl-* > **kukl-* (as well as Gr. κύκλος) with a "New Phrygian" shift **u* and **ū* > *i*. However, this must be refuted in the light of **gʷn-* 'women' > Phrygian *knais*, Gr. γυνή. Therefore, the development of the labiovelars is as expected in Phrygian, and the rising **e* > *i* is a common feature; however, the ending -ην is expected to appear as *-ān* in Phrygian. Then, it may have been adapted to ποιμήν-type Gr. inflection and its original meaning may be 'wagon' (see Porzig 1954, 183, Morante Mediavilla 2007, 444 fn. 947 and *EDG* 799). This gloss also explains the mother goddess epithet Κικλέα, which occurs in two votive inscriptions from Roman Phrygia (one from Altintaş and one from Appia / Pinarbaşı-Abya, see *MAMA* X 226). The interpretation of such adj. as 'she of the chariot' fits the iconography of this goddess in Roman times, since she is referred to and represented as driving a chariot drawn by lions.[9]

κίμερος· νοῦς. Φρύγες 'κ.: mind' (Hsch. κ 2799). A word without clear etymology. Orel (1997–1998) equated to Gr. κυβερνάω 'to steer, drive' (Cypr. inf. κυμερῆναι, Aeol. κυμερνήτης = κυβερνήτης 'governor, captain, pilot') and Lat. *gubernō* 'to pilot, steer a ship' by considering these verbs derived from a non-IE borrowing "*κύμερον or (less reliable) *κύμερνον 'steer'" (following Furnée 1972, 215). In such a scenario, he explains the divergent vocalisation between Phrygian κίμερος and *κύμερον as a "the New Phrygian shift of **u*, **ū* to -ι-" (Orel 1997–1998, 112). However, this shift can be also considered a mere Gr. itacism */y/ > /i/, and there is no specific feature that connects this word to the Phrygian language. Consequently, this gloss remains unclear.

μᾶ· πρόβατα. Φρύγες 'μ.: cattle. Phrygians' (Hsch. μ 40). This is very likely an onomatopoeic word that may be related to "the sound-imitation μη (**mē*)" (*EDG* 942), also found in Gr. μηκάς 'bleating', μηκάομαι 'to bleat', MHG *meckatzen* 'bleat', *mecke* 'he-goat', Lith. *mekčióti*, *mekénti* 'id.', Lat. *micciō* 'id.', Skt. (lex.) *meka-* 'he-goat' and Arm. *mak'i* 'sheep'. Perhaps μᾶ is derived from **mē* with the common Phrygian shift of this long

9 Another word for 'chariot' sometimes claimed to be Phrygian is the poetic word σατίναι 'carriage (for women)'. However, the beginning makes difficult to connect it with Phrygian. A Thracian or Anatolian origin cannot be excluded, although it is far for being clear.

vowel and was secondarily considered pl. neuter, but it may also be a new creation in Phrygian.

νηνίατος· νόμος παιδαριώδης. καὶ Φρύγιον μέλος 'childish tune and Phrygian melody' (Hsch. ν 581). According to Hippon. fr. 129 Bgk. (= fr. 163 Masson, Poll. 4, 79), it is a tune for the flute. Following *EDG* (1016), it is derived from νηνία 'a public eulogy, sometimes accompanied by the flute' (Cic. *Leg*. 2, 24, 62), and it may also be the origin of Lat. *nēnia*. Its origin can be found in a *Lallwort* because of the reduplication of the consonant (see νέννος 'maternal uncle or grandfather'). Then, as derived from νηνία, it can be considered a Gr. word. Note also that the presence of eta in the first syllabe is problematic from a Phrygian point of view.

νώρικον δὲ οἱ Φρύγες τῇ σφῶν διαλέκτῳ τὸν ἀσκὸν καλοῦσιν 'in their language, the Phrygians call a skin [or skin bag] *nṓrikon*' (Pseudo-Plutarch, *De Fluviis* 10.2, s.v. Μαρσύας), τινὲς δὲ ἱστοροῦσι καὶ ὅτι νώρικον οἱ Φρύγες τὸν ἀσκὸν καλοῦσιν τῇ σφετέρᾳ διαλέκτῳ 'some people report that the Phrygians call a skin *nṓrikon* in their language' (Eustathius of Thessalonica, Comm. Ad Dionis. Perieget. 121 = *Geogr. Graec*. Min. II 724) and, without linguistic filiation, ναρκίον· ἀσκόν '*n*.: skin' (Hsch. ν 86). Following Kaczyńska's (2011, 57–59) useful analysis, Hesychian ναρκίον must be a variant of νώρικον, despite the differences in the root vocalism and the sound cluster because of "both the close form and the identical meaning." After Haas (1966, 154–155) tentatively established a relationship with the Slavic **nora* (referring to "animal's underground hiding place, burrow, hole,", but it can be considered a Ugro-Finnish borrowing), Crevatin (1972) considered it a borrowing from a Semitic language in light of Assyrian *naruqqu*(*m*), Babylonian *nuruqqum* 'skin, skin vessel to contain water or wine; bag, sack'. Indeed, the Assyrian and Babylonian word explains the origin of the meaning 'skin', but it does not mean that the Phrygian town Νώρικον (whose name is glossed by Pseudo-Plutarch and Eustathius) was in fact named after the Semitic word. A folk-etymology cannot be ruled out, even when it is accepted that Phrygian borrowed this word. By comparing νώρικον with *naruqqu*(*m*) / *nuruqqum*, a third, unclear, language must be identified to explain the vocalic divergences (*a* / *u* > *ṓ* and *u* > *i*).

ξενῶνες· οἱ ἀνδρῶνες ὑπὸ Φρυγῶν 'ξ.: men's apartments in a house (or banqueting-halls) for the Phrygians' (Hsch. ξ 54). It is the Gr. word ξενών, ῶνος 'guest-chamber', as is explained in the lexicon: ξενών· κατάλυμα. ἢ μέγας ἀνδρών 'lodging or a big guest-chamber' (Hsch. ξ 53). The attribution to the Phrygian language must be rejected.

ὀξυάκανθον· οἱ ἐν Καρίᾳ καὶ Φρυγίᾳ τὰ αἱμα⟨σιώδη φυτά⟩ 'ὀ.: people in Caria and Phrygia (call it to) garden plants' (Hsch. ο 42). It is indeed the masculinisation of the Gr. word ὀξυάκανθα 'fiery thorn, *Cotoneaster Pyracantha*'. So, it is not related to the Phrygian language or to Carian.

τὸ ορου τὸ ἄνω δηλοῦν Φρυγῶν ἴδιον, ὡς Νεοπτόλεμος ἐν ταῖς φρυγίαις φωναίς 'the (word) of the Phrygians *orou* clearly (corresponds to Greek) *anō* [= 'above'], as Neoptolemos (of Parion says) in his *Phrygian Phrases*' (Achilles Tatius, *Ad Arato*, *Phaenom.* 85; see Mette 1980, 15). Gusmani (1959b, 14) equated ορου to Hitt. *šarā* 'up(wards), aloft' and Lyc. *hri* 'up; on (top)' and considered it an isogloss between Phrygian and the Anatolian languages. However, it is not so easy. If *šarā* goes back to PIE **ser-*, **sr-* (see Kloekhorst 2008, 730), the first vowel of *orou* is unexpected (even more so if it is equated to Greek ῥίον 'mountain-ridge'). The relationship with Gr. ὄρος 'mountain, height' seems obvious and it remains unclear whether it is a genuine Phrygian word (an isogloss with Greek) or a Greek word pronounced like this by Phrygians. Sowa (2012, 45 fn. 5) considered this gloss in his study of ορουαν 'keeper, protector'.

πικερίῳ· βουτύρῳ. ὡς καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τοῖς ὑομνήμασί φησιν, ὅτι Θόας ὁ Ἰθακήσιος ἱστορεῖ παρὰ Φρυξὶ πικέριον καλεῖσθαι τὸ βούτυρον 'π.: butter. As well as Aristoteles in his *Commentaries*, Thoas of Ithaca observes that among the Phrygians 'butter' is called πικερίῳ' (Erot. 73, 13 = Ar. Byz. F. 101 and Arist. Fr. 636 = Beeker-Gigon 773). The etymology of this word is unknown (*EDG* 1190) and this gloss cannot be corroborated.

σίκιννις· εἶδος ὀρχήσεως κωμικωτέρας, ἣν Φρύγες ὠρχοῦντο ἐπὶ Σαβαζίῳ Διονύσῳ, ἀπὸ μιᾶς τῶν τῆς Κυβέλης ὀπαδῶν Νυμφῶν, ᾗ ὄνομα Σίκιννις 'σ. more comic kind of dance which Phrygian used to dance for Sabazios Dionisos instead of that one of the Cybele's attendant Nymphs' (Eust. Ad *Il.* 20, 1077). Although σίκιννις was classed as Phrygian in Fick's (1873) list of Phrygian glosses, no explanation has been given as to the origin of this word. If its origin is Phrygian (which is far from clear), it must go back to **ki-* (as the pronoun **ḱi* > *si*). As such, perhaps *kikinnis* > σίκιννις was an onomatopoeic word in origin. Nevertheless, it cannot be considered more than a working hypothesis.

σύκχοι· ὑποδήματα Φρύγια 'Phrygian sandles' (Hsch. σ 2243). It is also found as συκχάς, -άδος and was borrowed into Lat. as *soccus* (see *EDG* 1421). Knobloch (1958, 198–200) sees it as a loan from the Caucasus, perhaps also borrowed into Av. *haxa-* 'sole of the foot'. In any case, the presence of *chi* means that the word cannot be Phrygian in origin.

Finally, one can add to this list another Hesychian gloss, although it is not explicitly considered Phrygian:

> ἄδδεε· ἐπείγου 'ἄ.: press, urge or hurry' (Hsch. α 1024). The origin of this gloss, often considered Pre-Gr., is not given. Nevertheless, this verb in impv., which "corresponds exactly to the Gr. imperative θέε from θέω 'to run'" (Mihaylova 2016, 309, based on Georgiev 1941, 79; the root of the verb goes back to PIE *$d^heu̯$- 'to run, flow' *IEW* 259–260, *LIV*^{2} 147–148), is a clear borrowing in this language. The word also transmitted as gloss δύαν· κρήνην 'δ.: well, spring' is also derived from the same root *$d^hu(u̯)eh_2$- (compare with Skt. *dhávate* 'runs, flows', *dhautí-* 'spring, stream' or OHG *tau*, Germ. *Tau*, OE *deaw* 'dew'). Because ἄδδεε has the preverb ἀδ- and the the shift *d^h- > δ-, Mihaylova (2016, 310 fn. 6) does not rule out a Phrygian origin. Indeed, both features are typically Phrygian and this possibility is very strong. The loss of *-$u̯$- in *$d^heu̯e$ > (ἀδ)δεε, which is unexpected from a Phrygian point of view, can be considered the result of the Gr. adaptation (compare with *davos* > Δᾶος).

After this detailed analysis, the glosses can be gathered into groups according to their relationship with Phrygian. Only three glosses from this extensive list can be confirmed as Phrygian because they occur in Phrygian inscriptions: βεκός 'bread', γλούρεα 'golden', ζέμελεν 'slave' (indeed 'men'). The noun κλίκην 'chariot' can be also confirmed by Gr. inscriptions from Phrygia that corroborate its Phrygian origin. There are seven glosses that are very likely to be Phrygian on the basis of phonetic analysis, although they are never found in any inscription: *ϝάνος (γάνος), *ϝέλαρος (γέλαρος), *ἔζις (ἕξις), ζέλκια, ζέτνα, ζεῦμαν and μᾶ. Note that some of them encountered obstacles to their transmission.

Less clear is the Phrygian filiation of ἀζένα, ἄδδεε, βαλήν, βάμβαλον, βρικίσματα, δύαν, κίμερος, νώρικον, ορου, πικέριον and σίκιννις. These ten words have no relevant features that confirm or contradict their Phrygian status. Finally, seven glosses cannot be considered Phrygian: ἀδαμνεῖν, ἄκριστιν, βέδυ, δάος, νηνίατος, ξενῶνες and ὀξυάκανθον. There are two reasons for their omission. The first is simply that these words are attributed to another langague. Despite some particularities, ἄκριστιν 'useless (slave)', νηνίατος 'flute tune', ξενῶνες 'men's apartments' and ὀξυάκανθον 'garden plant' are Gr., δάος is an Aramaic borrowing and νώρικον is an Assyrian word. The second reason is the presence of features incompatible with Phrygian. This is the case of ἀδαμνεῖν 'to love' and βέδυ 'water', where the continuity of the PIE voiced stop is unexpected.

TABLE 36 Classification of the glosses regarding their relationship with Phrygian

Confirmed	Very probable	Unclear	Excluded
βεκός	*ϝάνος	ἀζένα	ἀδαμνεῖν
γλούρεα	*ϝέλαρος	ἄδδεε	ἄκριστιν
ζέμελεν	*ἔζις	βαλήν	βέδυ
κίκλην	ζέλκια	βάμβαλον	δάος
	ζέτνα	βρικίσματα	νηνίατος
	ζεῦμαν	δύαν	ξενῶνες
	μᾶ	κίμερος	ὀξυάκανθον
		νώρικον	
		ορου	
		πικέριον	
		σίκιννις	

According to the information above, the following table summarises the degree of Phrygian filiation of each of the glosses, where "Confirmed" means that the word appears in Phrygian or Gr. inscriptions fom Phrygia, "Very Probable" means that it has features that point to the Phrygian language, "Unclear" means that there are no relevant features and "Excluded" means that the words cannot be considered Phrygian.

Catalogue of the Phrygian Inscriptions

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Old Phrygian Inscriptions

M – Midas City (Midas Kenti, Yazılıkaya)

Stone Inscriptions

M-01
Rock-cut façade dated to the second quarter of the sixth c. BC (earlier than 550 BC).

M-01a
Horizontal inscription under the pediment of the façade.
Mordtmann 1862, 21–23 no. 5 (Tafel A–B, no. 5); Gosche 1864, 225 no. 1; Ramsay 1883, 128–129 no. 1; Perrot and Chipiez 1890, 88–89; Pauli 1894, 58 no. 1; Körte 1898, 65; von Reber 1898, 566; Schwyzer 1923, Appendix IV, 8, 1; Sayce 1926, 32 no. 1; Friedrich 1932, 125 no. A 1; Haas 1951, 24 no. 1; Haas 1966, 187–188 no. 1; Haas 1970a, 52 no. M-01a; Haas 1970b, 24 no. 1; Haspels 1971 I, 289 no. 1; Neroznak 1978, 71 no. A1; CIPPh *I, 6–9 no. M-01 a (II, pl. I-1, I-2 and I-3); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 61 no. A 1; Woudhuizen 1993, 1–5 no. M-01;* TITUS, *no. M-1a; Orel 1997a, 9–12 no. M-01a; Berndt 2002, 9 no. 1 = M-01a (Abb. 10); Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 232–234 no. 30 (figs. 4, 50–53, 134).*

ates ⋮ *arkiaevais* ⋮ *akenanogavos* ⋮ *midai* ⋮ *lavagtaei* ⋮ *vanaktei* ⋮ *edaes*

'Attes the son of Archias, the *akenanogavos*, made (it) for Midas the leader (and) the king.'

M-01b
Vertical inscription on the right pilaster of the façade.
Mordtmann 1862, 21–22 no. 6 (Tafel A–B, no. 6); Gosche 1864, 225 no. 2; Schmidt 1869, 137; Ramsay 1883, 129–130 no. 2; Pauli 1894, 58 no. 2; Solmsen 1897a, 60–62; Körte 1898, 85; von Reber 1898, 566; Schwyzer 1923, Appendix IV 8,2; Sayce, 1926, 32 no. 2; Friedrich 1932, 125 no. 2; Haas 1966, 190 no. 11; Haspels 1971 I, 289–290 no. 2; Neroznak 1978, 72–73 no. A 2; CIPPh *I, 9–10 no. M-01 b (II, pl. II-1); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 61–62 no. A 2;* TITUS, *no. M-1b; Orel 1997a, 12–14 no. M-01b; Berndt 2002, 9 no. 1 = M-02b (Abb. 11); Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 232–234 no. 30 (figs. 4, 50–53, 134).*

baba ⋮ *memevais* ⋮ *proitavos* ⋮ *kΦiyanaveyos* ⋮ *si keneman* ⋮ *edaes*

'Baba the son of Meme(s), the *proitavos*, the *kΦiyanaveyos*, made this niche.'

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M-01c

Inside the central niche, to the left. Two adjacent inscriptions, the second one, to the right, was first incised.

Mordtmann 1862, 26–2 no. 8 (Tafel A–B, no. 8); Gosche 1864, 225 no. 5; Haspels 1971 I, 290 no. 4 (II fig. 599/4); Neroznak 1978, 108–109 no. A 78; CIPPh *I, 11–12 no. M-01 c (II, pl. II-2 and II-3); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 74 no. A 78;* TITUS*, no. M-1c; Orel 1997a, 14–16 no. M-01c; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 232–234 no. 30 (figs. 4, 50–53, 134).*

I II

mateṛ.. atatas ṃ²onokaua

---

1 ḅonokaua *Haspels et Orel.*

M-01d

Inside the central niche, to the right. Two inscriptions are readable, but more traces and some letters are visible at the lowest part. Also, two circles were drawn.

Mordtmann 1862, 26–27 no. 7 (Tafel A–B, no. 7); Brandenburg 1906, 645; Haspels 1971 I, 290–291 no. 5 (II, fig. 298/5 and 599/5); Neroznak 1978, 109 no. A 79; CIPPh *I, 12–14 no. M-01 d (II, pl. IV and pl. V); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 74 no. A 79;* TITUS*, no. M-1a; Orel 1997a, 16–19 no. M-01d; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 232–234 no. 30 (figs. 4, 50–53, 134).*

I

← *midas*
← *s≈materan*
← *tvemes eneparkes²*

II

← *matera*[---]
← *avi*[---]

(III)

← *a b²*[---].[.]*nm.*[---]
[---]...[---]

(I) 'Midas engraved this mother goddess *tvemes*.'

M-01e

On the socle to the right of the central niche.

CIPPh *I, 15 no. M-01 e* (*II, pl. VI-1, 2 and VII-1,2*); TITUS, *no. M-1e; Orel 1997a, 19–20 no. M-01 e; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 232–234 no. 30* (*figs. 4, 50–53, 134*).

.. a o.. mạteẹrey . ag[?]a ...

---

1 .ag[?]a *uel* .ap[?]a.

M-01f

Inside a niche in the rock to the left of the façade.

Mordtmann 1862, 27 no. 9 (*Tafel A–B, no. 9*); *Gosche 1864, 225 no. 3; Ramsay 1883, 130–131 no. 3; Pauli 1894, 58 no. 3; Kretschmer 1901, 115–116; Sayce 1926, 32 no. 3; Friedrich 1932, 125 no. A 4; Haas 1951, 25 no. IV; Haas 1966, 190–191 no. IV; Haas 1970, 25 no. IV; Haspels 1971 I, 290 no. 3* (*II fig. 599/3*); *Neroznak 1978, 71 no. 4 A 4;* CIPPh *I, 15–16 no. M-01f* (*II, pl. III-1, 2, 3, 4*); *Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 63 no. A 4;* TITUS, *no. M-1f; Orel 1997a, 20–22 no. M-01f; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 232–234 no. 30* (*figs. 4, 50–53, 134*); *Ligorio 2016, 34.*

[.[?]].*as* ⋮ *tuave*|*niy* ⋮ *ae* ⋮ *esuryoyoy* ⋮ *totin* ⋮ *ẹḍaẹ*[*s*]

'X-as ... made this present/offering.'

M-02

On an "altar", almost contemporaneous to M-01 b (575–550 BC).

Mordtmann 1862, 21 no. 11 (*Tafel A–B, no. 11*); *Gosche 1864, 225 no. 7; Schmidt 1869, 136–137; Ramsay 1883, 129, 132 no. 5; Ramsay 1889a, 185; Pauli 1894, 58 no. 5; Kretschmer 1899, 352–353; Sayce 1926, 32 no. 5; Friedrich 1932, 125 no. A 3; Haas 1966, 191 no. III; Haspels 1971 I, 291 no. 8* (*II fig. 600/8*); *Neroznak 1978, 73 no. A 3;* CIPPh *I, 18–19 no. M-02* (*II, pl. VIII-1*); *Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 62 no. A 3;* TITUS, *no. M-2; Orel 1997a, 22–24 M-01f; Berndt 2002, 49–50 no. 71* (*Abb. 88–90*).

bba ⋮ *memevais* ⋮ *proitavo*[*s*]
k↑*ianaveyos* ⋮ *akaragayun*
edaes

'Baba the son of Meme(s), the *proitavos*, the *k*↑*ianaveyos*, made the *akaragayun*.'

M-03

On undated "altar", perhaps dated to the Middle Phrygian period I or II.

Mordtmann 1862, 30 no. 10 (Tafel A–B, no. 10); Gosche 1864, 225 no. 6; Ramsay 1883, 131 no. 4; Pauli 1894, 58 no. 4; Kretschmer 1899, 354; Sayce 1926, 32 no. 4; Friedrich 1932, 125 no. 5; Haas 1966, 191 no. V; Haspels 1971 I, 292 no. 9 (II fig. 30 and 600/8); Neroznak 1978, 75 no. A 5; CIPPh *I, 19–21 no. M-03 (II, pl. VIII-2); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 62 no. A 5;* TITUS, *no. M-1f; Orel 1997a, 24–25 no. M-03; Berndt 2002, 50 no. 72 (Abb. 91); Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 250–251 no. 69 (figs. 4, 79, 137).*

[---] *abas iṃaṇ akio*[---]

---

[b]abas *Pauli, Sayce, Haas et Neroznak* : abas *CIPPh et Orel.*

M-04

On a step monument ("altar") dated to the sixth c. BC.

Mordtmann 1862, 22 no. 12 (Tafel A–B, no. 12); Gosche 1864, 225 no. 8; Ramsay 1883, 132 no. 6; Ramsay 1889b, 310; Pauli 1894, 58 no. 6; von Reber 1898, 584–585; Sayce 1926, 32 no. 6; Friedrich 1932, 125 no. A 6; Haas 1951, 24–25 no. VI; Haas 1966, 192 no. VI; Haas 1970b, 24–25 no. VI; Haspels 1971 I, 291 no. 7 (II fig. 28 and 599/7); Neroznak 1978, 75 no. A 6; CIPPh *I, 21–23 no. M-04 (II, pl. X-1, 2 and XI-1, 2); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 62 no. A 6;* TITUS, *no. M-1f; Orel 1997a, 25–27 M-04; Berndt 2002, 39–40 no. 58 (Abb. 62 and 63); Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 251–252 no. 70 (figs. 4, 80, 136).*

ạkinanogavaṇ ⋮ *tiyes*
← *moḍroỵanak* ⋮ *avaṛạ*[.?]

M-05

On the remains of a rock-cut pediment. Dated to the first half of the sixth c. BC.

Ramsay 1883, 133 no. 10 (pl. 3, no. 10); Pauli 1894, 58 no. 10; Kretschmer 1899, 357; Sayce, 1926, 33 no. 10; Friedrich 1932, 126 no. A 8; Haas 1951, 25 no. VIII; Haas 1966, 192 no. VIII; Haas 1970b, 25 no. M-05; Haspels 1978 I, 292 no. 10 (II, fig. 33 and 600/10); Neroznak 1978, 79–80 no. A 8; CIPPh *I, 24–25 no. M-05 (II, pl. IX-2); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 64 no. A 8;* TITUS, *no. M-5; Orel 1997a, 27–28 no. M-05; Berndt 2002, 54 no. 80 (Abb. 97–98); Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 235–236 no. 33 (figs. 4, 42).*

apelan (vac.) *mekas tevanọ*[---]

M-06

On a small, rock-cut monument ("altar") dated to the seventh c. BC.

Haspels 1971 I, 291 no. 6 (II, figs. 31, 603/6); Neroznak 1978, 109 no. A80; CIPPh *I, 25–26 no. M-06 (II, pl. XII-1, 2); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 74 no. A 80;* TITUS, *no. M-6; Orel 1997a, 28–30 no. M-06; Berndt 2002, 34 no. 46 (Abb. 52); Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 261–262 no. 94 (Fig. 4).*

ṛekun ⋮ *deiatiteeạ.*[?]
davoi iman

---

1 *Lapis* ṛekun : ϝρεκυν *Haspels*: [v][?]ṛekun *CIPPh.*

'Iman (made[?]) this work[?] … for Davos.'

M-07

On the wall of a cave. Undated.

Haspels 1971 I, 294 no. 19; CIPPh *I, 27 no. 27 (II, pl. XIII-1);* TITUS, *no. M-7; Orel 1997a, 30–31 no. M-07.*

tolos

M-08

On a rock. Undated.

CIPPh *I, 27–28 no. M-08 (II, pl. XIV-2, 3 and XV-1, 2);* TITUS, *no. M-8; Orel 1997a, 31 no. M-08; Berndt 2002, 21 no. 14 (Abb. 27).*

… …. ṣạbas

M-09

On an undetermined architectural element. Undated.

Calder 1926, 26 (fig. 1); Friedrich 1932, 127 no. 18; Haas 1966, 188–189 no. XVIII; Haspels 1971 I, 294 no. 18; Neroznak 1978, 84 no. A18; CIPPh *I, 28 no. M-09 (II, pl. XIII-2); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 66 no. A 18;* TITUS, *no. M-9; Orel 1997a, 31–32 no. M-09.*

[---] *ạkeṇ*[?]*ano*[---]

[---]ạke|ano[---] *lapis ut vid. sec. Calder* : [---]αχειαν.[---] *Friedrich* : [---]*akenano*[---] *Haas, Haspels, Neroznak et Orel cfr. akenanogavos M-01 a* : [---]*ạkeiano*[---] *aut* [---]*ạketano*[---] *aut* [---]*ạkegano*[---] *mal. CIPPh.*

M-10
On a stone block. Undated.
CIPPh *I, 29 no. M-10* (*II, pl. XIII-3*); TITUS, *no. M-10; Orel 1997a, 32 no. M-10.*

[---]*gen* ⋮ [---] or [---]*ṭen* ⋮ [---]

M-11
Incised on a rock, the text is very eroded.
Brixhe and Sıvas 2003, 70–72 no. 4-b (*75–76 figs. 6, 7*).

[---]*ṣ ẹṣtạẹṣ*

'... erected.'

Instrumenta

M-101
Incised on an undated sherd.
Brixhe and Sıvas 2003, 69–70 no. 4a.

ṣaragịṣ

W – West-Phrygia (Excluding Midas City)

Stone Inscriptions

W-01
On a rock-cut façade dated to ca. 550 BC, known as "Areyastin monument". Situated 1.6 km north of Midas City among the rocks west of the road from Midas City to Çukurca. Three inscriptions surround its pediment.

W-01a
Mordtmann 1862, 23–24 no. 13 (*Tafel A–B, no. 13*); *Gosche 1864, 225 no. 9; Ramsay 1883, 133 no. 8; Ramsay 1888, 380–381; Ramsay 1889b, 309; Pauli 1894, 58 no. 7; Torp 1896, 10; Körte 1898, 117* (*and 85 no. 0*); *von Reber 1898, 571–572; Meister 1911, 22–25; Schwyzer 1923, 404* (*Appendix IV 8,3 a*); *Sayce 1926, 33 no. 8; Friedrich 1932, 125–126 no. 7 a; Haas 1951, 22–23* (*and 17–18*) *no. VIIa; Haas 1966, 193–197 no. VII a; Haspels 1971 I, 292 no. 11 a; Neroznak 1978, 76–77 no. A7 a; CIPPh I, 36–38 no. W-01 a* (*II, pl. XVI-2. XVII-1, 2, 3, 4 and XVIII-1, 2*); *Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 63 no. A 7 a; Lubotsky 1988, no. W-01a* (*10, fig. 1*); *Woudhuizen 1993, 5–*

9 no. W-01; TITUS, no. W-1a; Orel 1997a, 33–36 W-01 a; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 237–238 no. 37 (figs. 47, 49).

II ← *materan ⋮ areyastin*
III → *bonok ⋮ akenanogavọṣ*
I ← *vrekun ⋮ tedatoy ⋮ yos tutut ...ạ.m.noy ⋮ akenanogavos | aey*

'Bonok, the *akenanogavos*, made this mother goddess as his idol[?]. Who...'

W-01b

Mordtmann 1862, 24–25 no. 14 (Tafel A–B, no. 14); Gosche 1864, 225 no. 9; Ramsay 1883, 132–133 no. 7; Ramsay 1889b, 311; Pauli 1894, 58 no. 8; Torp 1896, 10; Körte 1898, 117; von Reber 1898, 571; Meister 1911, 22–25; Schwyzer 1923 (Appendix IV 8, 3 b); Sayce 1926, 32 no. 7; Friedrich 1932, 126 no. 7 b; Haas 1951, 20–22 no. VIIb; Haas 1966, 195–197 no. VII b; Haas 1970b, 20–23 no. VIIb; Haspels 1971 I, 292–293 no. 11 a (II, fig. 83, 84, 601, 602); Neroznak 1978, 76–77 no. A 7 b; CIPPh I, 39–41 no. W-01 b (II, pl. XVI-2, 3, 4 and XX-1, 2); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 63 no. A 7 b; Lubotsky 1988, no. W-01b (10, fig. 1); TITUS, no. W-1b; Neroznak 1997, 36–39 no. W-01 b; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 237–238 no. 37 (figs. 47, 49).

→ *yos esait ⋮ materey ⋮ eveteksetę[?]y ⋮ ovevin ⋮ onoman ⋮ da𐤚et ⋮ la-*
← *kedo key ⋮ venavtun ⋮ avtay ⋮ materey*

1 *eveteksetęy* leg. *CIPPh.* : *eveteksetiy* ceteri : 𐤆𐤅𐤆𐤕𐤆𐤊𐤎𐤆𐤕𐤓𐤍 legitur.

'Whoever puts his own name in this mother *eveteksetę[?]y*, let him be taken by the mother goddess herself.'

W-01c

Mordtmann 1862, 24–25 no. 14 no. 8 (Tafel A–B, no. 14); Gosche 1864, 225 no. 9; Ramsay 1883, 133 no. 9; Ramsay 1889b, 310; Pauli 1894, 58 no. 9; Torp 1896, 10; Körte 1898, 118; von Reber 1898, 572; Meister 1911, 319; Schwyzer 1923, Appendix IV 8, 3 c; Sayce 1926, 33 no. 9; Friedrich 1932, 126 no. 7 c; Haas 1951, 23 no. VIIc; Haas 1966, 197 no. VII c; Haspels 1971 I, 292–293 no. 11 b; Neroznak 1978, 76–77 no. A 7 c; CIPPh I, 41–42 no. W-01 c (II, pl. XVI-1 and XIX-3, 4); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 63 no. A 7 c; Lubotsky 1988, no. W-01c (p. 10, fig. 1); TITUS, no. W-1c; Orel 1997a, 39–40 W-01 c; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 237–238 no. 37 (figs. 47, 49).

← *ataniyen ⋮ kuryaneyon ⋮ ta|n egertoy*

'Ataniyen the ruler X-ed it.'

W-02

"Façade situated at Kümbet Asar Kale, c. 1.5 km north-east of the village of Kümbet" (Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 232). Dated to the middle sixth c. BC.

Haspels 1971 I, 293 no. 12 (II fig. 98, 99 and 604); Neroznak 1978, 110 no. A 81; CIPPh *I, 42–43 no. W-02 (II, pl. XX-1, 2 and XXI-1, 2, 3); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 75 no. A 81;* TITUS, *no. W-2; Orel 1997a, 41–42 no. W-02; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 231–232 no. 29 (fig. 31); Obrador-Cursach 2018, 665–666.*

iketaios ⋮ *pseikạ*$^{?}$ *eḍ*$^{?}$[*a*]*ẹ*$^{?}$*s*

'Iketaios … made.'

W-03

On a rock-cut façade in Arslankaya "situated c. 4 km south-east of Döğer and c. 1.3 km south of Küçük Kapı Kaya […]. Arslankaya stands among other rocks at the border of the plain west of Emre Gölü" (Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 222). Dated to the mid-sixth c. BC.

Kretschmer 1896, 218; Körte 1898, 93; Friedrich 1932, 126 no. 11; Haas 1966, 197 no. XI; Haspels 1971 I, 294 no. 20 (II, Fig. 186–188); Neroznak 1978, 81 no. A 11; CIPPh *I, 43–45 no. W-03 (II, pl. XXII-1, 2 and XXIII-1, 2); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 64 no. A 11;* TITUS, *no. W-3; Orel 1997a, 42 no. W-03; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 222–223 no. 16 (figs. 27, 122).*

[---]*m*[…$^{?}$].*t*….*m*[..$^{?}$]*m*.[..].[---]

W-04

On undated step monument with a niche in Ayazini, "situated c. 600 m north of the road junction by the 'Pointed Rock,' the Sivri Taş in the south of the Köhnüş valley" (Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 245).

Ramsay 1883, 134 no. 11 (pl. 3 no. 11); Ramsay 1888, 371–372; Pauli 1894, 58 no. 11; Körte 1898, 120 (and fn. 3), 121 no. 0; Sayce 1926, 33 no. 11; Friedrich 1932, 126 no. 9; Haas 1966, 197 no. IX; Haspels 1971 I, 293 no. 13 (I, 293 and II fig. 604 no. 13); Neroznak, 1978, 80 no. A 9; CIPPh *I, 45–47 no. W-04 (II, XXIV-1, 2, 3); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 64 no. A 9;* TITUS, *no. W-4; Orel 1997a, 42–43 no. W-04; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 245–246 no. 56 (figs. 5, 73).*

←	*matar kubileya* [	]*toy-*
→		*en*

W-05

Rock-cut façade at Mal Taş, "situated among the rocks bordering the Köhnüş valley on the east side, c. 700 m south of the tall rock called Sivri Taş" (Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 227). Dated to first half of the sixth c. BC.

W-05a

Kretschmer 1896, 218 (219); Körte 1898, 108–109; von Reber, 1898, 564 (pl. IV); Sayce 1926, 34; Friedrich 1932, 126 no. 12; Haas 1966, 198 no. XII; Haspels 1971 I, 293 no. 14 (II fig. 157, 158 and 603 no. 14); Neroznak 1978, 81 no. A 12; CIPPh I, 47–78 no. W-05 a (II, XXV-3); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 64 no. A 12; TITUS, no. W-5a; Orel 1997a, 43–44 no. W-05 a; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 227–228 no. 24 (figs. 5, 33–36)

natimeyon nạ

W-05b

Haspels 1971 I, 293–294 no. 15 (II, fig. 603 no. 15); Neroznak 1978, 110 no. A 82; CIPPh I, 48–49 no. W-05 b (II, XXVI); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 75 no. A 82; TITUS, no. W-5b; Orel 1997a, 44–45 no. W-05 b; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 227–228 no. 24 (figs. 5 and 33–36); Lubotsky 2017.

[ ]*nst*[*e*]*daes por mạtẹ*[...]

---

por mạtẹ[ran] siue *por* mạtẹ[rey] *prop. Lubotsky* : pormạtẹ[..] *dub. CIPPh.*

'... made (it) for the mother goddess...'

W-06

Rock-cut façade situated at Fındık site (c. 40 km south-west of Eskişehir) and dated to the MP II or LP.

Haspels 1971 I, 294 no. 16 (II, fig. 218 and fig. 604); Neroznak 1978, 110 no. A 83; CIPPh *I, 50 no. W-06 (II, XXVII-2 and XXVIII-1, 2); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 76 no. A 83;* TITUS, *no. W-6; Orel 1997a, 45 no. W-06; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 217–218 no. 5 (figs. 6 and 16).*

[-?-] *matạr* [-?-]

'... the mother goddess...'

W-07

On a niche at Fındık site (c. 40 km south-west of Eskişehir), dated to the MP II or later.

Haspels 1971 I, 294 no. 17 (II, fig. 604); Neroznak 1978, 110 no. A 84; CIPPh *I, 50–51 no. W-07 (II, XXVII-2, 3 and XXIX); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 75 no. A 84;* TITUS, *no. W-7; Orel 1997a, 45–46 no. W-07; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 216–217 no. 3 (figs. 6 10).*

[---]*ṭ*[ ] ⋮ [ ]*ṇ*[ ] *ẹsagas* ⋮ *akenạs* [---]

W-08
Undated inscription engraved on a lone rock at Çepni. Its ⟨b⟩ appears as 8-shaped.
Brixhe and Drew Bear 1982, 68–79 no. 1; CIPPh *1, 52–53 no. W-08 (11, pl. XXXII, XXX-2 and XXXI-1, 2); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 76 no. A 92;* TITUS, *no. W-8; Orel 1997a, 46–49 no. W-08.*

→ [-?-] *ates agomoi*
← *saϘ?ta tedaes*
→ *alus si↑eto?*
4 → *bateles bab*.[-?-]

'Attes made the *saϘ?ta* for Agomos…'

W-09
Undated inscription engraved on a lone rock at Çepni.
Brixhe and Drew Bear 1982, 79–81 no. 11; CIPPh *1, 54 no. W-09 (11, XXXIII-1, 2); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 76 no. A 93;* TITUS, *no. W-9; Orel 1997a, 49–50 no. W-09.*

si↑eto ae
alus

W-10
Engraved on an undated sheer lone rock at Çepni.
Brixhe and Drew Bear 1982, 81–86 no. 111; CIPPh *1, 54–55 no. W-10 (11, pl. XXXVI, XXXIV and XXXV); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 76 no. A 94;* TITUS, *no. W-10; Orel 1997a, 50–52 no. W-10.*

← *ạtai edae lel/ravo*
→ *vi↑e atevo atoios*
← *alụs si↑eto das*

W-11
On an undated altar "situated 500 m south of Demirli Köy among some rocks called Menekşe Kayaları" (Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 269).
Brixhe and Sıvas 2002; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 269–270 no. 112 (fig. 75).

[.?]*y*[.?]*agaua*
[-?-]*tataẹ?*[..?]
[-?-]*e*[.]

W-12
On a fragment of stone from Seyitömer (25 km far from Kütahya, formerly Kotiaeion). Dated to fourth c. BC or earlier.
Bilgen, Brixhe and Coşkun 2011, 145–148 no. 2.

← *sitoros aros*
← *ispas*

W-13
On a vertical face of a massif in the surrounding area of Demirli Köy among some rocks called Menekşe Kayaları.
Brixhe and Sıvas 2003, 66–69 no. 3.

pẹ/ḷi m[?][-?-]

or

pẹ/ḷin[?]

Instrumenta

W-101
On a fragment of a pot dated to the fifth c. BC found at Seyitömer (25 km far from Kütahya, formerly Kotiaeion). Inscription A was incised before firing.
Bilgen, Brixhe and Coşkun 2011, 142–145 no. 1.

A ← [-?-]*p*
B ← [-?-]*p*[?]*asakas*

W-102
Undated sherd found in Yaslanbayır, a höyük near Emircik.
Brixhe and Sıvas 2003, 65–66 no. 1.

← *tiṣiṣ*

B – Bithynia

Stone Inscriptions

B-01

Inscription under a niche located near Germanos-Soğukçam dated to the Phrygian Late Period (550–330 BC). All lines are sinistroverse. This text must be compared with B-08, found in the same site (Brixhe et Vottéro 2016).

Tuğrul and Firatlı 1966, 230–235 and 236–241; Haas 1969, 70–75 no. XXVIII; Neroznak 1978, 89 no. A 28; CIPPh *I, 62–68 no. B-01 (II, pl. XXXVII-1, 2, 3, 4, XXXVIII-1, 2, 3, 4, XXXIX-1, 2, 3, 4, XL-1, 2, 3, 4, XLI-1, 2, 3, 4); Lubotsky 1993b; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 68 no. A 28;* TITUS, *no. B-1; Orel 1997a, 138–147 no. B-01; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 239–240 no. 40 (fig. 48).*

si bevdos adi..[..]
kạyarmọyo imroy edaes etoves niyo[*y*ʔ]
matar kubeleya ibey a duman ektetoy
yos tivo [*t*]*ạ speretạ ayni kin telʔẹmi*
[..]*toyo*[.]*is* [.]*erktẹvoys ekey dạ*[*b*]*ati*
opito [*k*]*ey oy evẹmẹmesmeneya anato* [.ʔ]
kavarmoyun matar otekonov [.ʔ]
kesiti oyvos aey apaktneni
pakray evkobeyan epaktoy

---

1 si bevdos adi..[..] *Lubotsky*, s[.]bev[.]osadi[---] *CIPPh* || 2 niyo[iʔ] *Brixhe et Vottéro 2016, cf. B-08* : etovesniyo[.] *CIPPh* : etovesniyo *Lubotsky* : etovesniyoi *cett.* || 3 ibey a *Hämmig* : ibeya *cett.* || 6 evẹmẹmesmeneya *Lubotsky*, ev[.]m[.]mesmeneya *CIPPh* || 5 dạ[b]ati *Brixhe et Vottéro 2016, cf. B-08* : da[k]ati *cett.*

'Adi... (the son) of Kavarmoyosʔ made/put this statue for/in this field...'

B-02

Big Greco-Persian funerary stele found near Afşartarakçı Köyü (Afşarıvvel in *CIPPh*) and dated to the Phrygian Late Period (550–330 BC). Preserved in the Istanbul Archaeology Museum (inv. no. 5412).

CIPPh *I, 68–71 no. B-02 (II, pl. XLII-1, 2);* TITUS, *no. B-2 (without transcription); Orel 1997a, 147–148.*

.uʔteạnomʔtṣ.. pʔopʔ.

B-03

On two contiguous sides of a large parallelepiped stone found in Fıranlar. Undated.

CIPPh *I, 69–71 no. B-03 (II, pl. XLIII-2, 3 and XLIV-1, 2); Woudhuizen 1993, 15–16 no. B-03;* TITUS, *no. B-3; Orel 1997a, 148–150 no. B-03.*

ẹṣk…a[ ] *a*.. […]
*evtevey aɣ yosyos yenvṛą | eti⫤t evtevey me.oun laked*ˀ*ǫ* | [-?-]

B-04

On a lost marble block found in a wall of a house in Üyücek. It was considered Mysian in some old publications.

Cox and Cameron 1932; Friedrich 1932, 140–141 no. XI (as Mysian); Neroznak 1978, 36–37 no. B-01 (as Mysian); Bayun and Orel 1988c (as Phrygian); Orel 1997a, 52–56, W-11; TITUS, *no. Mys. BO-1-BO-7; Brixhe 2004a, 32–42 no. B-04.*

[---]
[.]*ą*/*ḍi*ˀ*kn*[…ˀ]*ą*/*ḍ*[.]*e*[…]*ą*/*ḍ*[---]
*ḷami*ˀ*b*ˀ*aɣ*ˀ*ąymokveṣ · amp*ˀ*i*
4 *ą*ˀ*ṃ*ˀ*ǫp*ˀ*tov*ˀ*a↑iɣ · ą*ˀ*ẹ*ˀ *lavǫy · ue*
*eḍąviɣ p*ˀ*is*ˀ · *ąṇernevey*
*ɣ*ˀ*ą.oe*ˀ*ąp.eąrvi*ˀ*s*ˀ ·ˀ *bąto*ˀ*ąntę*
·ˀ*ląkẹṣ*ˀ *ḅṛąterąis pątriyiǫ*ˀ*is*ˀ *k*[*e*]

7 ·ˀląkẹṣˀ *fort.* eˀląkẹṣˀ

B-05

Great Greco-Persian stele found in Vezirhan (Archaeological Museum of Istanbul inv. no. 6219/71.27) dated to the fifth c. BC. The whole Phrygian text is sinistroverse while the Greek one is dextroverse.

Neumann 1997; Brixhe 2004a, 42–67 no. B-05; Gorbachov 2008, 92–93; Hämmig 2013 (l. 8–13); Sowa 2015, 184–190; Simon 2015 (only l. 13).

Καλλίας Αβικτου παῖς ΗΙˀ
ΜΗΓΗΜΑΣ ἀνέ-
θēκεν. Ὅστις περὶ
4 τὸ ἱερὸν κακουρ⟨γ⟩ετήσαι ⸗ δρῦν
ἐκόψαι, μὴ βίος μὴ γόνος γίνοιτ̣[ο]

sin≻t imenạn kạliyạ ti tedạt[*oy* .]*edekm*[...]*mẹạṣ*[?] *ḍ*[?]*ụ*[?]*ṃịḍ*
iben edạtoy dạkerạn ạtriyạs dạvoi okiṃạḳịyạ[---]
vrekạn vitạrạn artimitoṣ krạniyạs [---]
pạntạ vebrạṣ ạdun p[?]*os key estạt pator.*[?]*ike*[...]*ẹ*[..] *ạndạti*
vạy niptiyạy dạker kạrạtu enpsạtus mekạ[---]*ạsiyạ..*[?]
nidus ạd kạliyay kạrạtụ pạnạto ạndo popostois kḷạṇiv
kelmis ke umniṣet evrạduṣ dạḳerạiṣ key iverais [..]
ạtikrạiu yos niy ạrt sin≻t imenạn kạkạ oskạvos kạkey
kạn dedạsitiy tubetiv oy ṇẹvos derạliv mekạṣ key
koyis ạbretoy nun ibey neyotạn ṇiptiyan sirun mireyun
†*iv*† ⟨*s*⟩*imun inmeney ạsenạn dạket torvetun* ↑*irạy ạyniy oy*
tubnuv nevos, me deritoy kovis ke ạbretoy nun oy nev⟨*otan*⟩
yos isekosos ↑*emeney ḍ*[?]*upratoy, vebạn ituv*

καὶ τôι ἀναγινώσκοντι ἐνθ-
ἅδε ἥ̣κοντι πολὰ καὶ ἀγ̣αθά

---

1 [t]ẹḳṃọ[r] menan.a *Neumann* || 2 ṿṛẹḳan ạḳivan *Neumann* || 3 krạniyạ-p *Neumann* : krạniyạ p[*Brixhe* || 4 *pator-p ike*[.....]*an dati Neumann* || 5 *mekạ as-ḳ*⟨*e*⟩*y* Neumann || 6 [.]ạ(:)kaḷiyay karatu panato ando-p opostọiṣ kḷạṇiv *Neumann* : nidus ạd kạliyay kạrạtụ pạnạto ạndopopostois kḷạm[?]iv[..?] Brixhe || 7 kelmis-ke umniṣ etevṛadus dakeraiṣ-key iveraiṣ *Neumann* || 8 art sin-t imenan *Neumann* || 9 dedasitiy tubetiv oy ṇevos deraliv mekaṣ key *Hämmig* : dedapitiy ṭubeti voyṇeyos deragiv mekạṣ-key *Neumann* : de dapitiy tubeti voy ḳevos derạliv mekạṣ key *Brixhe* || 10 kovis abretoy(:)nun ibeyn erotan niptiyan girun mireyun *Neumann* || 11 †iv† imun *Hämmig cfr.* ιος σεμουν *passim* : ivimum *Brixhe* : asenạn *Neumann et Hämmig* : as enan *Brixhe* : ṣirayay(:)niyọy *Neumann* : ↑irạy ạyni yoy *Brixhe* : ↑irạy ạyniy oy *Hämmig* || 12 koris ke abretoy nun oynev *Neumann et Brixhe* : *ạbretoy nun oy nev*⟨*otan*⟩ *Hämmig* || 13 *pupratoy* Neumann : *ḍupratoy* Brixhe.

'[Greek] Kallias the son of Abiktos put this ... Whoever does harm around this shrine or cuts a tree, he shall not have neither life nor offspring and who comes here and reads it, let him have many and good things. [Phrygian] Kallias put this shrine ... [l. 8–13] whoever does harm around this shrine ... his son, his daughter and ... Whoever puts an *asenan* in this shrine, cutting a tree by his hand or ... his son, let him not ... his son. Whoever...'

B-06

Damaged marble funerary stele found in a ground of a later tumulus in Daskyleion (dated to the fourth c. BC). Perhaps the stele dates to the first half of the sixth c. BC.

Bakır and Gusmani 1991; TITUS, *no. Dask-1–Dask-4; Orel 1997a, 151–153 no. B-04; Brixhe 2004a, 68–73 B-06.*

sṭaḷ²a ke : ↑*ekm̥²*[*at*]*ẹṣ key*[---]*ạ²yọ²*[---]
ḍẹṣ[---] : *ẹvent noktoy* : *ẹmetẹtariyois*
[---]*y* : *yos tumoy* : ↑*ekmatin*
4 [---]*atonkeyen*

1 ↑ek.[---]ẹṣkey[---] *sive* ↑ek.[---]ẹṣ key [---] *Brixhe* : ↑ekm̥[at]ẹṣ *Orel.*

B-07
Great marble stele found in Daskyleion and dated to the first quarter of the fifth c. BC.
Gusmani and Polat 1999a; Gusmani 2001, 164–166; Brixhe 2004a, 73–85 no. B-07.

[.]*gat* : *s≠manes iyungidas manitos apelev porniyoy esṭ*[..]
[..]*es va ḳnais manuka odeketoy meros ke manes is yos tiv*[.]
[.²]*n ke devụṇ k umnotan ordoineten, me kos anivaɣeti s≠maniṇ*

'This (is) Manes (the son) of Iyungida, the grandson of Manes... his wife Manukka ... and Manes... Whoever ... of ... and the gods²... Let nobody do harm to Manes.'

B-08
A great inscription engraved on a rock near B-01 in Germanos-Soğukçam and dated to the Phrygian Late Period (550–330 BC). Blanks are used to separate the words. The sinistroverse inscription is very eroded and only a few letters are legible.
Brixhe and Vottéro 2016.

I

[---]
[---] *ḳavarmoyo* [---]
[---] *epav²es niyoy* [---]
[--- *mata*]*r ḳụbeleẏ*[*a* ---]

II

si tadila[---]
[---] *bevdos key* [---]
[---] *key dabati* [---]
[---]
[-?-]

I 3 epav²esniyoy *fort.* epar²esniyoy.

Instrumenta

B-101
On a fragment of an Attic cup found in Daskyleion (digging deposit inv. no. 2013 = DASK 91: BUH). Dated to between 525 and 500 BC.
Bakır and Gusmani 1993, 136 no. 1 and 143–144; Brixhe 1996, 137–138 § 3.1.1; Brixhe 2004a, 85–86 no. B-101.

← [---]*yon*

B-102
On a fragment of an Attic cup found in Daskyleion (digging deposit inv. no. 542 = DASK 90/91: BBG/BNY/BBS) and dated to between 480 and 470 BC.
Bakır and Gusmani 1993, 136–137 no. 2, 143–144; Brixhe 1996, 138–139 § 3.1.2.; Orel 1997a, 153–154 no. B-101; Brixhe 2004a, 86–87 no. B-102.

← *vana*

B-103
On a fragment of an Attic kantharos found in Daskyleion (digging deposit inv. no. 2014 = DASK 91: BTK). Dated to between 350 and 340 BC.
Bakır and Gusmani 1993, 137 no. 3, 143; Brixhe 1996, 139–140 § 3.1.3.; Orel 1997a, 154 no. B-102; Brixhe 2004a, 87–88 no. B-103.

← *karea*[-?-]

B-104
On a fragment of a northwestern Anatolian amphora (digging deposit inv. no. 935 = DASK 91: BPR) found in the satrapal palace in Daskyleion. First half of the fifth c. BC.

Bakır and Gusmani 1933, 138–139 no. 5, 144; Brixhe 1996, 140–141 § 3.1.4.; Orel 1997a, 154 no. B-103; Brixhe 2004a, 88–89 no. B-104.

[---]*t/gʾi/uʾsiteoẏ*

B-105
On a fragment of northwestern Anatolian amphora (digging deposit inv. no. 298 = DASK 89: AKT) found in Daskyleion. Dated to the fourth c. BC.
Bakır and Gusmani 1933, 139 no. 6, 143; Brixhe 1996, 141–142 § 3.1.5.; Orel 1997a, 154–155 no. B-104; Brixhe 2004a, 89–90 no. B-105.

ak

B-106
On a fragment of northwestern Anatolian amphora (digging deposit inv. no. 860 = DASK 91: BTS) found in Daskyleion. Dated to the fourth c. BC.
Bakır and Gusmani 1933, 140 no. 7, 144; Brixhe 1996, 142–144 § 3.1.6.; Orel 1997a, 155 no. B-105; Brixhe 2004a, 90–91 no. B-106.

[-?-]*isdọ*[---] or [---]*ọusi*[-?-]

B-107
On a fragment of Mysian plate (digging deposit inv. no. 723 = DASK 91: BVB) found in Daskyleion. Dated to the second half of the sixth c. BC.
Bakır and Gusmani 1933, 140 no. 8, 144; Brixhe 1996, 144–145 § 3.1.7.; Orel 1997a, 155 no. B-106; Brixhe 2004a, 91–92 no. B-107.

← *i̯i̯ay*

B-108
Graffito incised on some contiguous fragments of a bowl dated to the sixth or the beginning of the fifth c. BC. Found in Daskyleion (digging deposit inv. no. 1225 = DASK 93: CUI-CUO).
Gusmani and Polat 1999b, 61–64; Brixhe 2004a, 92–93.

← *saragis* :ʾ *magọʾ*[*sʾ* ---]

---

1 saragis *Brixhe* :]saragiś *siue*]saraliś *Gusmani et Polat*.

'Saragis the magosʾ…'

G – Gordion (Yassıhüyük)

Stone Inscriptions

G-01

Seven fragments of a calcareous slab found in Building NTC, dated to the sixth c. BC (Ankara Museum inv. no. 12494).

Young 1951, 10 (pl. IV fig. 2); Young 1953, 21; Haas 1966, 198–199 no. XXIV (translitered in 179); Young 1969, 276 no. 24; Lejeune 1969b, 289; Lejeune 1970, 70; Neroznak 1978, 84 no. A 24; CIPPh *I, 81–85 (II, pl. XLIV-3, 4, XLV-1, 2, 3, 4); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 81–85 no. A 24;* TITUS, *no. G-1; Orel 1997a, 156–158 no. G-01.*

A

← [ ]*vo*[---]
→ [---]*ṣạyuve*[ ]
← [ ]*ọ²lavị*[ ]*isvolkay*
← ⋮ *dumeyay* ⋮ [ ]*ḍeḍa*[ ]

B

→ [ ]*ita.*[ ]*ṭerkeya ask*
[ ]

C

← [--- *e*]*ṇ*[*e*]|*p*|*arkes v*[---]

G-02

Undated calcareous slab reused in a canal to the west of the Gate, uncertain date, although no later than the sixth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 118). Two feet were engraved to the right of the slab.

Young 1955, 10–11 (pl. 5 fig. 22); Masson 1954, 441 no. 27; Brixhe 1968, 308; Haas 1969, 78–79 no. XXIX; Young 1969, 279–280 no. 43 (p. 277 fig. 7 and pl. 71); Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 43; Lejeune 1970, 70 no. 43; Neroznak 1978, 96 no. A 43; CIPPh *I, 85–87 no. G-02 (II, pl. XLVI-2 and XLVII-1, 2); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 70 no. A 43; Woudhuizen 1993, 9–12 no. G-02;* TITUS, *no. G-2; Orel 1997a, 158–161; Kloekhorst 2015.*

A *agariṭoi* ⁝ *pẹtes* ⁝ *adoikavoi*
B *ios oporokitis*.[?]
C *kakoioi tovo* ⁝ *podaskai*[?]

A AΓAPIIOI : IKTES *Young* : agarṭioi ⁝ iktes *CIPPh* et *Orel* : agariṭoi ⁝ petes *Kloekhorst* || C podaska.[?] *CIPPh et Orel* : podaskai[?] *Young et Kloekhorst*.

'Devoted foot of/for Adoikavos. Whoever … harms it, let him…'

G-03
Calcareous block found reused in rubble packing for the bed of the north wall of MP Building C (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 127).
Young 1969, 271 no. 39 (p. 268 fig. 4 and pl. 69); Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 39; Lejeune 1970, 70 no. 39; Neroznak; 1978, 95 no. A 39; CIPPh *I, 88 no. G-03 (II, pl. XLVI-1); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 70 no. A 39;* TITUS, *no. G-3; Orel 1997a, 162.*

[-?-]*kakrayun ni*[-?-]

G-04
Calcareous block found reused as a building stone in the wall of a Hellenistic house (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 420), uncertain date.
Young 1968, 235–236 (pl. 76 and 18); Haas 1969, 81 no. XXXI; Young 1969, 280 no. 44 (p. 277 fig. 7 and pl. 69); Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 44; Lejeune 1970, 71 no. 44; Neroznak; 1978, 97 no. A 44; CIPPh *I, 89 no. G-04 (II, pl. XLVIII-1); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 70 no. A 44;* TITUS, *no. G-4; Orel 1997a, 162–163.*

[---]*evi*.[?]
tatas .[---]
[---] *i*[?]*mạ*[?][*n* ---]
[-?-]

G-05
Undated fragment of calcareous stone reused in the third c. BC in the early east gate (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 47), uncertain date.
CIPPh *I, 90–91 no. G-05 (II, pl. XLVIII-2);* TITUS, *no. G-5; Orel 1997a, 163–164.*

[---]*g*[---]

G-06
Undated fragment of calcareous stone found in the surface near Tumulus J (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 77).
CIPPh *I, 91 no. G-06 (II, pl. XLIX-1);* TITUS, *no. G-6; Orel 1997a, 164.*

[---] *ḅạḅạṣ*[?] [---]

G-07
Fragment of calcareous stone reused in the repair of the east gate, dated to the end of the fifth or beginning fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 114).
CIPPh *I, 91 no. G-07 (II, pl. XLIX-2);* TITUS, *no. G-7; Orel 1997a, 164.*

[---]*m*[?]*ạesi.*[---]

G-08
Undated fragment of calcareous stone found in the surface close to Tumulus H (inv. no. I 115).
CIPPh *I, 92–93 no. G-08 (II, pl. XLIX-3);* TITUS, *no. G-8; Orel 1997a, 165–166.*

[---]*ọsve*[---]

G-09
Undated fragment of calcareous stone found in the surface close to Tumulus H (inv. no. I 116).
CIPPh *I, 93 no. G-09 (II, pl. L-1, 2);* TITUS, *no. G-9; Orel 1997a, 166.*

[---]*ṛ*[?]*emẹ*[?][---]

G-10
Undated fragment of calcareous stone without clear origin (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 655).
Brixhe 2002a, 29–31 no. G-10.

[-?-]
← [---]*ẹḳẹạɣ*
→ ⋮ *imelan*

G-11
Undated trapezoidal calcareous block found on the surface of a field 5 km away from Yassıhöyük (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 655).
Brixhe 2002a, 29–31 no. G-11.

A ← *u²l²ekey*

B + C ← *sit kraroẏ veao*| *yǫy*[.²]
← *dis*

Instrumenta

G-101
Two undated, contiguous fragments of a pot (Istanbul Archaeology Museum inv. no. 4002).
Körte and Körte 1904, 172 no. 2 (fig. 152); Friedrich 1932, 12, no. 16; Haas 1966, 198 no. XVI (as Greek); Lejeune 1969a, 20 no. XVI; Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 16; Lejeune 1970, 71 no. 16; Neroznak 1978, 83 no. A 16; CIPPh *I 95–96 G-101 (II, pl. LI-1); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 66 no. A 16;* TITUS, *no. G-101; Orel 1997a, 166–167 G-101.*

kuliyą[---]

G-102
Two undated, contiguous fragments of a Cyprian cup (Istanbul Archaeology Museum inv. no. 4000).
Körte and Körte 1904, 172 no. 3 (fig. 152); Friedrich 1932, 127 no. 17; Haas 1966, 198 no. XVII; Lejeune 1969a, 20–21 no. XVII; Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 17; Lejeune 1970, 71 no. 17; Neroznak 1978, 71 no. A 17; CIPPh *I, 96–97 no. G-102 (II, pl. LI-2); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 66 no. A 17; Orel 1997a, 167–168 no. G-102.*

A [-?-]*kad*

B [---]*d²oi²ǫ²*[---]

G-103
Undated broken handle of a Phrygian pot (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Antikensammlung inv. no. 4609).
Körte and Körte 1904, 172 no. 4 (fig. 154); Lejeune 1969a, 21 no. XVI bisI; Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 17 bis; Lejeune 1970, 71 no. 17 bis; Neroznak 1978, 84 no. A 17 bis; CIPPh *96–97 no. G-103 (II, pl. LI-3); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 66 no. A 17 bis;* TITUS, *no. G-101; Orel 1997a, 168 no. G-103.*

kadiun[---]

G-104
Fragment of a deep bowl dated to the (early) eighth c. BC, found below the final floor of Megaron 10 (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 366).
Young 1966, 276 (pl. LXXIII); Lejeune 1969a, 23; Young 1969, 257–259 no. 29 fig. 1 (pl. 67); Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 29; Lejeune 1970, 71 no. 29; Neroznak 1978, 91 no. A 29; CIPPh *I, 98–99 no. G-104 (II, pl. LI-4); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 68 no. A 29; Orel 1997a, 168 no. G-104; Brixhe 2004b, 276–277 no. G-104; Sams 2011, 65, 67 (fig. 4.16).*

kernọ[---] or *kerṃọ*[---]

G-105
Bronze bowl dated to late 740s BC and found inside Tumulus MM (Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, inv. no. 18441).
Young 1958, 153 (pl. XXV, 21); Young 1963, 362; Haas 1966, 198 no. XXV; Lejeune 1969a, 22 no. XXXV; Young 1969, 260 and 262 no. 25 (258, fig. 1 and pl. 68); Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 25; Lejeune 1970, 71 no. 25; Neroznak 1978, 87–88 no. A 25; Young 1981, 130 fig. 84; Brixhe 1981, 273 no. MM 68 (p. 274, fig. 134 A and pl. 97 A); CIPPh *I, 99–100 no. G-105 (II, LII-1, 2); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 67 no. A 25;* TITUS, *no. G-105; Orel 1997a, 169 no. G-105.*

si↑idos akor

G-106
Bronze bowl dated to late 740s BC and found inside Tumulus MM (Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, without inv. no., find no. B 1040).
Young 1969, 262 no. 32 (p. 263 fig. 3 and pl. 68); Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 32; Lejeune 1970, 71 no. 32; Neroznak 1978, 92 no. A 32; Brixhe 1981, 273 no. MM 67 (p. 274 fig. 134 B and pl. 97 B); Brixhe 1982, 240–241; CIPPh *I, 100–101 no. G-106 (II, pl. LII-3); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 69 no. A 32; Orel 1997a, no. 169–170.*

ụ⊺d

G-107
Bronze bowl dated to late 740s BC and found inside Tumulus MM (Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, inv. no. 13067).
Young 1969, 262 no. 33 (p. 258 fig. 1); Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 33 and 291; Lejeune 1970, 71 no. 33; Neroznak 1978, 92 no. A 33; Brixhe 1981, 273–275 no. MM 69 (p. 274 fig. 134 C and pl. 97 C); CIPPh *I, 101–102 no. G-107 (II, pl. LII-4); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 69 no. A 33;* TITUS, *no. G-107; Orel 1997a, no. 170.*

ata

G-108
Bronze omphalos bowl dated to late 740s BC and found inside Tumulus MM (Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, without inv. no., find. no. B 855).
Young 1969, 260 no. 30 (261 fig. 2); Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 30 (291); Lejuene 1970, 71 no. 30; Neroznak 1978, 91–92 no. A 30; Brixhe 1981, 275–276 no. MM 119 (p. 274 fig. 134 D and pl. 98 A; p. 276); CIPPh *I, 102 no. G-108 (II, pl. LIII-1); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 69 no. A 30;* TITUS, *no. G-108; Orel 1997a, 170–171 no. G-108.*

eies

G-109
Contiguous sherds of a spherical jar dated to late 740s BC and found inside Tumulus MM (Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, find. inv. no. P 1825). A space separates the words.
Young 1969, 260 no. 31 (p. 258 fig. 1); Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 31 (p. 258 fig. 1 and 67; pp. 291 and 292); Lejuene 1970, 71 no. 31; Neroznak 1978, 92 no. A 31; Brixhe 1981, 275–277 no. MM 362 (274 fig. 134 D and pl. 98 A; p. 276); CIPPh *I, 102–103 no. G-109 (II, pl. LIII-3); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 69 no. A 31;* TITUS, *no. G-109; Orel 1997a, 171 no. 109.*

aladis url

---

agadis urg *dub. Young* : agadis url *Neroznak et CIPPh* : url *fort.* urg *cf.* urgitos *K-01 VI–VII a2*

G-110
Sherd of a large, spherical-bodied jug found in a house below Tumulus H and dated to the late eighth or seventh c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 40).
Young 1969, 267 no. 34 (p. 268 fig. 1); Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 34 (p. 292); Lejune 1970, 71 no. 34 (p. 57); Neroznak 1978, 93 no. A 34; CIPPh *I, 103–104 no. G-110 (II, pl. LIII-2); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 69 no. A 34;* TITUS, *no. G-110; Orel 1997a, 171–172 no. G-110.*

lagineios

G-111
Fragment of a tall pithos or amphora in a house below Tumulus H and dated to the late eighth or seventh c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 41).
Young 1969, 267 no. 35 (p. 269 fig. 5); Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 35 (p. 291); Lejune 1970, 71 no. 35 (p. 54); Neroznak 1978, 93 no. A 35; CIPPh *I, 104 no. G-111 (II, pl. LIV-1); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 69 no. A 35;* TITUS, *no. G-111; Orel 1997a, 172 no. G-111.*

[---]*o mekas*

G-112
Two contiguous sherds of a large coarse vessel found in a house under Tumulus E, dated to the sixth c. BC (Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, without inv. no., find no. I 1).
Young 1969, 270–271 no. 37 (p. 258 fig. 1); Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 37 (p. 291); Lejune 1970, 71 no. 37 (63–64); Neroznak 1978, 94 no. A 37; CIPPh *I, 105 no. G-112 (II, pl. LV-1); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 69 no. A 37;* TITUS, *no. G-112; Orel 1997a, 172–173 no. G-112.*

*e*𐤕*tạ*[---]

G-113
Sherd found in Tumulus E, dated to the sixth c. BC (Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, without inv. no., find no. I 66).
Young 1969, 271 no. 38 (p. 71 fig. 38); Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 38 (p. 293); Lejune 1970, 71 no. 38 (p. 58); Neroznak 1978, 94 no. A 38; CIPPh *I, 105–106 no. G-113 (II, pl. LV-2); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 69 no. A 38;* TITUS, *no. 113; Orel 1997a, 173–174 no. G-113.*

[---]*astoi pitave*[---]

G-114
Sherd found in a house under Tumulus E, perhaps to be dated to the second quarter of the sixth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 163).
Young 1969, 270 no. 36 (263 fig. 3 and pl. 70); Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 36; Lejeune 1970, 71 no. 36; Neronak 1978, 93 no. A 36; CIPPh *I, 106–107 no. G-114 (II, pl. LVI-1); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 69 no. A 36;* TITUS, *no. G-114; Orel 1997a, 174 no. G-114.*

ise

G-115
Fragment of a bowl found in a rubble filling near the Persian Gate Building and dated to the sixth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 107).
Young 1969, 271 no. 40 (263 fig. 3 and pl. 67); Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 40; Lejeune 1970, 71 no. 40; Neroznak 1978, 95 no. A 40; CIPPh *I, 107 no. G-115 (II, pl. LVI-2); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 70 no. A 40;* TITUS, *no. G-115; Orel 1997a, 174 no. G-115.*

𐤉*uva*𐤉*aros*

G-116
Pithos found beneath the floor of Building M, dated to the MP period (Gordion Museum inv. no. P 2082).

Edwards 1959, 265; Lejeune 1969a, 22 no. 41; Young 1969, 271–272 no. 41; Lejeune 1970, 72 no. 41; Neroznak 1978, 95 no. A 41; CIPPh *I, 108–109 no. G-116 (II, pl. LVII-1, 2); Roller 1987a, 65, 3B-5; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 71 no. A 41;* TITUS, *no. G-116; Orel 1997a, 175 no. G-116.*

[Metr. mark] *4*

benagonos

G-117
Pithos found just over the surface of the clay stratum of the Phrygian Terrace, dated to the MP period (Gordion Museum inv. no. P 2279).
Young 1969, 272 no. 42 (p. 268 fig. 4 and pl. 70), Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 42; Lejeune 1970, 72 no. 42; Neroznak 1978, 96 no. A 42; CIPPh *I, 109–110 no. G-117 (II, pl. LVIII--1); Roller 1987a, 65 3B-7 (pl. 7); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 70 no. A 42;* TITUS, *no. G-117; Orel 1997a, 175–176 no. G-117.*

[Metr. mark] *5½ 1*

iosais

G-118
Undated bottom of a bowl found in a clay filling inside Building N, dated to the MP period (Gordion inv. no. I 228).
Young 1969, 280–281 no. 45 (p. 263 fig. 3 and pl. 69); Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 45; Lejeune 1970, 72 no. 45; Neroznak 1978, 97 no. A 45; CIPPh *I, 110–111 no. G-118 (II, pl. LVIII-2); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 70 no. A 45;* TITUS, *no. G-118; Orel 1997a, 176 no. G-118.*

ata

G-119
Bottom of a bowl found in the west area of the north court of the MP-Persian Gate Building and tentatively dated to the fifth c. BC (Gordion inv. no. I 62).
Young 1969, 281 no. 46 (p. 263 fig. 3 and pl. 72); Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 46; Lejeune 1970, 72 no. 46; Neroznak 1978, 97 no. A 46; CIPPh *I, 111 no. G-119 (II, pl. LIX-1); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 70 no. A 46;* TITUS, *no. G- 119; Orel 1997a, 176–177 no. G-119.*

[-?-]*aṭaṣ*

G-120
Sherd found in the fill of the wall between Building M and N, belonging to the MP period (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 227).
Young 1969, 281 no. 47 (p. 263 fig. 3 and pl. 72); Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 47; Lejeune 1970, 72 no. 47; Neroznak 1978, 97–98 no. A 47; CIPPh *I, 112 no. G-120 (II, pl. LIX-1); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 70 no. A 47; Orel 1997a, 177 no. G-120.*

[---]..*ạtạ*[---]

G-121
Undated fragment of a bowl found in a discard pile to the west of Megaron 3 (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 189).
Young 1969, 281 no. 48 (p. 263 fig. 3 and pl. 69); Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 48; Lejeune 1970, 72 no. 48; Neroznak 1978, 98 no. A 48; CIPPh *I, 113 no. G-121 (II, LX-1); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 71 no. A 48;* TITUS*, no. G-121; Orel 1997a, 177 no. G-121.*

← *ḅạḅạ*

G-122
Fragment of a pithos found in a burned filling over the floor of a building (remodelled in Persian times) and dated to the mid-fifth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 384).
Young 1969, 282 no. 49 (268 fig. 4 and pl. 73); Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 49; Lejeune 1970, 72 no. 49; Neroznak 1978, 98 no. A 49; CIPPh *I, 113–114 no. G-122 (II, pl. LX-2); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 71 no. A 49;* TITUS*, no. G-122; Orel 1997a, 178 no. G-122.*

← *tates*

G-123
Fragment of a pot found dug into the clay of the South Cellar above Megaron 6, MP or LP? (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 436).
Young 1969, 282 no. 50 (p. 268 fig. 4 and pl. 73); Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 50; Lejeune 1970, 72 no. 50; Neroznak 1978, 98 no. A 50; CIPPh *I, 114 no. G-123 (II, pl. LXI-1); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 71 no. A 50;* TITUS*, no. G-123; Orel 1997a, 178 no. G-123.*

[-?-]*ates*

G-124
Fragment of a (Lydian?) vessel found over the rubble beddings for the foundation walls of Building B (Persian period), perhaps it dates to the sixth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 110).

Young 1969, 282 no. 51 (p. 283 fig. 8 and pl. 73); Lejeune 1969b, 289 no. 51; Lejeune 1970, 72 no. 51; Neroznak 1978, 99 no. A 51; CIPPh *I, 115 no. G-124 (II, pl. LXI-2); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 71 no. A 50; Orel 1997a, 178 no. G-124.*

[-?-]*ateṣ*ʔ[---]

G-125
Fragment of a pot found in a filling that contained fragments ranging from pre-burning times into the fourth c. BC. Perhaps it dates to the sixth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 377).
Young 1969, 235 no. 52 (pl. 76–16); Haas 1969, 79–81 no. XXX; Young 1969, 282 and 284 no. 52; Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 52; Lejeune 1970, 72 no. 52; Neroznak 1978, 99 no. A 52; CIPPh *I, 115–116 no. G-125 (II, pl. LXII-1); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 71 no. A 52;* TITUS, *no. G-125; Orel 1997a, 179–180 no. G-125.*

← [---]*ronoṭʔoy* ⋮ *eneparkes ṭʔeiʔes*

'Teyes engraved it for [---]ronotos.'

G-126
Fragment of the shoulder of a pithos found in a filling outside the palace area. Perhaps it dates to the fifth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 377).
Young 1969, 284 no. 53 (p. 268, fig. 5); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 53; Lejeune 1970, 72 no. 53; Neroznak 1978, 99–100 no. A 53; CIPPh *I, 117 no. G-126 (II, pl. LXII-2); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 71 no. A 53; Orel 1997a, 180 no. G-126.*

← [---]*es*

G-127
Incised on two contiguous sherds of a vessel in the South Trench and dated to the fifth or fourth c. BC (Ankara Archaeological Museum without inv. no., Founding No. I 31).
Young 1969, 284 no. 54 (p. 268, fig. 5); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 54; Lejeune 1970, 72 no. 54; Neroznak 1978, 100 no. A 54; CIPPh *I, 117–118 no. G-127 (II, pl. LXIII-1); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 71 no. A 54;* TITUS, *no. G-127; Orel 1997a, 180 no. G-127.*

ḳuliyas

G-128
On an undated sherd of a pot found in a mixed fill (layer 4) over the area of Terrace Building Rooms 1–2 (Gordion Museum I 246).
Young 1969, 284 no. 55 (p. 268, fig. 5 and pl. 72); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 55; Lejeune 1970, 72 no. 55; Neroznak 1978, 100 no. A 55; CIPPh *I, 118–119 no. G-128 (II, pl. LXIII-2); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 71 no. A 55;* TITUS, *no. G-128; Orel 1997a, 181 no. G-128.*

atas kek.[---]

G-129
On a fragment of a jug found above the clay on the area of Megaron 4 and dated to the sixth or fifth c. BC (Museum of Anatolian Civilizations without inv. no., finding no. I 31).
Edwards 1963, 46–47 no. 25; Lejeune 1969a, 22; Young 1969, 284 and 286 no. 56 (p. 285, fig. 9 and pl. 73); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 56; Lejeune 1970, 72 no. 56; Neroznak 1978, 100–101 no. A 56; CIPPh *I, 119 no. G-129 (II, LXIV-1); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 71 no. A 56;* TITUS, *no. G-129; Orel 1997a, 182 G-129.*

voines

G-130
Two contiguous fragments of a vessel found in the filling of a deep cellar dug into the clay just to the west of Megaron 5. Perhaps it dates to the fifth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 363).
Young 1969, 286 no. 57 (p. 285, fig. 9 and pl. 73); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 57; Lejeune 1970, 72 no. 57; Neroznak 1978, 101 no. A 57; CIPPh *I, 120 no. G-130 (II, pl. LXIV-2); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 71 no. A 57;* TITUS, *no. G-130; Orel 1997a, 182–183 no. G.130.*

[---].*es servas*⟦*p*⟧*bo*.[---]

---

1 b *supra* p *scr*.

G-131
On a handle of a jug found just below the surface of the mound in the area of Persian Building E, in mixed Hellenistic filling. Perhaps it dates to the fifth c. BC (Museum of Anatolian Civilizations without inv. no. 18380).
Young 1969, 286 no. 58 (285 fig. 9 and pl. 74); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 58; Lejeune 1970, 73 no. 58; Neroznak 1978, 102 no. A 58; CIPPh *I, 120–121 no. G-131 (II, pl. LXII-3); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 72 no. A 58;* TITUS, *no. G-131; Orel 1997a, 183–184 no. G-131.*

[-?-] *dumasta eia*[---]

G-132
On a fragment of an undated pot found in a pit over the area of Megaron 4 (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 234).
Young 1969, 286 no. 59 (p. 269 fig. 5 and pl. 74); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 59; Lejeune 1970, 73 no. 59; Neroznak 1978, 102 no. A 59; CIPPh *I, 121–122 no. G-132 (II, pl. LXV-1); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 72 no. A 59;* TITUS, *no. G-132; Orel 1997a, 184 no. G-132.*

ploṛiataṭ[---]

G-133
On a fragment of a bowl found in a filling of the second half of the fifth c. BC, to the west of the Persian Gate Building (Layer 5b) (Museum of Anatolian Civilizations without inv. no. 18379).
Young 1969, 286 no. 60 (p. 269 fig. 5 and pl. 74); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 60; Lejeune 1970, 73 no. 60; Neroznak 1978, 102–103 no. A 60; CIPPh *I, 122 no. G-133 (II, pl. LXV-2); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 72 no. A 60;* TITUS, *no. G-133; Orel 1997a, 184–185 no. G-133.*

ṭuvatis or *guvatis*

G-134
On a handle of a jug found in the refill in the trench of a plundered wall bed of a building in the Persian city (above the Phrygian CC Building). Very likely it dates to the fifth c. BC (Gordion Museum I 150).
Young 1969, 286 no. 61 (p. 269 fig. 5 and pl. 71); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 61; Lejeune 1970, 73 no. 61; Neroznak 1978, 103 no. A 61; CIPPh *I, 123 no. G-134 (II, pl. LXVI-1); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 72 no. A 61; Orel 1997a, 185 no. G-134.*

vạ.[---]

G-135
Fragment of a handle of a cup found in the (disturbed) surface of the clay layer, to the north of Building I. Perhaps it dates to the MP period (Gordion Museum I 225).
Young 1969, 287 no. 62 (p. 285 fig. 9 and pl. 74); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 62; Lejeune 1970, 73 no. 62; Neroznak 1978, 103 no. A 62; CIPPh *I, 123–124 no. G-135 (II, pl. LXVI-2); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 72 no. A 62;* TITUS, *no. G-135; Orel 1997a, 185 no. G-135.*

[-?-]*agipeia*

[-?-]agiṇeia *Orel 1997*.

G-136
On a little alabaster figure of a falcon found in the plundered wall-trench of a bed for Building W (Persian Level). Tentatively dated to the sixth c. BC (Museum of Anatolian Civilizations without inv. no.).
Young 1964, 280–281 (pl. 83, 6, as Greek); Lejeune 1969a, 22, 23; Haas 1969, 82–83 (as Greek); Young 1969, 287–288 no. 63 (p. 285 fig. 9 and pl. 72); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 63; Lejeune 1970, 73 no. 63; Neroznak 1978, 103–104 no. A 63; CIPPh *I, 124–125 no. G-136 (II, pl. LXVII-1, 2); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 72 no. A 63;* TITUS, *no. G-136; Orel 1997a, 185–186 no. G-136.*

tadoy ⋮ *iman* | *bagun*

'Iman (gave) this idol to Tados.'

G-137
On a fragment of a vessel found just above the plundered west wall of the Phrygian city. Perhaps it dates to the fifth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 407).
Young 1969, 288 no. 64 (p. 269, fig. 5 and pl. 73); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 64; Lejeune 1970, 73 no. 64; Neroznak 1978, 104 no. A 64; CIPPh *I, 125–126 no. G-137 (II, pl. LXVII-3); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 72 no. A 64;* TITUS, *no. G-137; Orel 1997a, 187 no. G-137.*

midas [-?-]

G-138
On a fragment of a dinos found in a fourth c. filling (Layer 5) in the area above Room 8 of the Phrygian Terrace Building, a context dated to the fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 249).
Young 1969, 288 no. 65 (p. 283 fig. 8 and pl. 74); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 65; Lejeune 1970, 73 no. 65; Neroznak 1978, 104 no. A 65; CIPPh *I, 126 no. G-138 (II, pl. LXVIII-1); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 72 no. A 65;* TITUS, *no. G-138; Orel 1997a, 187 no. G-138.*

babiy[---]

G-139
On a handle of a jug found in a mixed filling outside the Phrygian palace area. Perhaps it dates to the fifth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 374).
Young 1969, 288 no. 66 (p. 283 fig. 8 and pl. 74); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 66; Lejeune 1970, 73 no. 66; Neroznak 1978, 105 no. A 66; CIPPh *I, 127 no. G-139 (II, pl. LXVIII-2); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 73 no. A 66;* TITUS, *no. G-139; Orel 1997a, 187 no. G-139.*

[-?-]*kupolas*

G-140
On a handle of an undated pot found in mixed disturbed filling at the west side of the mound (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 372).
Young 1969, 288 no. 67 (p. 285 fig. 9 and pl. 71); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 67; Lejeune 1970, 73 no. 67; Neroznak 1978, 105 no. A 67; CIPPh *I, 127–128 no. G-140 (II, pl. LXVIII-3); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 73 no. A 67;* TITUS, *no. G-140; Orel 1997a, 188 no. G-140.*

← *noievos*

G-141
Fragment of a handle of a cup found in a mixed filling of a building at the west side of the mound and dated to the fifth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 410).
Young 1969, 288–289 no. 68 (p. 285 fig. 9 and pl. 69); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 68; Lejeune 1970, 73 no. 68; Neroznak 1978, 105 no. A 68; CIPPh *I, 128–129 no. G-141 (II, pl. LXIX-1); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 73 no. A 68;* TITUS, *no. G-141; Orel 1997a, 188–189 no. G-141.*

[---]*ṭvitenorola*[---]

G-142
On a fragment of a bowl found in a cellar intruded into the clay layer and filled up around the middle of the fifth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 296).
Young 1969, 289 no. 69 (p. 283 fig. 8); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 69; Lejeune 1970, 73 no. 69; Neroznak 1978, 106 no. A 69; CIPPh *I, 129 no. G-142 (II, pl. LXIX-2); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 73 no. A 69;* TITUS, *no. G-142; Orel 1997a, 189 no. G-142.*

[---]*ạvaṣ ṣ*[---]

G-143
Fragment of a pithos found in a fill of a building which contained a mixture of diverse materials. Tentatively dated to the sixth c. BC (Museum of Anatolian Civilizations with digging number I 18).
Young 1969, 289 no. 70 (p. 269 fig. 5 and pl. 73); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 70; Lejeune 1970, 73 no. 70; Neroznak 1978, 106 no. A 70; CIPPh *I, 129–130 no. G-143 (II, pl. LXX-1); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 73 no. A 70;* TITUS, *no. G-143; Orel 1997a, 189–190 no. G-143.*

← [---].*eveị́*$^{?}$*s*[---]

G-144
On the bottom of a bowl or cup found in a building to the north of the Persian Gate. Perhaps it dates to the fifth c. BC (Museum of Anatolian Civilizations with the digging number I 111).
Young 1969, 289 no. 71 (p. 290 fig. 10 and pl. 72); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 71; Lejeune 1970, 73 no. 71; Neroznak 1978, 106 no. A 71; CIPPh *I, 130–131 no. G-144 (II, pl. LXX-2); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 73 no. A 71;* TITUS, *no. G-144; Orel 1997a, 190 no. G-144.*

estatoi avun

G-145
On a handle of a jug found in a Hellenistic layer above the area of the street between the Phrygian Terrace and CC Buildings and dated to the fifth c. BC (Museum of Anatolian Civilizations digging no. I 264).
Young 1969, 289 no. 72 (290 fig. 10 and pl. 70); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 72; Lejeune 1970, 73 no. 72; Neroznak 1978, 100–101 no. A 72; CIPPh *I, 131–132 no. G-145 (II, pl. LXIX-3); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 73 no. A 72;* TITUS, *no. G-145; Orel 1997a, 190–191 no. G-145.*

voineio⟦ᛉ⟧ *uriienois ḳu*[---]
s

ᛉ *corrigitur et* S *scrip. infra.*

G-146
Two non-contiguous fragments of a pot found in a building to the north of the Persian Gate and dated to between the end of the sixth and the beginning of the fourth c. BC.
Young 1969, 291 no. 73 (290 fig. 10 and pl. 73); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 73; Lejeune 1970, 73 no. 73; Neroznak 1978, 107 no. A 73; CIPPh *I, 132–133 no. G-146 (II, pl. LXXI-1, 2); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 74 no. A 73;* TITUS, *no. G-146; Orel 1997a, 191–192 no. G-146.*

[---].....[--- *a*]*ḍoikavos*

G-147
Two sherds of a pithos found in the South Trench and dated to between the sixth and fifth c. BC.
Young 1969, 291 no. 74 (283 fig. 8 and pl. 73); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 74; Lejeune 1970, 74 no. 74; Neroznak 1978, 107 no. A 74; CIPPh *I, 133–134 no. G-147 (II, pl. LXXII-1); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 74 no. A 74;* TITUS, *no. G-147; Orel 1997a, 192 no. G-147.*

[---] *mekas tosk*[---]

G-148
Fragment of a pot found in a disturbed pocket in the clay near the north end of the Gate Building and dated to between the ending of the sixth and the fourth c. BC.
Young 1969, 292 no. 75 (p. 269 fig. 5 and pl. 73); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 75; Lejeune 1970, 73 no. 75; Neroznak 1978, 107 no. A 75; CIPPh *I, 134 no. G-148 (II, pl. LXXII-2); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 74 no. A 75;* TITUS, *no. G-148; Orel 1997a, 192–193 no. G-148.*

[-?-]*ạtes*

G-149
Fragment of a pot found to the west of the palace area in the refill of a trench cut to plunder a wall of a Building and dated to fifth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 364).
Young 1969, 292 no. 76 (p. 290 fig. 10 and pl. 73); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 76; Lejeune 1970, 74 no. 76; Neroznak 1978, 107 no. A 76; CIPPh *I, 134–135 no. G-149 (II, pl. LXXI-3); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 74 no. A 76; Orel 1997a, 193 no. G-149.*

[---]*ạes*

G-150
Fragments of a pithos found in a deposit of a pottery over the floor of a house and dated to the end of the fourth or the beginning of the third c. BC (Museum of Anatolian Civilizations digging no. P 3541).
Young 1969, 292 no. 77 (293 fig. 11); Lejeune 1969b, 290 no. 77; Lejeune 1970, 74 no. 77; Neroznak 1978, 108 no. A 77; CIPPh *I, 135–137 no. G-150 (II, pl. LXXIII-1); Roller 1987a, 67 3B-30; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 74 no. A 77;* TITUS, *no. G-150; Orel 1997a, 193–194 no. G-150.*

[Metr. mark] 3

A *olgiavos*

B [---]..[---]

C *asakas*

G-151
Fragment of a pithos found in a filling dated to the third c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 48).
CIPPh *I, 137 no. G-151 (II, pl. LXXIII-2); Orel 1997a, 194 no. G-151.*

[-?-].*u.s*[-?-]

G-152
Fragment of a pithos found in a filling dated to the fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 69).
CIPPh *I, 138 no. G-152 (II, pl. LXXIV-1); Orel 1997a, 194–195 no. G-152.*

[---]*v.i.s*[---]

G-153
Fragment of a bowl found in a filling of Building A dated to the third c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 75).
CIPPh *I, 138 no. G-153 (II, pl. LXXIV-2);* TITUS, *no. G-153; Orel 1997a, 195 no. G-153.*

[--- *a*]*ḍoikaẏ*[?][---]

G-154
Undated sherd without known provenance (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 76).
CIPPh *I, 139 no. G-154 (II, pl. LXXV-1); Orel 1997a, 195 no. G-154.*

← [-?-]*sit*[---]

or

→ [---]*tis*[-?-]

G-155
Undated sherd without known context provenance (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 86).
CIPPh *I, 139–140 no. G-155 (II, pl. LXXV-3);* TITUS, *no. G-155; Orel 1997a, 195–196 no. G-155.*

[---]*ạmai..*[?][---]

G-156
On a fragment of a cup found in the Gate Building and dated to the fifth or fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 98).
CIPPh *I, 140 no. G-156 (II, pl. LXXIV-4); Orel 1997a, 196 no. G-156.*

[---]*ne*[---]

G-157
Undated sherd found in the surface near Building NCT (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 103). Under the Phrygian inscription another one was incised in Aramaic.
CIPPh *I, 141 no. G-157 (II, pl. LXXIV-1); Orel 1997a, 196 no. G-157.*

Phrygian: → [---]*arg*

Aramaic: ← *l*ʾ...[---]

G-158
Fragment of the bottom of a cup found in a Hellenistic filling in the area of Building C and dated ca. 200 BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 106).
CIPPh *I, 141–142 no. G-158 (II, pl. LXXVI-2); Roller 1987a, 51 2B-193 (fig. 72);* TITUS, *no. G-158; Orel 1997a, 197 no. G-158.*

tib

G-159
Two non-contiguous sherds found in a building to the north of the Persian Gate and dated to between the end of the sixth and the fourth c. BC. (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 122 a and b).
CIPPh *I, 142–143 no. G-159 (II, pl. LXXVI-3 and LXXVII-1);* TITUS, *no. G-159; Orel 1997a, 197 no. G-159.*

A	B
[---]*ser.*[---]	*ạios*

G-160
On a fragment of a cup found in the cellar cut in Building E and dated to the fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 124).
CIPPh I, 143 no. G-160 (II, pl. LXXVII-2, 3); TITUS, *no. G-160; Orel 1997a, 197–198 no. G-160.*

aka.[---]

G-161
Bottom of a cup perhaps found in the area of Building NCT and dated to the third c. BC (Gordion Museum I 128).
CIPPh *I, 143–144 no. G-161* (*II, pl. LXXVIII-1*); TITUS, *no. G-161; Orel 1997a, 198 no. G-161.*

ạṣụịạḍoṣ or *ạṣḳịạḍoṣ*

G-162
Bottom of a cup found in a filling in the area of Building A and dated to the fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 129).
CIPPh *I, 144–145 no. G-162* (*II, pl. LXXVIII-2*); *Roller 1987a, 46 2B-123* (*fig. 37*); TITUS, *no. G-162; Orel 1997a, 198–199 no. G-162.*

→ *pa* or ← *ap*

G-163
Sherd found in a filling in the area of Building G and dated to the fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 140).
CIPPh *I, 145 no. G-163* (*II, pl. LXXIX-1*); TITUS, *no. G-163; Orel 1997a, 199 no. G-163.*

[---]*sạ*ʔ*es*[---]

G-164
Undated sherd found in a filling in the area of Building E (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 146).
CIPPh *I, 145 no. G-164* (*II, pl. LXXIX-2*); TITUS, *no. G-164; Orel 1997a, 199 no. G-164.*

[---].*astoy*

Dub. [sur]gastoy

G-164 bis
On a mortar found in the same confusing context of G-164 (Gordion Museum inv. no. St 238). Strokes without reading.
CIPPh I, 146 no. G-164 bis (*II, pl. LXXIX-3*).

G-165
Fragment of the bottom of a bowl found in Building E and dated to the fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 147).
CIPPh *I, 146 no. G-165 (II, pl. LXXX-1);* TITUS, *no. G-165; Orel 1997a, 200 no. G-165.*

[---]*yẹṣṭạ*

G-166
On the neck of a vessel found in Building R and dated to the ending of the fifth or beginning of the fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 149).
CIPPh *I, 146–147 no. G-166 (II, pl. LXXX-2);* TITUS, *no. G-166; Orel 1997a, 200 no. G-166.*

abs

G-167
Fragment of cup found in the area of Building A and dated to the fourth or third c. BC (Gordion Museum I 152).
CIPPh *I, 147 no. G-167 (II, pl. LXXX-4); Orel 1997a, 200–201 no. G-167.*

mẹ[---]

G-168
Sherd found in a filling dated to the fourth or third c. BC (Gordion Museum I 153).
CIPPh *I, 147–148 no. G-168 (II, pl. LXXX-3); Orel 1997a, 201 no. G-168.*

[---]*koḅ*[---]

G-169
Fragment of the bottom of an undated cup found in the area of Building B (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 164).
CIPPh *I, 148–149 no. G-169 (II, pl. LXXXI-1, 2); Orel 1997a, 201 no. G-169.*

.au$^{?}$.[---]

G-170
Fragment of a vessel found between Buildings C and G and dated to between the sixth and the beginning of the fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 167).
CIPPh *I, 149 no. G-170* (*II, pl. LXXXI-3*); TITUS, *no. G-170; Orel 1997a, 201–202 no. G-170.*

← *ạrẹ?*.[---]

G-171
Fragment of a pithos found in the area of Building NCT and dated to the fifth or fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum I 170).
CIPPh *I, 149–150 no. G-171* (*II, pl. LXXXII-1, 2*); *Orel 1997a, 202 no. G-171.*

← [---].*ạḷẹ?*[---]

G-172
Fragment of the bottom of a small cup found in Küçük Höyük sector and dated to the first half of the sixth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 190).
CIPPh *I, 150 no. G-172* (*II, pl. LXXXII-3, 4*); *Orel 1997a, 202 no. G-172.*

[---].*akavi?*[---]

G-173
Fragment of the bottom of a cup found in the façade of Building M and dated to the fifth or the sixth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 201).
CIPPh *I, 151 no. G-173* (*II, pl. LXXXIII-3*); TITUS, *no. G-173; Orel 1997a, 202–203 no. G-173.*

mama

G-174
Fragment of a pithos found in the Küçük Höyük area and dated to a little after 547 BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 207).
CIPPh *I, 151–152 no. G-174* (*II, pl. LXXXII-5*); TITUS, *no. G-174; Orel 1997a, 203 no. G-174.*

[---]*pbaṣ*[-?-]

G-175
Fragment of the bottom of a pot found in a filling over Building M and dated to the fifth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 214).
CIPPh *I, 152–153 no. G-175* (*II, pl. LXXXIII-1*); *Orel 1997a, 203 no. G-175.*

en.[---]

or

eṃ.[---]

G-176
Fragment of a vessel found near Building M and dated to the fourth or third century BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 222).
CIPPh *I, 153 no. G-176* (*II, pl. LXXXIII-2*); TITUS, *no. G-176; Orel 1997a, 204 no. G-176.*

← [---].*ạyosṭ²eṣ*[---]

G-177
Fragment of a cup found in Building M and dated to the sixth or the fifth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 226).
CIPPh *I, 153–154 no. G-177* (*II, pl. LXXXIII-4*); TITUS, *no. G-177; Orel 1997a, 204 no. G-177.*

[-?-]*kalaị*[---]

G-178
On a little idol of calcareous stone found in the Terrace Building and dated to the first half of the sixth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 230).
CIPPh *I, 154 no. G-178* (*II, pl. LXXXIV-1 and LXXXIV-2*); TITUS, *no. G-178; Orel 1997a, 204–205 no. G-178.*

eymiẏạ²ḳ²ị²[---]

G-179
On a sherd found in a filling near Building N and dated to the ending of the fourth or beginning of the third c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 236).
CIPPh *I, 154 no. G-179* (*II, pl. LXXXIV-3*); TITUS, *no. G-179; Orel 1997a, 206 no. G-179.*

[---]*ime*[---]

G-180
Sherd perhaps found in a filling near Building N perhaps dating to the third c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 239).
CIPPh *I, 155 no. G-180* (*II, pl. LXXXV-1 and LXXXV-2*); *Orel 1997a, 206 no. G-180.*

[---]*ẹ*ʔ*l̩y*[---]

or

[---]*ẹ*ʔ*y̩y*[---]

G-181
Fragment of a cup found in a filling of Building P and dated to the sixth or fifth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 243).
CIPPh *I, 155–156 no. G-181 (II, pl. LXXXV-4); Orel 1997a, 206 no. G-181.*

[---]*ṣeu.*[---]

G-182
On a sherd found in the area of Building N and dated to the first half of the fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 253).
CIPPh *I, 156 no. G-182 (II, pl. LXXXVI-1);* TITUS, *no. G-182; Orel 1997a, 207 no. G-182.*

ta

G-183
Bottom of a cup found in a filling in the area of Building R and dated ca. fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 253).
CIPPh *I, 156–157 no. G-183 (II, pl. LXXXV-3);* TITUS, *no. G-183; Orel 1997a, 207 no. G-183.*

A *tiveia*

B *imenia*

G-184
Sherd found in a filling near Building R and dated to the third c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 256).
CIPPh *I, 157 no. G-184 (II, pl. LXXXV-4);* TITUS, *no. G-184; Orel 1997a, 208 no. G-184.*

*baḅ*ʔ*ạ*ʔ[-?-]

G-185
Sherd found in a filling near Building R and dated to the third c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 257).
CIPPh *I, 158 no. G-185* (*II, pl. LXXXVI-2*); TITUS, *no. G-185; Orel 1997a, 208 no. G-185.*

← *sir*

G-186
Sherd found in a filling near Building T and dated to the third c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 261).
CIPPh *I, 158 no. G-186* (*II, pl. LXXXVI-3*); *Orel 1997a, 208 no. G-186.*

[-?-]*ḫas*[-?-]

G-187
Sherd found in a filling near Building Q and dated to the third c. BC (Gordion Museum I 271).
CIPPh *I, 159 no. G-187* (*II, pl. LXXXVI-4*); *Orel 1997a, 209 no. G-187.*

as[---]

G-188
Fragment of a cup found in a filling near Building T and dated to the fifth or sixth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 274).
CIPPh *I, 159 no. G-188* (*II, pl. LXXXVII-4*); *Orel 1997a, 209 no. G-188.*

[-?-]*ṣ*ʔ*au*

G-189
Handle of a pot found in a filling near Building O and dated to the fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 277).
CIPPh *I, 160 no. G-189* (*II, pl. LXXXVII-1, 2*); TITUS, *no. G-189; Orel 1997a, 209–210 no. G-189.*

*uposọ*ʔ*y*

G-189 bis
Undated sherd found dug into the clay of the South Cellar above Megaron 6, MP or LP? (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 282). Not a sure Phrygian inscription, since only some strokes remain.
CIPPh *I, 160 no. G-189 bis* (*II, pl. LXXXVII-3*).

a[?].

G-190
A fragment of a handle of a vessel found in Building W and dated to the fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 287).
CIPPh *I, 160–161 no. G-190* (*II, pl. LXXXVIII-1*); *Orel 1997a, 210 no. G-190.*

← *tiṇu.*[---]

G-191
Fragment of an undated pithos found dug into the clay of the South Cellar above Megaron 6, MP or LP? (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 288).
CIPPh *I, 161 no. G-191* (*II, pl. LXXXVIII-2*); *Orel 1997a, 210 no. G-191.*

[---]*o̩s*

or

so̩[---]

G-192
Sherd found in the area of Building P and dated to the fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 290).
CIPPh *I, 161–162 no. G-192* (*II, pl. LXXXVIII-3*); *Orel 1997a, 211 no. G-192.*

[-?-]*sar.*[-?-]

G-193
Fragment of an undated pithos found dug into the clay of the South Cellar above Megaron 6, MP or LP? (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 293).
CIPPh *I, 162 no. G-193* (*II, pl. LXXXIX-1*); *Orel 1997a, 211 no. G-193.*

← [-?-]*ḃal*

G-194
Fragment of an undated bowl found dug into the clay of the South Cellar above Megaron 6, MP or LP? (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 302).
CIPPh *I, 162–163 no. G-194 (II, pl. LXXXIX-2); Orel 1997a, 211–212 no. G-194.*

→ *sịṭ*[---]

or

← *sịṭ*[---]

G-195
Fragment of an undated bowl found dug into the clay of the South Cellar above Megaron 6, MP or LP? (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 304).
CIPPh *I, 163 no. G-195 (II, pl. LXXXIX-3); Orel 1997a, 212 no. G-195.*

*ṇą*ʔ*ṇą*ʔ[-?-]

Fort. ṇąʔṇąʔ[s]

G-196
Sherd found in a filling in the area of Building W and dated to the fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 316).
CIPPh *I, 164 no. G-196 (II, pl. LXXXVIII-4);* TITUS, *no. G-196; Orel 1997a, 212–213 no. G-196.*

[---]*l*ʲ*i.ẹ…mị*[---]

G-197
Sherd found in a filling in the area of Building W and dated to the fifth or fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 332).
CIPPh *I, 164 no. G-197 (II, pl. XC-1);* TITUS, *no. G-197; Orel 1997a, 213 no. G-197.*

[---]*ą*ʔ*res*

G-198
Undated fragment of a vessel handle found dug into the clay of the South Cellar above Megaron 6 (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 337).
CIPPh *I, 165 no. G-198 (II, pl. XC-2);* TITUS, *no. G-198; Orel 1997a, 213 no. G-198.*

← *garḍ*[---]

G-199
Fragment of an undated jug found dug into the clay of the South Cellar above Megaron 6 (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 344).
CIPPh *I, 165 no. G-199 (II, pl. XC-3);* TITUS, *no. G-199; Orel 1997a, 213–214 no. G-199.*

[---]*ṛmaniv*[---]

G-200
Fragment of an undated pithos found dug into the clay of the South Cellar above Megaron 6 (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 345).
CIPPh *I, 166 no. G-200 (II, pl. XC-4); Orel 1997a, 214 no. G-200.*

[---]..*ṛẹ*

G-201
Undated sherd found dug into the clay of the South Cellar above Megaron 6 (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 347).
CIPPh *I, 166–167 no. G-201 (II, pl. XC1-1); Orel 1997a, 214 no. G-201.*

[-?-]*go*..[---]

G-202
Fragment of an undated bowl found dug into the clay of the South Cellar above Megaron 6 (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 355).
CIPPh *I, 167 no. G-202 (II, pl. XC1-2);* TITUS, *no. G-202; Orel 1997a, 215 no. G-202.*

← *ma.*[.]*as*

Fort. maṃ[a]s.

G-203
Fragment of the bottom of a bowl found in a filling near the walls and dated to the fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 369).
CIPPh *I, 167–168 no. G-203 (II, pl. XC1-3 and 4); Roller 1987a, 31 2A-206 (fig. 25) and 48 2B-141 (fig. 38); Orel 1997a, 215–216 no. G-203.*

A ↑

B .X

G-204
Fragment of a pithos found in the Terrace Building and dated to the fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 378).
CIPPh *I, 168 no. G-204 (II, pl. XCII-1);* TITUS, *no. G-204; Orel 1997a, 216 no. G-204.*

[---]*ḍa alu m s* [-?-]

G-205
Fragment of a bowl found in a filling near the walls and dated to the fifth or fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 387).
CIPPh *I, 168–169 no. G-205 (II, pl. XCII-3 and XCII-4); Orel 1997a, 216 no. G-205.*

[---].*ṛe*[-?-]

G-206
Sherd found in a mixed filling of a building at the west side of the mound and dated to the fifth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 388).
CIPPh *I, 169 no. G-206 (II, pl. XCII-2); Orel 1997a, 216–217 no. G-206.*

← [---]*eg*$^{?}$*i*$^{?}$.[---]

G-207
Sherd found in a mixed filling of a building at the west side of the mound and dated to the fifth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 390).
CIPPh *I, 170 no. G-207 (II, pl. XCIII-1); Orel 1997a, 217 no. G-207.*

[---]*ṛḳ*$^{?}$.[---]

G-208
Fragment of a bowl found in a mixed filling of a building at the west side of the mound and dated to the fifth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 395). A nonverbal mark (contrary to Orel 1997a, 217).
CIPPh I, 170–171 no. G-208 (II, pl. XCIII-2); Roller 1987a, 25 2A-130 (fig. 18); Orel 1997a, 217 no. G- 208.

G-209
Two contiguous sherds of a cup found in a mixed filling of a building at the west side of the mound and dated to fifth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 402).
CIPPh *I, 171 no. G-209 (II, pl. XCIII-3); Orel 1997a, 217–218 no. G- 209.*

[---]*ạṇị*$^{?}$.*ẹ*$^{?}$[---]

or

[---]*ạṃị*$^{?}$.*ẹ*$^{?}$[---]

G-210
Bottom of a cup found in a mixed filling of a building at the west side of the mound and dated to the fifth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 404).
CIPPh *I, 171–172 no. G-210 (II, pl. XCIII-4);* TITUS, *no. G-210; Orel 1997a, 218 no. G- 210.*

iman

G-211
Fragment of the bottom of a vessel cup found in a mixed filling of a building at the west side of the mound and dated to the fifth c. (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 405).
CIPPh *I, 172 no. G-211 (II, pl. XCIV-1); Orel 1997a, 218 no. G- 211.*

em.[.$^{?}$]

G-212
Fragment of the bottom of a cup found just above the plundered west wall of the Phrygian city, perhaps dating to the fifth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 408).
CIPPh *I, 173 no. G-212 (II, pl. XCIV-2);* TITUS, *no. G-212; Orel 1997a, 218–219 no. G- 212.*

← *nina*

G-213
Fragment of a saucer found in a mixed filling of a building at the west side of the mound and dated to the fifth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 416). Two nonverbal marks also incised.
CIPPh *I, 173–174 no. G-213 (II, pl. XCIV-3); Orel 1997a, 219 no. G-213.*

A Mark

B Mark

C → [---]*ụ*$^{?}$*ssa*

or

← *assụ*[?][---]

G-214
Fragment of the bottom of a pot found in a mixed filling of a building at the west side of the mound and dated to the fifth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 429).
CIPPh *I, 174–175 no. G-214 (II, pl. XCIV-4);* TITUS, *no. G-214; Orel 1997a, 219–220 no. G-214.*

moṛ[?]*o*.[---]

G-215
Bottom of a cup or saucer found in a mixed filling of a building at the west side of the mound and dated to the fifth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 430).
CIPPh *I, 175 no. G-215 (II, pl. XCV-1); Roller 1987a, 40 2B-35 (fig. 31 and pl. 4);* TITUS, *no. G-215; Orel 1997a, 220 G-215.*

nm

G-216
Fragment of a cup found in a mixed filling of a building at the west side of the mound and dated to the fifth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 441).
CIPPh *I, 175–176 no. G-216 (II, pl. XCV-2);* TITUS, *no. G-216; Orel 1997a, 220 no. G-216.*

[---]*lasime*.[---]

G-217
Sherd found in Building P and dated to the fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 443).
CIPPh *I, 176 no. G-217 (II, pl. XCV-4); Orel 1997a, 220–221 no. G-217.*

[-?-]*ạb*

G-218
Handle of a vessel found in the Persian-Phrygian Building (PPB) and dated to the fifth or fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 444).
CIPPh *I, 176–177 no. G-218 (II, pl. XCV-3); Orel 1997a, 221 no. G-218.*

[---].*as*

G-219
Fragment of a pithos found near the wall and dated to the 5th or fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 447).
CIPPh *I, 177 no. G-219 (II, pl. XCVI-1, 2);* TITUS, *no. G-219; Orel 1997a, 221 no. G-219.*

[---]*ṭivi.*[---]

G-220
Sherd found to the west of Terrace Building and dated to the fourth or third c. (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 449).
CIPPh *I, 177–178 no. G-220 (II, pl. XCVI-3, 4); Orel 1997a, 221–222 no. G-220.*

[---]*ṃe.*[---]

G-221
Sherd found near the west wall and dated to the fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 450).
CIPPh *I, 178–179 no. G-221 (II, pl. XCVII-1);* TITUS, *no. G-221; Orel 1997a, 222–223 no. G-221.*

[-?-]
← [-?-]*a.iy*[-?-]
← [-?-]*keʔnoʔ*[-?-]
← [-?-] *atas*
← [-?-]*aratapʔạ*[-?-]
← [-?-]*obataʔmʔ*..[-?-]
[-?-]

G-222
Fragment of a vessel found in the Persian-Phrygian Building (PPB) and dated to the fifth or fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 451).
CIPPh *I, 179 no. G-222 (II, pl. XCVII-2);* TITUS, *no. G-222; Orel 1997a, 223 no. G-222.*

rigʔaru

G-223
Sherd found in the Persian-Phrygian Building (PPB) and dated to the fifth or fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 452).
CIPPh *I, 179–180 no. G-223 (II, pl. XCVII-4); Orel 1997a, 223–224 no. G-223.*

[---]*tʔiʔa*

G-224
Marmite found in Building X and dated to the fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 455).
CIPPh *I, 180–181 no. G-224 (II, pl. XCVIII-1, 2 and XCI-1);* TITUS, *no. G-224; Orel 1997a, 224 no. G-224.*

A *ata*

B *garies* or *paries*

C ᛉ*uv*

G-225
Bottom of a saucer found in Building PPB and dated to the fourth or third c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 457).
CIPPh *I, 181 no. G-225 (II, pl. XCI-2); Roller 1987a, 48 2B-152 (fig. 39 and Plate 4); Orel 1997a, 225 no. G-225.*

A *a*

B ↑

G-226
A jar ("amphorette" according to *CIPPh*) found in a layer dating to the fourth or third c. BC (Gordion Museum in. no. I 463). The shape of the letters are very similar to Greek ones and perhaps not Phrygian.
CIPPh *I, 181–182 no. G-226 (II, pl. XCIX-3);* TITUS, *no. G-226; Orel 1997a, 225 no. G-226.*

murtan

G-227
Fragment of the bottom of a vessel found in a layer dated to the fourth c. (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 466).
CIPPh *I, 182 no. G-227 (II, pl. C-1); Orel 1997a, 225 no. G-227.*

←? [..].*a*

G-228
Fragment of a handle of a vessel found in Building PPB and dated to the fifth or fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 468). A bird is drawn before the inscription.

CIPPh *I, 183 no. G-228 (II, pl. C-2, 4); Roller 1987a, 53 no. 2C-3 (fig. 43 and Plate 4);* TITUS, *no. G-228; Orel 1997a, 226 no. G-228.*

voine

G-229
Handle of a vessel found in Building PPB and dated to the fifth or fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 470).
CIPPh *I, 183–184 no. G-229 (II, pl. C-3);* TITUS, *no. G-229; Orel 1977, 226–227 no. G-229.*

mamutas sokposa
mamutas itoiesgloka

G-230
Fragment of a pithos found in the area of Megaron 8 and dated to the fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 472).
CIPPh *I, 184 no. G-230 (II, pl. CI-1);* TITUS, *no. G-230; Orel 1977, 227 no. G-230.*

eɣ.[---]

G-231
Fragment of a pithos found in the area of Megaron 8 and dated to the fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 473).
CIPPh *I, 184–185 no. G-231 (II, pl. CI-2); Orel 1977, 227–228 no. G-231.*

[---]*ɣ̣ʔiḅ*[---]

G-232
Sherd found in the area of the Megaron 8 and dated to the fifth or fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 474).
CIPPh *I, 185 no. G-232 (II, pl. CII-1); Orel 1977, 228 no. G-232.*

← [---]*ane*[---]

G-233
Sherd found in the SE of Building PPB and dated to the fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 475).
CIPPh *I, 185–186 no. G-233 (II, pl. CI-4); Orel 1977, 228 no. G-233.*

[---]*u̯tra*

or

[---]*ḳtra*

G-234
Fragment of the bottom of a small cup found in a layer near the north wall and dated the fifth and fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 484).
CIPPh *I, 186 no. G-234* (*II, pl. CII-2*); TITUS, *no. G-234; Orel 1997, 228–229 no. G-234.*

←? *ata*

G-235
Sherd found in a layer near the west wall and dated to the fifth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 487).
CIPPh *I, 186–187 no. G-235* (*II, pl. CI-3*); *Roller 1987a, 41 no. 2B-51* (*fig. 32*); *Orel 1997a, 229 no. G-235.*

→? [---]*ą̣y̨ḷ*[---]

or

←? [---]*y̨ḷą̣*[---]

G-236
Sherd found in a layer near the west wall and dated to the fourth or third c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 490).
CIPPh *I, 187 no. G-236* (*II, pl. CII-3*); TITUS, *no. G-236; Orel 1997a, 229 no. G-236.*

nanav²ata[-?-]

Fort. manag²ata[-?-].

G-237
Fragment of a pithos found in a layer of Building X with materials dating between the eighth and sixth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 497).
CIPPh *I, 188 no. G-237* (*II, pl. CII-4*); TITUS, *no. G-237; Orel 1997a, 230 no. G-237.*

ako

G-238
Fragment of a pithos found above the Megaron 7 and dated to between the fourth and the third c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 500).
CIPPh *I, 188 no. G-238 (II, pl. CIII-1); Orel 1997a, 230 no. G-238.*

[---].*da.*[---]

G-239
Fragment of a pithos found above the Megaron 7 and dated to the fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 501).
CIPPh *I, 189 no. G-239 (II, pl. CIII-3);* TITUS*, no. G-239; Orel 1997a, 230–231 no. G-239.*

mekaiṣ[-?-]

G-240
Sherd found above Megaron 7 and dated to the fifth or fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no, I 508).
CIPPh *I, 189–190 no. G-240 (II, pl. CIII-2); Orel 1997a, 231 no. G-240.*

[---]*ṃ*$^{?}$*agi.*[---]

G-241
Fragment of a bowl found in a filling in the area of the west wall dating to the fourth or third c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 509).
CIPPh *I, 190 no. G-241 (II, pl. CIII-4); Roller 1987a, 49 no. 2B-167 (fig. 40); Orel 1997a, 231 no. G-241.*

← *ḳu*

G-242
Fragment of a bowl found in a filling above the Megaron 7 and dating to the fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 511).
CIPPh *I, 190–191 no. G-242; Orel 1997a, 231–232 no. G-242.*

← *ṃe*

G-243
Fragment of a bowl found in a filling above the Megaron 7 and dating to the fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 512).
CIPPh *I, 191 no. G-243; Roller 1987a, 41 no. 2B-52 (fig. 32); Orel 1977, 232 no. G-243.*

vi

G-244
Fragment of a cup found in a filling near the west wall dating to the third c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 520). Perhaps not Phrygian but Greek.
CIPPh *I, 192 no. G-244 (II, pl. CIV-3); Orel 1977, 232 no. G-244.*

[-?-]*me*$^{?}$*Ƶi*[-?-] or [-?-]*ME*$^{?}$*ZI*[-?-]

G-245
Two fragments of a mortar found in a filling near the west wall dating to the fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 521).
CIPPh *I, 192–193 no. G-245 (II, pl. CV-1 and CV-3);* TITUS, *no. G-245; Orel 1977, 232–233 no. G-245.*

← *ḍumast.v.*[-?-]

G-246
Two contiguous fragments of a bowl found in a filling in the area of Building U dated to the fifth or the fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 533).
CIPPh I, 193 no. G-246 (II, pl. CV-2); Orel 1977, 233 no. G-246.

← *dile.*$^{?}$

G-247
Sherd found in a filling in the area of the north wall and dating to the fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum I 536).
CIPPh *I, 194 no. G-247 (II, pl. CVI-1 and CVI-2); Orel 1977, 233–234 no. G-247.*

← [---].*vei*[.$^{?}$]*s*

G-248
Fragment of a cup found in the area of Building U and dated to the fifth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 537).
CIPPh *I, 194–195 no. G-248 (II, pl. CV-4); Roller 1987a, 38 no. 2B-9 (fig. 28); Orel 1997a, 234 no. 248.*

→? *o?ss*[---]

or

←? [---]*sso*?

Roller r s s.

G-249
Unfinished alabaster weight found in a layer of Building CC3 and dated to the eighth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 539).
CIPPh *I, 195–196 no. G-249 (II, pl. CVI-3, 4);* TITUS, *no. G-249; Orel 1997a, 234–235 no. 249.*

← *se⩛el t-*
ias

'Shekel of Ti-'

G-250
Fragment of a jug found in a filling in the area of the north wall dating to the fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 543).
CIPPh *I, 196 no. G-250 (II, pl. CVII-2); Orel 1997a, 235 no. 250.*

[-?-].*eivanouṣ*[-?-]

G-251
Sherd found above the terrace wall of archaic circuit at west and dated to the fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 544).
CIPPh *I, 196–197 no. G-251 (II, pl. CVII-1); Orel 1997a, 235–236 no. 251.*

← *ray* or *bay*

G-252
Sherd found in a filling in the west wall dating to the third c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 545).
CIPPh *I, 197 no. G-252 (II, pl. CVII-3, 4);* TITUS, *no. G-252; Orel 1997a, 236 no. 252.*

[-?-]*atesito*.[-?-]

Fort. [-?-] ates ito.[-?-]

G-253
Sherd found in a filling or in the wall and dated to the end of the fourth or beginning of the third c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 547).
CIPPh *I, 197–198 no. G-253 (II, pl. CVIII-1);* TITUS, *no. G-253; Orel 1997a, 236–237 no. 253.*

← *bab*[---]

G-254
Fragment of a cup found in a filling in the area of Building U and dated to the fourth or third c. BC (Gordion Museum I 548).
CIPPh *I, 198 no. G-254 (II, pl. CVIII-2); Roller 1987a, 38 no. 2B-13 (fig. 29); Orel 1997a, 237 no. G-254.*

y

G-255
Undated sherd (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 549).
CIPPh *I, 198–199 no. G-255 (II, pl. CVIII-3);* TITUS, *no. G-255; Orel 1997a, 237 no. G-255.*

[---]*nolọ*[---]

G-256
Sherd found in the Küçük Höyük dating before the Persian conquest (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 551).
CIPPh *I, 199 no. G-256 (II, pl. CVIII-4); Orel 1997a, 237–238 no. G-256.*

← [---].*e*

G-257
Bottom of a cup found in the Küçük Höyük and dated to before the Persian conquest (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 552).
CIPPh *I, 200 no. G-257 (II, pl. CIX-1); Roller 1987a, 37 no. 2B-4 (fig. 28); Orel 1997a, 238 no. G-257.*

v

G-258
Sherd found in the Küçük Höyük and dated to before the Persian conquest (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 554).
CIPPh *I, 200 no. G-258 (II, pl. CIX-2);* TITUS, *no. G-258; Orel 1997a, 238 no. G-258.*

pa

G-259
Fragment of the bottom of a vessel found inside the South Cellar and dated to the beginning of the fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 556).
CIPPh *I, 201 no. G-259 (II, pl. CIX-4);* TITUS, *no. G-259; Orel 1997a, 238–239 no. G-259.*

i̯ḭ̯ą[---]

G-260
Fragment of a vessel found in a layer dating to the first half of the sixth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 557).
CIPPh *I, 201–202 no. G-260 (II, pl. CIX-3); Roller 1987a, 41 no. 2B-54 (fig. 32); Orel 1997a, 239 no. G-260.*

[-?-]*n*

G-261
Fragment of the bottom of a saucer found in a layer dating to the end of the fifth or beginning of the fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 558).
CIPPh *I, 202–203 no. G-260 (II, pl. CIX-6);* TITUS, *no. G-261; Orel 1997a, 239 no. G-261.*

← [---].*tuti.*[---]

G-262
Fragment of a vessel found in a filling above Building E and dated to the third c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 559).
CIPPh *I, 203 no. G-262 (II, pl. CIX-5);* TITUS, *no. G-262; Orel 1997a, 239–240 no. G-262.*

ṇąę[---]

G-263
Sherd found above Building NCT and dated to the fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 560).
CIPPh *I, 203–204 no. G-263 (II, pl. CX-1); Roller 1987a, 50 no. 2B-172 (fig. 40); Orel 1997a, 240 no. G-263.*

ṣęṭ[---]

G-264
Undated sherd (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 579).
CIPPh *I, 204 no. G-264 (II, pl. CX-2);* TITUS, *no. G-264; Orel 1997a, 240 no. G-264.*

[-?-]*unik*[---]

G-265
Fragment of the bottom of a small cup found in a house below Tumulus H and dated to before 650 BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 582).
CIPPh *I, 205 no. G-265 (II, pl. CXI-1); Orel 1997a, 240–241 no. G-265.*

[---]*ies*

G-266
Three contiguous fragments of a small plate found in a filling dated to the beginning of the fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 587). There are two nonverbal marks also incised.
CIPPh *I, 205–206 no. G-266 (II, pl. CX-3); Roller 1987a, 41 2B-56 (fig. 33); Orel 1997a, 241 no. G-266.*

lęṭ[?]*[---]

G-267
Sherd found in the mound of the Tumulus E and dated to the last quarter of the sixth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 593).
CIPPh *I, 206–207 no. G-267 (II, pl. CXI-2); Orel 1997a, 241 no. G-267.*

[---]*ạiṣạ*ʔ[---]

Fort. ← [---]*ạʔṣiạ*[---].

G-268
Sherd found in the mound of the Tumulus E and dated to the last quarter of the sixth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 594).
CIPPh *I, 207 no. G-268 (II, pl. CXI-3);* TITUS*, no. G-268; Orel 1997a, 241–242 no. G-268.*

i̯i̯ạ[-?-] or *i̯ẏạ*[-?-]

G-269
Fragment of a little cup found in the mound of the Tumulus E and dated to the last quarter of the sixth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 595). The writing direction is unclear.
CIPPh *I, 208 no. G-269 (II, pl. CXIII-1);* TITUS*, no. G-269; Orel 1997a, 242 no. G-269.*

aoa

G-270
Sherd found in the mound of the Tumulus E and dated to the last quarter of the sixth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 596).
CIPPh *I, 208–209 no. G-270 (II, pl. CXI-4); Orel 1997a, 242 no. G-270.*

[---].*ạụṣ*

G-271
Three contiguous fragments of a pithos found in the mound of the Tumulus E and dated to the last quarter of the sixth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 603).
CIPPh *I, 209 no. G-271 (II, pl. CXII-1); Orel 1997a, 243 no. G-271.*

← [-?-]*pạ*

G-272
Fragment of a little cup found below the habitation floor in the Tumulus E and dated to before 520–500 BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 604).
CIPPh *I, 210 no. G-272 (II, pl. CXII-2);* TITUS, *no. G-272; Orel 1997a, 243 no. G-272.*

← [---]*ạkios*

G-273
Sherd found in the mound of the Tumulus E and dated to the last quarter of the sixth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 610). Found in Tumulus E. Writing direction unknown.
CIPPh *I, 210–211 no. G-273 (II, pl. CXIII-2); Roller 1987a, 19 no. 2A-44 (fig. 9); Orel 1997a, 243 no. G-273.*

←[?] *i̯ḳ*[-?-]

G-274
Three contiguous fragments of a vessel found in a filling perhaps dating to the fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. St 658).
CIPPh *I, 211 no. G-274 (II, pl. CXII-3, 4);* TITUS, *no. G-274; Orel 1997a, 244 no. G-274.*

A ← *mam*[?]*i*

B → *it*[-?-] or [-?-]*ti*

G-275
Sherd found in a filling dating to the fourth or the beginning of the third c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 574).
CIPPh *I, 212 no. G-275 (II, pl. CXIII-3); Roller 1987a, 41 no. 2B-55 (fig. 32 and Plate 4);* TITUS, *no. G-275; Orel 1997a, 244 no. G-275.*

⊤*i*

G-276
Fragment of a bowl found in a filling dating to the fourth or the beginning of the third c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 626).
CIPPh *I, 212–213 no. G-276 (II, pl. CXIII-4);* TITUS, *no. G-276; Orel 1997a, 245 no. G-276.*

[---]*ạgineiạ*

---

1 *fort.* [l]ạgineiạ.

G-277
Fragment of a cup found in the South Cellar and dated to the end of the eighth or seventh c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 300).
Roller 1987a, 21 no. 2A-67 (fig. 11); Brixhe 2002a, 37–38 no. G-277.

armam

or

arma.ạ

G-278
Two contiguous fragments of a cup found in the South Cellar dating to the end of the eighth or seventh c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 301 and I 315).
Roller 1987a, 21 no. 2A-66 (fig. 11) and 39 no. 2B-25 (fig. 30); Brixhe 2002a, 38–40 no. G-278.

A [-?-].[?][.]*ai*[?] *u*[?]

B ᛉ

G-279
Fragment of a vessel found in the South Cellar dating to the end of the eighth or seventh c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 318).
Brixhe 2002a, 41 no. G-279.

[-?-]*ẹi̯y*[---]

G-280
Sherd found in the South Cellar dating to the end of the eighth or seventh c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 319).
Brixhe 2002a, 41–42 no. G-280.

n

G-281
Sherd perhaps found in the Tumulus E and dated to before the second half of the sixth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 597).
Brixhe 2002a, 42 no. G-281.

A *ạ* or *ḷ* or *ḍ*

B Mark

G-282
Fragment of a cup found in the South Cellar and dated to between the seventh and the fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 563).
Roller 1987a, 39 n° 2B-23 (fig. 30); Brixhe 2002a, 43 no. G-282.

d

G-283
Fragment of a pithos found in Tumulus E (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 613). Undated.
Brixhe 2002a, 44–45.

← [-?-]*ạyṣị i*$^{?}$.[---]

G-284
On a fragment of a handle of a jug found in an undated filling (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 637).
Roller 1987a, 23 no. 2A-92 (fig. 13); Brixhe 2002a, 44–45.

mark

kikos

G-285
Fragment of an undated cup found in Megaron 4 (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 651).
Brixhe 2002a, 45–46.

ik

G-286
Fragment of a handle of an undated vessel found in the north wall (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 653).
Brixhe 2002a, 46–47 no. G-286.

voines

G-287
Undated sherd (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 654).
Brixhe 2002a, 47–48 no. G-287.

→ [-?-]*i*ˀ*o*.

or

← *v*ˀ*o*.[-?-]

G-288
Undated sherd (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 89–23).
Brixhe 2002a, 48–49 no. G-288.

→ *ṇ*[---]

or

→ [---]*ṇ*

G-289
Fragment of a cup found in a pit and dated to the fourth or third c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 89–144).
Brixhe 2002a, 49–50 no. G-289.

*ain*ˀ[---]

G-290
Fragment of a vessel tentatively dated to the fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 89–232).
Brixhe 2002a, 50–51 no. G-290.

luk

G-291
Sherd found in a pit in the ground of Building I:1 and dated to the second quarter of the fifth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 89–319). Also, a nonverbal mark was incised.
Brixhe 2002a, 51–52 no. G-291.

[---].*ạn*

G-292
Sherd found in a pit in the middle of Building I:2 and dated to the eighth or seventh c. BC. (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 89–337).
Brixhe 2002a, 52–53 no. G-292.

urakᵩ[---]

G-293
Bottom of a bowl found above Buildings I and tentatively dated to the fifth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 89–364).
Brixhe 2002a, 53–55 no. G-293.

daguvᵩs

G-294
Sherd found in a context and dated to the fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 89–397).
Brixhe 2002a, 55–56 no. G-294.

ᛉ

G-295
Fragment of the bottom of a cup found in a pit in Building I:2 and dated to the end of the sixth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 89–475).
Brixhe 2002a, 56–57 no. 295.

← [-?-]*ᵩbᵩ*

G-296
Fragment of a jar dated to the fifth or fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 89–476).
Brixhe 2002a, 57–58 no. 296.

← [---].*uta*

G-297
Cup found in the Secondary Citadel and dated to the Midel Phrygian period, eighth or seventh c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 89–484).
Brixhe 2002a, 58–59 no. 297.

kenos

G-298
Fragment of a vessel found in a filling in Building I:2 and dated to before the end of the sixth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 89–643).
Brixhe 2002a, 59–60 no. 298.

G-299
Sherd found in a layer of Building I:2 and dated to the eighth or the seventh c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 89–652).
Brixhe 2002a, 60–61 no. 299.

[---]*ạinẹ*[---]

G-300
Sherd found in pit and dated to the fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 89–675).
Brixhe 2002a, 61 no. 300.

[---]*d*[---]

G-301
Fragment of a pithos found in a pit in Building I:2 and dated to the eighth or seventh c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 89–362).
Brixhe 2002a, 62 no. G-301.

[---]*ma*

G-302
Fragment of a pithos found above Building I:1 and dated to the eighth or seventh c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 89–477).
Brixhe 2002a, 62–63 no. G-302.

tuo[?][---]

G-303
Sherd dated to between 500 and 300 BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 89–682).
Brixhe 2002a, 63–64 no. G-303.

← *dạ*[---]

G-304
Fragment of the bottom of a little cup dated to between 500 and 300 BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 89–687).
Brixhe 2002a, 64–65 no. G-304.

n

G-305
Sherd found in a filling of Building I:2 and dated to between the eighth and seventh c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 89–692).
Brixhe 2002a, 65 no. G-305.

ri

G-306
Sherd dated to the fifth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 89–693).
Brixhe 2002a, 66 no. G-306.

→ [---]𐤉𐤀[---]

or

← [---]𐤀𐤉[---]

G-307
Sherd found in a pit in Building I:2 and dated to the end of the sixth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 89–700).
Brixhe 2002a, 66–67 no. G-307.

[---]*ṣ*ʾ*ate*.[---]

G-308
Sherd dated to the end of the fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 89–705 = YH 34716).
Brixhe 2002a, 67–68 no. G-308.

[---]*a*ʾ*ḍaḍ*[---]

G-309
Sherd found in the Lower Town between the Citadel Mound and the Küçük Höyük and dated to the end of the fifth or the fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 89–125).
Brixhe 2002a, 68 no. G-309.

[---]*ak*[---]

G-310
Fragment of a handle of an undated pot found in the Lower Town (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 94–41).
Brixhe 2002a, 68–69 no. 310.

← *pa*

G-311
Sherd perhaps found in the NW sector of the city in a Hellenistic layer and dated to the fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 94–76). Phrygian?
Brixhe 2002a, 69 no. 311.

a

G-312
Sherd found in the Lower Town and dated to the fifth–fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 94–255).
Brixhe 2002a, 70–71 no. G-312.

[-?-]*yemeyọn*

G-313
Sherd found in the Lower Town and dated to the fifth–fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 94–267).
Brixhe 2002a, 71 no. G-313.

← *amoṣ*

G-314
Fragment of a handle found to the west of the city and dated to the fifth–fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 94–267).
Brixhe 2002a, 72 no. G-314.

eyiy[---]

G-315
Sherd dated to between the fifth and third c. BC and found in the Secondary Citadel Mound (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 95–61 = YH 43750).
Brixhe 2002a, 72–73 no. G-315.

ν.[---]

G-316
Undated sherd (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 95–239.02).
Brixhe 2002a, 73–74 no. G-316.

[-?-]*ko*[.?.?]*ạν*[---]

G-317
Sherd found in the Secondary Citadel Mound and dated to the fifth or third c. BC found in the Western Mound (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 95–262).
Brixhe 2002a, 74 no. G-317.

ạ[---]

G-318
Undated sherd found in the Lower Town (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 95–269).
Brixhe 2002a, 74–75 no. G-318.

[---]*os* : *im*[---]

G-319
Bottom of a cup found in the NW sector of the citadel and dated to Hellenistic times (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 95–327 = YH 43944).
Brixhe 2002a, 75–76 no. G-319.

aiay

G-320
Hellenistic sherd found in the Mosaic Building (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 95–328 = YH 43592). An arrow was incised under the letters.
Brixhe 2002a, 76 no. G-320.

[---]*no*
→

G-321
Fragment of a tile found in a Hellenistic wall and dated to the fourth or third c. BC found in a wall (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 96–73).
Brixhe 2002a, 76–78 no. G-321.

enumaḷay[-?-]

G-322
Sherd dated to between 560 and 550 BC found in the west sector of the city (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 97–247 = YH 56127).
Brixhe 2002a, 78 no. G-322.

⩛

G-323
Fragment of a pithos found in Building I and dated to between the seventh and the sixth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 89–671).
Brixhe 2002a, 78–79 no. G-323.

[---]*ọ*$^{?}$*moy*

G-324
Fragment of the handle of a vessel found in the Lower City (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 97–141 = YH 35580). Tentatively dated to the Hellenistic or Roman period.
Brixhe 2002a, 79–80 no. G-324.

⩛

G-325
Sherd found in the west sector of the city (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 93–142 = YH 37944). Tentatively dated to the Hellenistic or Roman period.
Brixhe 2002a, 79–80 no. G-324.

ni[---]

or

[---]*in*

G-326
Undated fragment of a pithos (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 95–339 = YH 44144).
Brixhe 2002a, 80–81 no. G-326.

[---]*ṛ*·[---]

G-327
Sherd found in the Secondary Citadel Mound and dated to the middle of the sixth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 97–252 = YH 57632).
Brixhe 2002a, 81–82 no. G-327.

→ *ạ*[-?-]

or

← [-?-]*ạ*

G-328
Sherd found in the Secondary Citadel Mound and dated to the middle of the sixth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 97–251 = YH 57633).
Brixhe 2002a, 82–83 no. G-328.

[---]*ụạ*[---]

G-329
Sherd found in the Secondary Citadel Mound and dated to the middle of the sixth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 97–249 = YH 57635).
Brixhe 2002a, 83–84 no. G-329.

[-?-]*ḅạ*[-?-]

G-330
Sherd found in the Secondary Citadel Mound and dated to the middle of the sixth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 97–254 = YH 57636).
Brixhe 2002a, 84 no. G-330.

[-?-]*ḍ*[-?-]

G-331
Fragment of an oenochoe found in the Secondary Citadel Mound and dated to the middle of the sixth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 97–250 = YH 57637).
Brixhe 2002a, 84–86 no. G-331.

ẹ.gi.ṿạ

G-332
Two contiguous sherds found in the Secondary Citadel Mound and dated to the middle of the sixth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. YH 57638).
Brixhe 2002a, 86 no. G-332.

m

G-333
Two contiguous fragments of a vessel found in the Secondary Citadel Mound and dated to the middle of the sixth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. YH 57639).
Brixhe 2002a, 87–88 no. G-333.

be

G-334
Sherd found in the Secondary Citadel Mound and dated to the middle of the sixth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. YH 57640).
Brixhe 2002a, 88 no. G-334.

→[?] ạ[-?-]

G-335
Two contiguous fragments of a vessel found to the south of the city and dated to between sixth and the first half of the fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 33 a/b).
Roller 1987a, 23 no. 2A-102 (fig. 14); Brixhe 2002a, 88–89 no. G-335.

A ..

B .

G-336
Cup found in the South Cellar and dated to the end of the eighth or the beginning of the seventh c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. P 3400).
Roller 1987a, 21 no. 2A-73 (fig. 11) and 39 no. 2B-27 (fig. 30); Brixhe 2002a, 89–90 no. G-336.

ape

G-337
Cup found in the South Cellar and dated to the end of the eighth or the beginning the seventh c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 349).
Roller 1987a, 20 no. 2A-29 (fig. 10) and 39 no. 2B-22 (fig. 30); Brixhe 2002a, 91 no. G-337.

A *t*

B *tu*

C mark

G-338
Jug found in the South Cellar and dated to the end of the eighth or the beginning the seventh c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. P 3215).
Roller 1987a, 20 no. 2A-51 (fig. 9) and 39 no. 2B-19 (fig. 29); Brixhe 2002a, 92–93 no. G-338.

uei

G-339
Cup dated to between the sixth and fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. P 1886). Several nonverbal graffiti were also incised.
Roller 1987a, 24 no. 2A-111 (fig. 16) and 40 no. 2B-44 (fig. 31 and photo pl. 3); Brixhe 2002a, 93–94 no. G-339.

← *ir*

G-340
Fragment of an Attic cup found in the northwest of the city and dated to the third quarter of the fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 97–276 = YH 58004).
Brixhe 2002a, 94–95 no. G-340.

teu[-?-]

G-341
Fragment of a probable Attic plate dated to the first quarter of the fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 93–15 = YH 35694).
Brixhe 2002a, 95 no. G-341.

← *de*

G-342
Fragments of the bottom of a jug found in the Middle Phrygian Building E and dated to the end of the eighth and the beginning of seventh c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. P 1144).
Brixhe 2002a, 96 no. G-342.

apel

G-343
Sherd found in the South Cellar and dated to the end of the eighth or the beginning of seventh c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. I 641).
Brixhe 2002a, 97 no. G-343.

[---]*ṇo*[---] or [---]*ḍio*[---]

or

[---]*oṇ*[---] or [---]*oḍi*[---]

G-344
Sherd tentatively dated to the beginning of fourth c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. YH 339008).
Brixhe 2002a, 97–98 no. G-344.

← [-?-]*ḷ*

G-345
Fragment of a cup tentatively dated to the end of fourth c. BC or the beginning of the third c. BC (Gordion Museum inv. no. SF 95–183).
Brixhe 2002a, 98–99 no. G-345.

mey[?]

Fort. μεχ *ut Brixhe pro.*

G-346
Graffiti incised on a roof beam of the tomb chamber in Tumulus MM and dated ca. 740 BC.
Sams 2009; Liebhart and Brixhe 2009.

nana muksos
si↑idos

ʿurunis

G-347
Pyramidal stamp seal made of rock following the Achaemenid type. A direct reading is needed.
Körte and Körte 1904, 170–171 no. 1 (Abb. 151).

C – Central Phrygia (Excluding Gordion)

Stone Inscriptions

C-01
A calcareous slab found at Karahüyük (35 km far from Anakara, between Hacıtuğrul and Yenidoğan) and preserved (without Inv. No.) in the site deposit.
CIPPh *I, 220–221 no. C-01 (II, pl. CXIV);* TITUS, *no. C-1; Orel 1997a, 246 no. C-01.*

[---]*e*[...]*alaḅịọṣ*[---]

Instrumenta

C-101
An undated fragment of a plate found at Karahüyük (same context of C-102 and C-103) and preserved in the site deposit (temporary no. Y.H. 23. 72).
CIPPh *I, 221 no. C-101 (II, pl. CXV-1);* TITUS, *no. C-101; Orel 1997a, 288 C-101.*

← *kad*[---]

C-102
An undated fragment of a pot with fragment of a handle found at Karahüyük (same context of C-101 an C-103) and preserved in the site deposit (temporary no. Y.H. 75/10).
CIPPh *I, 221–222 no. C-102 (II, pl. CXV-2);* TITUS, *no. C-102; Orel 1997a, 288–289 C-102.*

amos

C-103
Upper part of an undated kind of lekythos found at Karahüyük (same context of C-101 and C-102) with a graffito incised on the handle. Preserved in the site deposit (temporary no. Y.H. 75/9).
CIPPh *I, 222 no. C-103; Orel 1997a, 289 C-103.*

→ *di*

or

← *id*

P – Pteria (Alacahöyük, Pazarlı and Boğazkale)

Stone Inscriptions

P-01

Undated stone block documented by Hamilton in a house of Alacahöyük (before 1842) but now lost.

Hamilton 1842 I, 383; Sayce 1885, 910; de Saussure 1898, 167 (fig. 166) [= 1922, 544]; Körte and Körte 1904, 19 no. 1; Sayce 1926, 34; Friedrich 1932, 126 no. 13; Haas 1966, 183 no. XIII; Neroznak 1978, 81 no. A 13; CIPPh *I, 228–229 no. P-01 (CXV-3); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 64 no. A 13;* TITUS, *no. P-1; Orel 1997a, 290–291 no. P-01.*

[-?-]
← [-?-]*e*[..]*u*[.. *ṭ*]*ovo iman* [-?-]
[-?-]

P-02

Undated stone block found in a house of Alacahöyük, now preserved in the Ankara Archaeological Museum (inv. no. 10110).

Mordtmann 1861, 191 (wrongly considered P-01); Ramsay 1883, 123 no. 13 (pl. III); de Saussure, 1898, 171 (fig. 168) [= 1922, 550]; Körte and Körte 1904, 19; Sayce 1926, 33 no. 13; Friedrich 1932, 126 no. 10; Haas 1966, 182–183 no. X; Neroznak 1978, 80 no. 10; CIPPh *I, 229–231 no. P-02 (II, CXVI-1, 2, 3, 4); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 64 no. A 10;* TITUS, *no. P-2; Orel 1997a, 291–292 no. P-02.*

← *sest bugnos va-*
← *sos kanutii*[?]*evanoṣ*[?]

---

2 *fort.* kanutie[?]evanoṣ[?].

'… of Vasos (the grandson) of Kanutî.'

P-03

Slab found in Alacahöyük by Chantre in 1893 (in the same house of P-04), preserved in the Ankara Archaeological Museum (inv. no. 7820). Tentatively dated to the seventh c. BC by Bossert 1942, 289.

De Saussure 1898, 174–175 no. I (fig. 167) [= 1922, 546–547 (pl. II)]; Kretschmer 1899, 355–357; Sayce 1926, 34; Friedrich 1932, 126 no. 14; Bossert 1942, 284 no. 1102; Haas 1951, 23–24 no. XIV; Haas 1966, 182 no. XIV; Haas 1970b, 23–24 no. XIV (Tafel III); Neroznak 1978, 82 no. A. 14; CIPPh *I, 231–234 no. P-03 (II, pl. CXVII-2 and pl. CXVIII-1,2); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 64 no. A 14;* TITUS, *no. P-3; Orel 1997a, 292–294 no. P-03.*

← *vasous iman mekas*
→ *ḳanutieivạịs*
← *deẏọs ke meḳạs*

'Vasos Iman the great (the son) of Kanutî and the great god.'

P-04

Stone block found in Alacahöyük by Chantre (in the same house of P-03) with inscriptions in three faces dated not after the sixth c. BC (*CIPPh* I, 235). Preserved in Ankara Archaeological Museum (inv. no. 10756).

De Saussure 1898, 174–177 no. II [= 1922, 553–556 no. II (p. 563, fig. 169 and pl. I)]; Calder 1913, 102–103 (only P-04 a); Sayce 1926, 34; Friedrich 1932, 127 no. 15; Haas 1951, 18–19 no. XV; Haas 1966, 179–181 no. XV; Haas 1970a, 44 no. XV (Tafel II); Haas 1970b, 18–20 no. XV; Neroznak 1978, 82–83 no. A 15; CIPPh I, 234–240 no. P-04 (II, pl. CXIX-1, 2, 3, 4); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 65 no. A 15; Woudhuizen 1993, 13–15 no. P-04; TITUS, no. P-4; Orel 1997a, 294–299 no. P-04.

A ← *otuvoi vetei etlnaie*
→ *ios ni ạḳenan egeseti*
← *ọ[?]ḳ[?]irterḳọ*[..]*. tekmoẹ*
4 → *ot.*[....]*seti vebru*

B ← *ios er[?]v[?]ot[?]s[?]ati kakuioi*

C ← *iman olitovo*
← *ẹdạẹ*[*s*] *mekas*

---

1 otuvoi *fort.* otu voi.

P-05

Unfinished statue of a lion found in 1937 in the south of Alcahöyük. Perhaps the statue is older than the inscription, but both remain undated (another lion found nearby was dated by Bossert 1942, 83 no. 1057 to the eighth or seventh c. BC; see also Summers and Özen 2012, 516–518).

CIPPh *I, 240–241 no. P-05 (II, pl. CXXII-2 and CXXIII-1, 2);* TITUS*, no. P-5; Orel 1997a, 299–300 no. P-05.*

vasus kanutię[---]

Fort. kanutię[(i)vanos].

P-06

Altar found in the west summit of a mountain called Kalehisar, near Mahmudiye village and 4 km from Alacahöyük. The altar is incised in the rock and oriented to southeast; also the feet of a statue of the mother goddess remains.

CIPPh *I, 242–243 no. P-06 (CXXIV-1, 2, 3, 4 and CXXV-1, 2, 3);* TITUS*, no. P-6; Orel 1997a, 300–301 no. P-06; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 266–267 no. 108 (fig. 95).*

→ [-?-]*aʔkitiʔ...s*

← *ai* ⋮ *ios aeiketio* [.?] *ivi..se.*[.?]*nʔ*

Instrumenta

P-101

Bottom of a pot dated to the seventh c. BC (according to Bossert 1942, 289), broken into two fragments. Was found in Pazarlı in a preliminary prospection (inv. no. 6236) but now is lost. Its letter *b* is 8-shaped.

Koşay 1937, 33 (fig. 16); Koşay 1939, 9 and 20 (pl. XVI fig. 19); Koşay 1941, 16 (pl. XVII); Bossert 1942, 289 fig. 1106; Akurgal 1943, 43 no. 116; Masson 1954, 442 no. 25; Haas 1966, 183 no. XXVI; Neroznak 1978, 88 no. A 26; CIPPh *I, 244–245 no. P-101 (II, pl. CXXVI-1); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 67 no. A 26;* TITUS *no. P-101; Orel 1997a, 301–302 no. P-101.*

ạini | *dabpʔula ịsini*

---

1 dabpʔulaịsini *CIPPh post multas lectiones.*

P-102

Graffito on a fragment of a handle dated to the seventh c. BC found in Boğazkale (excavation no. 102 d) and preserved in Ankara Archaeological Museum (inv. no. 3547).

Bittle and Güterbock 1935, 57, 84–85 (pl. 31–13); Bossert 1942, 289 no. 1105; Haas 1966, 184 no. XX; Neroznak 1978, 85 no. A 50; CIPPh *I, 245 no. P-102 (II, pl. CXXVI-2); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 66 no. A 20; Orel 1997a, 302–303 no. P-102.*

[---]*ia aspę*[---]

P-103
Fragment of a ceramic vessel dated to the eighth or seventh c. BC found in Boğazkale in 1955 (excavation no. Bo 155/n) with one graffito in each face.
Neumann 1975, 76–77 no. 1; Neroznak 1978, 77 no. A 85; CIPPh *I, 246–247 no. P-103 a and P-103 b (II, pl. CXXVII-1, 2); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 75 no. A 85; Orel 1997a, 303–304 no. P-103a and P-103b.*

A [---]*u̯iva.*[---]

B [---]*u̯ʔirķʔ*[---]

P-104
On a fragment of a cup dated to the seventh or sixth c. BC found in Boğazkale in 1958 (excavation no. Bo 377/q).
Neumann 1975, 77–78 no. 2; Neroznak 1978, 111 no. A 86; CIPPh *I, 248 no. P-104 (II, pl. CXXVII-3); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 75 no. A 86; Orel 1997a, 304 no. P-104.*

[-?-]*ąḍas*[-?-]

P-105
On a sherd dated to the seventh or sixth c. BC found in Boğazkale in 1958 (excavation no. Bo 377/q).
Neumann 1975, 79–80 no. 4; Neroznak 1978, 111 no. A 87; CIPPh *I, 248–249 no. P-105 (II, pl. CXXVIII-1); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 75 no. A 87; Orel 1997a, 304 no. P-105.*

←ʔ [---].*oiduo*.[---]

P-106
On a sherd dated to the seventh or sixth c. BC found in Boğazköy in 1961 (excavation no. Bo 790/t). Perhaps this is a fragment of the same vessel of P-107 (found in the same context). Its letter *b* is *8*-shaped.

Neumann 1975, 81–82 no. 5; Neroznak 1978, 111 no. A 88; CIPPh *I, 249–250 no. P-106 (II, pl. CXXVIII-2); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 75 no. A 88;* TITUS *no. P-106; Orel 1997a, 305–306 no. P-106.*

[---].*ti* ⋮ *makio*$^{?}$*ta*T*ibi* ⋮ .[---]

P-107
On a sherd dated to the seventh or sixth c. BC found in Boğazkale in 1961 (excavation no. Bo 791/t). Perhaps it was the same vessel than P-106 (found in the same context).
Neumann 1975, 82 no. 6; Neroznak 1978, 112 no. A 89; CIPPh *I, 250–251 no. P-107 (II, pl. CXXVII-4); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 75 no. A 89; Orel 1997a, 306 no. P-107.*

[---].*k.ui* ⋮ *n*[---]

P-108
Stamp seal made of stone and found in Boğazköy following the Neo-Assyrian style, very similar to HP-116. A direct reading is needed.
Bittle and Güterbock 1935, 79–80 (Taf. 29 no. 16); Haas 1966, 184 no. XXVII; Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, 88 no. 277 (Taf. XXXIV no. 277).

T – Tyana (Tuwana, Kemerhisar)

T-01
Two lost fragments of a basalt stele dated to the last quarter of the eighth c. BC found in a house of Kemerhisar in 1895.
Pridik 1900, 26 no. 29; Myres 1908, 13–16 (Pl. XIII); Friedrich 1941, col. 869 no. 21; Ruge 1948, col. 1630 no. 7; Masson 1954, 441; Haas 1966, 200 no. XXI; Neroznak 1978, 85–86 no. A 21; CIPPh I, 258–260 no. T-01 (II, pl. CXXIX-1, 2); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 66 no. A 21; Orel 1997a, 307–308 no. T-01a and T-01b.

A

[-?-]
← [---]*ekạ*$^{?}$[---]
[-?-]

B

[-?-]
[-?-]
[---]
→ [---]*sid.*[---]
← [---].*leṇ*[?] ⋮ *it*[---]
→ [---]*ponani* ⋮ [---]
[-?-]
[-?-]

T-02

Lost fragments of a basalt stele dated to the last quarter of the eighth c. BC and found in 1906 and 1907. Now they are lost.

Weber 1908, 370 no. 77 (current frag. B); Garstang 1908, 10 (pl. XIII-1; current frag. B); Myres 1908, 13–16 (ordered B + C + A); Sayce 1926, 34–35 (current frag. B); Friedrich 1932, 127–128 no. 19 (where a = current B, b = C, c = A); Ruge 1948, col. 1635 no. 8; Haas 1966, 199–200 no. XIX; Lejeune 1969a, 26 no. 33, 42; Lejeune 1970, 85; Neroznak 1978, 84–85 no. A 19; Mellink 1979, 249–280 (fig. 1 a, b, c and d); CIPPh I, 262–267 no. T-02 (II, pl. CXXX-1–CXXX-3); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 66 no. A 19; TITUS, T-02 (only b); Orel 1997a, 308–311 no. T-02.

A

[---]*o̤*[---]
→ [---].*tade.*[---]
← [---]*pipi.*[---]
[-?-]
[-?-]

B

[---]
→ [---]*ṭumida* ⋮ *memeuis* ⋮ [---]
← [---]*a* ⋮ *tesan* ⋮ *a*↑*ion* ⋮ *ν*[---]
→ [---]*oitumen* ⋮ *mi̤d̤a̤*[---]
← [---]*n* ⋮ *a*↑*ios* ⋮ *mi*[---]
→ [---]*n̤* ⋮ *batan* ⋮ *e.*[---]

C

← ⋮? *ea.*[---]
→ [---]*.na*
[---]
[---]
[---]↑
[---]

T-03

Fragments of a basalt stele dated to the last quarter of the eighth c. BC and found fortuitously in Kemerhisar in 1982.

CIPPh I, 268 no. T-03 (only mentioned; II CXXXI-1–CXXXI-4); Çınaroğlu and Varinlioğlu 1985; Brixhe 1991; Varinlioğlu 1991; TITUS, no. T-03; Orel 1997a, 311–315 no. T-03; CIPPh Sup. II, 94–103 no. T-03.

A I

→ *a*↑*iiai* ⋮ *polodrẹ-*
← *tes* ⋮ *poreti* ⋮ *ọtu-*?
[---]

A II

→ [---]*sn*
← *a*[---]
→ [---]*ed-*
← *eia*[---]
→ [---]*ọ*?*r*↑*e-*
← *s* ⋮ *ar*[---]

B

← [---]*ọi* ⋮ *avtoi*
→ ⋮ *eptuve*[---]
← [---]*itan mẹ-*
→ [---]*p*?*is* ⋮ [---]
[-?-]

C

← [---]*ụṣ.t*[---]
→ [---]*ṇimoi* ⋮
← *ekọ.*[---]

K-Kerkenes Dağ

Stone Inscriptions

K-01

Several fragments of a white stone block, very possibly a statue base, dated to the first half of the sixth c. BC and found at the Cappadocian gate.
Brixhe and Summers 2006.

I a	→	[---] *vọṣ|i*[---]
I b	→	*iẹḅ*..[---] or *yẹḅ*..[---]
II	→	*ṣṛ*[---]
III	→	[---]*ọitio* ⋮[?] *vosiḳ*[?][---]
IV–X		
IV a		...
IV b	→	*eniyẹ*[---]
V	←	[---].*pa* ʿ *uva* ʿ .[---]
VI+VII a1	←	[---] ʿ *ṃasa u-*
VI+VII a2	→	*rgitos dakor s≈vebrạ*[---]
VI+VII b	→	*tataniyeṇ*[?] *ẹḍaes*
VIII	→	[---]*le.*[---]
IX		.

VI+VII b tata niye[---] ẹḍaes *Brixhe and Summers 2006, 127.*

'... Uva ... Masa (the son) of Urgi(s) ... Tataniyen made this *vebras*...'

Instrumenta

K-101

Graffiti incised on the bottom of a clay bowl (identification no. 04TR11U22 pot01) found in the Palace Complex
Brixhe and Summers 2006, 133, fig. 35.

a ← *n*[?]

b ← *s*[?]

c ← *si*[?]

K-102
Jug with incised mark, perhaps a letter. Found in the Palace Complex.
Kerkenes News *4 2001, 11–12* (*fig. 16*).

← *n*?

K-103
Sherd from the shoulder of a closed vessel with a letter incised after firing. Cappadocia Gate (Kerkenes inv. no. K11.275).
http://www.kerkenes.metu.edu.tr/kerk1/07finds/InPottery/SherdwithGraffito.html#11TR24U25pot01

← *y*

K-104
Flat base of a pot with a mark incised before firing, perhaps a letter. Cappadocia Gate (Kerkenes inv. no. K00.092).
http://www.kerkenes.metu.edu.tr/kerk1/07finds/InPottery/SherdwithGraffito.html#11TR24U17pot01

← *n*?

NW – Dorylaion (near Eskişehir)

Stone Inscriptions

NW-01
On the upper face of a stone block where a relief of horseman was chiselled. It is conserved at Eşkisehir Museum. The text is very eroded and only a few letters and strokes remain.
Unpublished (*mentioned only as testimony to its existence*).

Instrumenta

NW-101
Terracotta disc found in zone R 6–9 of Dorylaion höyük surface and preserved in Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum (find no. ŞH 90–91). Both faces are written; however, their reading in some instances are not clear. Another similar disc, also incised, was found there but without text (see. *CIPPh* Supp. I, 10–11 no. *NW-101a).

Darga 1993, 488, 497 (fig. 9d–e); Brixhe 2002a, 4–10 no. NW-101.

Face A I *de⋎eti*
A II *to⊤i a tiei*

Face B *as-*
← *na isnou*

NW-102
Fragment of the bottom of a bowl found in the zone G 14 of the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum. Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.
Brixhe 2002a, 12 no. NW-102.

a [-?-]*si*[-?-]

b *alis*

c .[---]

NW-103
Sherd found in the G 14 zone of the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum. Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.
Brixhe 2002a, 13 no. NW-103.

[-?-]*ta*

NW-104
Sherd found in the G 14 zone of the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum. Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.
CIPPh *Supp. 1, 13–14 no. NW-104.*

[---].*l*

NW-105
Sherd found in the G 14 zone of the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum. Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.
Brixhe 2002a, 14 no. NW-105.

⋎

NW-106
Bottom of a cup found in sector I 13 (ABIB level) of the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum. Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.
Brixhe 2002a, 14–15 no. NW-106.

→$^{?}$ *s*

NW-108
Fragment of the bottom of a cup found in sector S 24 (AARH level) of the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum. Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.
Brixhe 2002a, 16–17 no. NW-108.

ḍ[-?-] or *ạ*[-?-]

NW-109
Fragment of the bottom of a cup with nonverbal marks found in sector S 24 (AAVG level) of the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum. Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.
Brixhe 2002a, 17 no. NW-109.

NW-110
Fragment of the bottom of a cup found in the sector H 14/b (BBBO level) of the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum. Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.
Brixhe 2002a, 18 no. NW-110.

ν

NW-111
Sherd found in sector H 13/d (ABCY level) of the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum. Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.
Brixhe 2002a, 18–19 no. NW-111.

tir or *tr*

NW-112
Fragment of the bottom of a cup found in level AACE of the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum. Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.
Brixhe 2002a, 19 no. NW-112.

NW-113
Fragment of the bottom of a cup found in level AAYY of the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum. Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.
Brixhe 2002a, 19–20 no. NW-113.

ẏ or *ẹ*

NW-114
Fragment of the bottom of a cup found in level AAKP of the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum. Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.
Brixhe 2002a, 20 no. NW-114.

[-?-]*i̯r*[-?-] or [-?-]*k̲r*[-?-]

NW-116
Sherd found in sector I 13/d (AALP level) of the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum. Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.
Brixhe 2002a, 21 no. NW-116.

[-?-]*deḍ*[?][---]

NW-117
Fragment of the bottom of a cup found in sector I 14 (AAHO level) of the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum. Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.
Brixhe 2002a, 22 no. NW-117.

→[?] *s*[?]

NW-118
Fragment of a cup found in the surface of the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum. Only an upper angle of a letter remains. Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.
Brixhe 2002a, 22–23 no. NW-118.

.

NW-119
Sherd found in the surface of the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum. Only an upper angle of a letter remains. Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.
Brixhe 2002a, 23 no. NW-119.

V̇

NW-120
Sherd found in the surface of the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum (inv. no. ŞH 05, M 20 a+b ACCU). Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.
Brixhe and Sıvas 2009, 129 no. NW-120.

[---]*Tis*

NW-121
Sherd found in the surface of the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum (inv. no. ŞH 05, T24 c+d ACCU). Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.
Brixhe and Sıvas 2009, 129–130 no. NW-121.

V̇

NW-122
Sherd found in the surface of the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum (inv. no. ŞH 00 H13 ABHK). Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.
Brixhe and Sıvas 2009, 130 no. NW-122.

← [---]*u̯e̯s*[---]

NW-123
Sherd found in the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum (inv. no. ŞH 07, V13 a, ACYC). Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.
Brixhe and Sıvas 2009, 130–131 no. NW-123.

← [-?-]*a*

or

→ *a*[-?-]

NW-124
Sherd found in the surface of the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum (inv. no. ŞH 96, surface, AANM). Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.
Brixhe and Sıvas 2009, 131 no. NW-124.

a

NW-125
Sherd found in the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum (inv. no. ŞH 06 U13 a+-c, ACNA). Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.
Brixhe and Sıvas 2009, 131–132 no. NW-125.

e

NW-126
Sherd found in the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum (inv. no. ŞH 06, J16 a+b, ACMO). Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.
Brixhe and Sıvas 2009, 132 no. NW-126.

⋁ ⋁

NW-127
Bottom of a pot found in the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum (inv. no. ŞH 06 U13 b, ACLZ). Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.
Brixhe and Sıvas 2009, 132 no. NW-127.

a

NW-128
Fragment of the bottom of a pot found in the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum (inv. no. ŞH 06, U13 a+c, ACNA). Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.
Brixhe and Sıvas 2009, 132 no. NW-128.

⩛

NW-129
Sherd found in the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum (inv. no. ŞH 06, U13b, ACKS). Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.
Brixhe and Sıvas 2009, 133 no. NW-129.

→[?] *a*
← *yẹ* ?

NW-130
Bottom of a cup found in the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum (inv. no. ŞH 06, U13 a+c ACNA). Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.
Brixhe and Sıvas 2009, 133 no. NW-130.

a

NW-131
Bottom of a cup found in the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum (inv. no. ŞH J14 d, ACJD). Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.
Brixhe and Sıvas 2009, 133–134 no. NW-131.

ga

NW-132
Bottom of a cup found in the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum (inv. no. ŞH U13 a+c, ACNA). Dated to between 550 and 330 BC.
Brixhe and Sıvas 2009, 134 no. NW-132.

a

NW-133
Bottom of a cup found in the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum (inv. no. ŞH 06, U13 a+c, ACNA). Dated to between 550 and 330 BC. Perhaps it is a nonverbal graffito.
Brixhe and Sıvas 2009, 134–135 no. NW-133.

e?

NW-134
Fragment of the bottom of a cup with a nonverbal mark found in the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum (inv. no. ŞH 07, V13 a, ACYB). Dated to between 550 and 330 BC. Perhaps it is a nonverbal graffito.
Brixhe and Sıvas 2009, 135 no. NW-134.

⩛

NW-135
Fragment of the bottom of a cup found in the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum (inv. no. ŞH 07, U13 a+c, ACNA). Dated to between 550 and 330 BC. Perhaps it is a nonverbal graffito.
Brixhe and Sıvas 2009, 135–136 no. NW-135.

miye[-?-]*o*𐤉*i*

NW-136
Sherd found in the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum (inv. no. ŞH 01, H13-I13, ABOJ). Dated to between 550 and 330 BC. Perhaps it is a nonverbal graffito.
Brixhe and Sıvas 2009, 136 no. NW-136.

← *idn*[-?-]

NW-137
Sherd with a nonverbal mark found in the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum (inv. no. ŞH 07, V13 b, ACTK). Dated to between 550 and 330 BC. Perhaps it is a nonverbal graffito.
Brixhe and Sıvas 2009, 136–137 no. NW-137.

NW-138
Bottom of a cup found in the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum (inv. no. ŞH 07, J16 b, ACSG). Dated to between 550 and 330 BC. Perhaps it is a non-verbal graffito.
Brixhe and Sıvas 2009, 137 no. NW-138.

a

NW-139
Fragment of the bottom of a pot found in the Dorylaion höyük and preserved in the Eskişehir ETİ Archaeology Museum (inv. no. ŞH 07, U13 a+b, ACNA). Dated to between 550 and 330 BC. Perhaps it is a nonverbal graffito.
Brixhe and Sıvas 2009, 137–138 no. NW-139.

a↑[*i*/*e*?.?]

Dd – Diverse Documents

Dd-101
Pyramidal seal stamp made of chalcedony with a silver handle. A lion is also represented under the inscription. Its provenance is unknown. It is preserved in the private collection of Jonathan Rosen, New York (formerly belonged to Dr. Borowski). Dated to between 550 and 330 BC (Genz 2009, 310 fn. 20 i 21).
Gusmani and Poetto 1981; CIPPh I, 271 no. Dd-101 (II, pl. CXXXII-1, 2, 3); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 75 no. A 90; TITUS, no. Dd-101; Orel 1997a, 360 no. Dd-101; Obrador-Cursach 2018, 666.

← *pser*?*keyoy atas*

or

← *pseu²keyoy atas*

'Atas for pser/ukeyos.'

Dd-102
Undated silver bowl preserved in the Musée d'art et d'histoire de Genève (inv. no. 23469, formerly AD 2386). There are obvious signs that a previous inscription has been removed.
Lazović, Dürr, Durand, Houriet and Schweizer 1977, 7 and 18 no. 2 (40–41 fig. 11; as Greek); CIPPh I, 270–271 no. Dd-102 (II, pl. CXXXIII-1, 2); TITUS, no. Dd-102; Orel 1997a, 361 no. Dd-102.

← *surgastoy inas*

'Inas for Surgastos'

Dd-103
Agate cylindric seal made of agate dated to the sixth or fifth c. BC and preserved in Buffalo Museum of Science (inv. no. C 15046). Its origin is unknown. With the inscription a man dressed in Persian style is depicted with two lions.
Friedrich 1965, 154–156; Haas 1966, 176–177 no. c; Neroznak 1978, 86 no. A 22; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 67 no. A 22; Masson 1987a; Orel 1997a, 361–362 no. Dd-103; Brixhe 2004a, 126–127 no. Dd-103; Lerner 2018.

→ *mane*
← *on*: *en*

HP – Dispersed Inscriptions Found outside Phrygia

Stone Inscriptions

HP-01
A Phrygian graffito incised in a Hieroglyphic Luwian orthostat found in Karkemiš and dated to 850 BC. Because of historical reasons, the Phrygian inscription is to be dated to the last quarter of the eighth c. BC.
Börker-Klähn 1994.

→ *atatas*

HP-02
Big stone slab found in the downtown of Kocagür (14km from Kemer, the ancient Parion, Mysia on the Hellespont). The alphabet is clearly Phrygian, but the language may not be, according to the first editors.
Brixhe and Keleş 2011.

[-?-]
← *tanaṛi*[---]
→ [---]*ḷiake*
← *edaie* [-?-]

Instrumenta

HP-101
Undated clay spindle whorl found in a höyük from Çamönü (ancient Karasonya, northern Lydia) and preserved in Manisa Museum (without inv. no.?).
Dınç and Innocente 1999; Brixhe 2004a, 103–106 no. HP-101.

← *p²erbastidages*

or

← *p²er bastidages*

HP-102
Silver cup found in the main tumulus of İkiztepe (Lydia) by clandestine diggers, now preserved in Ankara Museum of Anatolian Civilizations (inv. no. 75-5-66).
Gusmani 1988; Brixhe 1989–1990; TITUS*, no. W-11; Orel 1996; Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 106 no. 60; Orel 1997a, 135–137 no. W-101; Brixhe 2004a, 106–108 no. HP-102.*

← *midas aiasay mạ..uṇ*

'Midas (gave) *ma..un* to Ayasa(s).'

HP-103
Silver cauldron found in the Tumulus D from Bayındır (East Lycia) and preserved in Antalya Museum (inv. no. 11-21-87). Dated to the middle of the eighth c. BC.

Varinlioğlu 1992, 11–12 no. 1; TITUS, *no. Bay-1; Orel 1997a, 316 no. L-101; Brixhe 2004a, 109–110 no. HP-103.*

ates

HP-104
Silver cauldron found in the Tumulus D from Bayındır (East Lycia) and preserved in Antalya Museum (inv. no. 12-21-87). Dated to the middle of the eighth c. BC.
Varinlioğlu 1992, 11–12 no. 2; TITUS, *no. Bay-2; Orel 1997a, 316 no. L-102; Brixhe 2004a, 110–111 no. HP-104.*

ates

HP-105
Silver ladle found in the Tumulus D from Bayındır (East Lycia) and preserved in Antalya Museum (inv. no. 43-21-87). Dated to the middle of the eighth c. BC.
Varinlioğlu 1992, 11 no. 3 (pl. 1); TITUS, *no. Bay-3; Orel 1997a, 316–317 no. L-103; Brixhe 2004a, 111–112 no. HP-105.*

ates

HP-106
Silver plain omphalos bowl found in the Tumulus D from Bayındır (East Lycia) and preserved in Antalya Museum (inv. no. 6-21-87). Dated to the middle of the eighth c. BC.
Varinlioğlu 1992, 14 no. 4 (pl. 11); TITUS, *no. Bay-4; Orel 1997a, 317 no. L-104; Brixhe 2004a, 112 no. HP-106.*

ates

HP-107
Bronze plain omphalos bowl found in the Tumulus D from Bayındır (East Lycia) and preserved in Antalya Museum (inv. no. 19-21-87). Dated to the middle of the eighth c. BC.
Varinlioğlu 1992, 12 and 14 no. 5; TITUS, *no. Bay-5; Orel 1997a, 317 no. L-105; Brixhe 2004a, 113 no. HP-107.*

ates

HP-108
Bronze plain omphalos bowl found in the Tumulus D from Bayındır (East Lycia) and preserved in Antalya Museum (inv. no. 14-21-87). Dated to the middle of the eighth c. BC.
Varinlioğlu 1992, 12 and 14 no. 6; TITUS, *no. Bay-6; Orel 1997a, 317–318 no. L-106; Brixhe 2004a, 113 no. HP-108.*

ates

HP-109
Bronze plain omphalos bowl found in the tumulus D from Bayındır (East Lycia) and preserved in Antalya Museum (inv. no. 15-21-87). Dated to the middle of the eighth c. BC.
Varinlioğlu 1992, 12, 14–15 no. 7; Orel 1997a, 318 no. L-107; Brixhe 2004a, 114–115 no. HP-109.

a↑ses

HP-110
Bronze plain omphalos bowl found in the Tumulus D from Bayındır (East Lycia) and preserved in Antalya Museum (inv. no. D-16). Dated to the middle of the eighth c. BC.
Varinlioğlu 1992, 13, 15 no. 8; TITUS, *no. Bay-8; Orel 1997a, 318–319 no. L-108; Brixhe 2004a, 115–116 no. HP-110.*

si↑idos

HP-111
Bronze plain omphalos bowl found in the Tumulus D from Bayındır (East Lycia) and preserved in Antalya Museum (inv. no. 17-21-87). Dated to the middle of the eighth c. BC.
Varinlioğlu 1992, 13, 15 no. 9; TITUS, *no. Bay-9; Orel 1997a, 319 no. L-109; Brixhe 2004a, 116 no. HP-111.*

→[?] *ata*

HP-112
Bronze petaled omphalos bowl found in the Tumulus D from Bayındır (East Lycia) and preserved in Antalya Museum (inv. no. D-18). Dated to the middle of the eighth c. BC.

Varinlioğlu 1992, 13, 15 no. 10; TITUS, no. Bay-10; Orel 1997a, 319–320 no. L-110; Brixhe 2004a, 116–117 no. HP-112.

← *dide*

HP-113
Bronze plain omphalos bowl found in the Tumulus D from Bayındır (East Lycia) and preserved in Antalya Museum (inv. no. D-26). Dated to the middle of the eighth c. BC.
Varinlioğlu 1992, 13, 15–16 no. 11; Orel 1997a, 319 no. L-111; Brixhe 2004a, 117–118 no. HP-113.

→? *idi*

HP-114
Clay tablet dated to the end of the sixth or the first half of the fifth c. BC found in the Fortification Archive of Persepolis among many tablets written in Elamite and Aramaic. Preserved in University of Chicago's Oriental Institute Museum (inv. no. A 29797).
Friedrich 1965, 154–156; Haas 1966, 176 no. b; Neroznak 1978, 86–87 no. A 23; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 67 no. A 23; Orel 1995, 128–132; Orel 1997a, 363–364 no. Dd-104; Brixhe 2004a, 118–126 no. HP-114.

30?*...ẹkẹs* 30? *i*?
.. 30? *ẏ*?*ṛ*?*ekeṣ*?
. 30? *knays* 30? *ṣ*?
4 *i*?*ẏ*?*ṛ*?*i* 40? *knạẏḳẹ*?[*s*]?
.? 40? *m*?*akeṛes* 40?
[---]
[-?-]
.. *ạnamakạ*

'30 *...ekes*, 30 *i...*, 30 *vrekes*, 30 women, 30 (s)ivri, 40 women, 40 *makeres*, 40... (in the month of) Anamaka.'

HP-115
Fragment of the bottom of a three-legged bowl or vessel made of soft greenish gray stone with an inscription suggested to be Phrygian by Brixhe and Summers (2006, 134). Found in Alişar Höyük (Cappadocia, not far from Kerkenes Dağ).

Schmidt and Krogman 1933, 133, 109–110 fig. 172 (as Byzantine); Gelb 1935, 77 no. 94 (as Greek); Brixhe and Summers 2006, 134 (as Phrygian).

← [---]*ripos*

HP-116

Stamp seal made of rock following the Neo-Assyrian style found in Nemrut Dağ. Its style is very similar to P-108. A direct reading is needed.

Mellink 1960, 64 (pl. 12, fig. 9a–9b); Boehmer 1977, 81 (80, Abb. 6); Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, 86 (Abb. 56).

Middle Phrygian Inscriptions

MPhr-01 (W-11)
Great funerary stele dated to the end of the fourth c. BC or the beginning of the third c. BC and found at Alanyurt (olim Bavurdu). A colon occurs after each verse of this metric epitaph.
Brixhe 2004a, 7–26 no. W-11; Lubotsky 2017.

μανκα μεκας σας κιυιν εν κε βιλαταδε-
ναν νεκοινουν : ποκραιου κη γλουρεος γαμενǫυ̣ν
ǫ̣ą̣ σοροι ματι μακραν : βλασκον κε τακρις κε λǫυ̣ν̣-
ι̣ǫυ̣ μροτις λαπτα ματι αοινουν : νικοστρατǫ̣ς
ḳ̣ḷ̣ευμαχοι μιρος αιδομενου ματιν κισυις : μǫ̣-
.κρος υιταν παρτιας πλαδε πορ κοροος ..-
ρǫ̣ς παντης : πεννιτι ιος κοροαν δετουν̣
ǫ̣ǫυ̣ν ομαστα ομνισιτους

6–7 πορκορο οǫ̣..|ρǫ̣ς *Brixhe* : πορ κοροο ǫ̣..|ρǫ̣ς *Lubotsky* || 7 κοροαν δετουν̣ *Lubotsky* : κορο αν δετουν̣ *Brixhe*.

(a) μανκα μεκας σας κιυιν εν κε βιλαταδε|ναν νεκοινουν :
(b) ποκραιου κη γλουρεος γαμενǫυ̣ν | ǫ̣ą̣ σοροι ματι μακραν :
(c) βλασκον κε τακρις κε λǫυ̣ν̣|ι̣ǫυ̣ μροτις λαπτα ματι αοινουν :
(d) νικοστρατǫ̣ς | ḳ̣ḷ̣ευμαχοι μιρος αιδομενου ματιν κισυις :
(e) μǫ̣|.κρος υιταν παρτιας πλαδε πορ κοροος ..|ρǫ̣ς παντης :
(f) πεννιτι ιος κοροαν δετουν̣ | ǫ̣ǫυ̣ν ομαστα ομνισιτους.

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New Phrygian Inscriptions

1 Eskişehir (Dorylaion)

1.1 (*48*)

Stele found, traced and copied by Ἰ. Μηλιόπουλος in a neighbourhood of Eskişehir ("0,95^{m} langen, 0,55^{m} breiten," letters "5 cm hohe," "Funde" 1898, 362). The inscription is lost, but an impression and a drawing are preserved in the Kleinasiatische Kommission of the Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften (Lubotsky 1997, 115 fn. 1).

"Funde" 1898, 362–363; Ramsay 1905, col. 103–114 no. XLVIII; Calder 1911, 188–189 no. XLVIII; Friedrich 1932, 135 no. 48; MAMA V Lists 1 no. 182.89; Haas 1951, 7–9 no. 48; Haas 1966, 120 no. 48; Haas 1970a, 38–39 no. 48; Haas 1970b, 7–9 no. 48; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 86 no. C 48; TITUS, no. 48 (only the Phrygian text); Lubotsky 1997, 115–130; Orel 1997a, 97–102 no. W-34.

0 [ ].
1 ε[..]γεντ̣ουμενος
νιοισιος ναδροτος
ειτου. μιτραφατα
4 κε μας τεμρογε-
ιος κε πουντας
βας κε ενσταρν̣α.
δουμε κε οι ουε-
8 βαν αδδακετ ορου-
αν, παρεθέμην τὸ
μνημεῖον τοῖς προ-
γεγραμμένοις θ̣ε-
12 οῖς κὲ τῇ κώμῇ·
ταυθ' ὁ πατὴρ
Ἀσκληπιός.

---

1 ε..ιθνιουμενος *Mittheilungen, Ramsay, Calder, Friedrich et MAMA* : Ἔτ(ους) τθ' νιουμενος *Haas* : ε[τ]ιθνιουμενος *Diaknoff-Neroznak* : Ε[--]ΤΕΝΤΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ *TITUS* : ε[--]γεντ̣ουμενος *uel* ε[--]τεντ̣ουμενος *TITUS 1997* : ειτ̣ῳ νιουμενος *Orel* || 2 νιοις ιος ναδροτος *Orel* || 3 Μιτρα Φατα|κε *Haas* || 5 ιος κε Πουντασ|βας *Mittheilungen et MAMA* || 6 κε Ενσταρνα *Mittheilungen, Ramsay, Calder et Friedrich* : κὲ Ενσταρνα|δουμθ *MAMA* : εν σταρνα *Haas* : κε ενσταρνα *Diaknoff-Neroznak* : ενσταρνα *TITUS* : κε ενς ταρνα|[ι] *Orel* || 7 δουμθ κε Οιουθ|βαν *"Funde," Ramsay, Calder, Friedrich et MAMA* : δουμω κε οι ουω|βαν *Haas* : δουμω κεοι ουθβαν *Diaknoff-Neroznak* : δουμε κε οι ουε|βαν *TITUS et Orel* || 8 Αδδα κε Τορου|αν *Mittheilungen* : αδδακετορ

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ου|ραν *Ramsay, Calder, Friedrich* : Αδδακετορ ου|αν MAMA : αδδακετ ορου *Haas* : αδδακετ ορου|αν *Diaknoff-Neroznak,* TITUS *et Orel* || 9 ανπαρεθέμην τὸ *Haas* || 10 μνημεῖον τοῖς προ *Mittheilunge*: μνημεῖ ον τοῖς προ *Haas* : μνημεῖον τοῖς προ|γεγραμμένοις *cett.* || 12 κ(αὶ) τῇ κώμῃ *Mittheilungen et* MAMA : κὲ τῇ κώμῃ *Ramsay et cett.*

'[Phrygian] ... let him become X-ed and νιοισιος and impotent. Miϑrapata and Mas Tembrogios and the Pontic Bas... and for the community the father does his tomb. [Greek] I, the father Asklepios, erected this memorial for the above-mentioned gods and the town.'

1.2 (*98*)

"Grey marble stele with acroteria; in pediment, rosette; in field, defaced ox-head [...] H. 1·38 m.; W. (base) 0·45 m., (shaft) 0·37 m.; Th. 0·185 m. Letters (slight apices) 0·016 m. to 0·02 m." (Macpherson 1954, 13). Lunate sigma and epsilon. It is is preserved in Eskişehir Museum (inv. no. 57).

Macpherson 1954, 13–15 (with photographs) (= SEG 14.783); Haas 1966, 127 no. 98; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 87 no. C 98; TITUS *no. 98 (only Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 359–360 no. Dd*-01.*

Κλωδία
Σοφοκλέ-
ως θυγά-
4 τηρ καὶ Τερ-
τίας· παρ-
θένε, χαῖρε.
δακαρεν πα-
8 τερης ευκιν
αργου.

7–9 δακαρεν πα|τερης ευκιν | αργου *Haas,* TITUS *et Orel* : ΔΑΚΑΡΕΝΠΑ | ΤΕΡΗCЄΥΚΙΝ | ΑΡΓΟΥ *Machpherson.*

'[Greek] Clodia the daughter of Sofocles and Tertias: hail, girl. [Phrygian] Her parents made (it) as a vow.'

2 Seyitgazi (Nakoleia)

2.1 (*15*)

Monolingual inscription on a stele. Copied twice by Ramsay (in June of 1881 and August of 1883), also by J.R.S. Sterrett in 1883 (Ramsay 1887, 394). Rectangular sigma and epsilon.

Ramsay 1887, 394 no. XV (without edition); Ramsay 1905, col. 114–116 no. XV; Calder 1911, 172–174 no. XV; Friedrich 1932, 131 no. 15; Haas 1966, 116 no. 15; Kowal 1984a, 6–9; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 84 no. C 15; Lubotsky 1993; TITUS, no. 15; Orel 1997a, 76–79 no. W-21.*

ξευνη ταν ειξα υψο-
δαν προτυς σ[ε]σταμ-
ẹναν μανκαν αμι-
ạσιαν ιοι αναρ δορυκα-
[νος ---]

1 ΞΕΥΝΗΤΑΝΕΙΞẠΥΨΟ *Ramsay 1887* : ΞΕΥΝΗ ΤΑΝΕΙΞ[Α]Υ [Κ]Ο|ΔΑΝ uel ΤΑΝΕΙ ΕΛΥΜΟ|ΔΑΝ *Ramsay 1905* : Ξευνη τανειξ[α] υ[κ]ο|δαν *Calder et Friedrich* : Ξευνη τανειξạυκο *dub. Haas* : Ξευνη ταν εικσα υκοδαν *dub. Diaknoff-Neroznak* : ξευνη ταν ειξạ υψο|δαν *TITUS et Orel* || 2 ΠΡΟΤΥΣ Σ[.] ΣΤΑΜ|ΕΝΑΝ *Ramsay 1905* : προτυς σ[ε] σταμ|[ε]ναν *Calder et Friedrich* : προτυσσ [ε]σταμ *Haas* : προτυς σ[ε]σταμ[ε]ναν *Diakonoff-Neroznak et Orel* : ΠΡΟΤΥΣΣ[.]ΣΤΑΜ|ẸΝΑΝ *TITUS* || 3 MANKAN AMI|[Α]ΣΙΑΙΟΙ *Ramsay 1905* : μανκαν Αμ[ι]|[α]ς *Calder et Friedrich* : [ε]ναν μανκαν αμι *dub. Haas* : μανκαν αμ[ιο]σιανιοι *Diaknoff-Neroznak* : MANKAN AMI|ẠΣΙΑΝΙΟΙ *TITUS* : μανκαν αμι|ας ιαν ιοι *Orel* || 4 ΑΝΑΡ ΔΟΡΥΚ[Λ *Ramsay 1905* : ιαν ιοι αναρ Δορυκ[λα *Calder et Friedrich* : ạσιανιοι αναρ Δορυκα[νός…] *dub. Haas* : αναρ δορυκΛ[Diaknoff-Neroznak : αναρ δορυκα[νοσ…] *TITUS et Orel.*

'For Xeune, her husband Dorykanos (has placed) … at the top (of the monument) … the erected stele…'

2.2 (*130*)

Big altar (188 × 27 × 35 cm) dated to the third c. AD found in Nakolia and now preserved in the garden of Eskişehir Museum (inv. no. A-434–08). The four faces of the altar are decorated with reliefs which represent one person in each of its four faces (very likely the promoter of the altar, Brogimaros, and his family) and hexametric inscriptions preserved can be read. The Phrygian text is in the Face A (under the Greek inscription), and it was incised after Brogimaros's death, as well as the other Greek inscription (sponsored by Brogimaros's son). Indeed, two different lapicides worked on it in two different times. Rectangular sigma and epsilon, cursive omega.

Hämmig 2013, 131 fn. 16 (only l. 1); Avram 2015; Obrador-Cursach 2016; de Hoz 2017, 141 (l. 1–4).

A Βρογιμαρος Ἐπικράτου
Διὶ Βρογιμαρου καὶ Κυρί-
α εὐχήν, καὶ αὐτὸς έαυ-
τῶ μνημόσυνον. *uac.*
αινι ουεβαν δεδασσιννι πατρẹ-
ς σεμουν κορο[υ]μανη σως κη
γουμειε, καρπυς ειλικρινη εγο-
υννου *uac.*
Relief
αινι κος κακην αδδακετ κορο-
[υ]μανη σως κη γουμειε, τιττετι-
[κ]μενος ειτου εικ αδ αυτον μεκ-
αν τιαν *uac.*

10 γουμ ειε *Avram* || 11–12 μεκ|αν τιαν *Obrador-Cursach* : μεκᾳ|[ς?] αν Τιαν *Avram*.

B Εὐξάμενος πρὸς ἔπ-
ος ἱεραῖς ἐπᾳοιδαῖς ἐν-
γελάον *vac.* ἐγὼ *vac.* πάτρῃ τε
[γόν]οις μου, χεὶρ ὑπὲρ ΙΣ-
[.]Α[.....]εχειν *vac.*
relief
[---]λᾳκεδοη⟨ν⟩ων μῃγẹ-
[---]ροιο δάμαρτος Ọ *vac.*
[---]ΟΜΩЄΙ δοξ' Ἀριστο-
------ ΝΕΠ ---------

2–3 ἐν|γελάον ⟨γὰρ⟩ ἐγώ *Avram suppl. metri causa* || 6 [---]λᾳκεδοη⟨ν⟩ων *fort.* [---]ᾳλκεδοη-⟨ν⟩ων *aut* [---]λᾳκεδοη⟨ν⟩ων || 8 [---]ΟΜΩЄΙ *fort.* [---]ομῳ εἰ.

C .Ο..ΜΕ ----------
υἱὸς ----------
..Π.....Η ----------
γλῠ̣κẹ̣ρω[..]ᾺΠῸ ------
relief
vac.

4 γλῠ̣κẹ̣ρω[..] *fort.* γλῠ̣κẹ̣ρῷ, γλῠ̣κẹ̣ρῶ[ν] *aut* γλῠ̣κẹ̣ρῶ[ς], *Avram* γλῠ̣κẹ̣ρῷ *mal.*

D [..]ẹn[--] Βρογιμα- *vac.*
ρος ἐγὼ μεγάλου Διὸς
ἀρητήρ ἕ[ν]θα μένω *vac.*
ἱεροῖς ἐνὶ καρποῖς
relief
ṂḤṆOṢ̣Ạ̣Ṇ̣Ạ -- Ọ...
ỌṢ̣ ----- A....E..Ỵ
AṢ̣..Ạ̣Ṇ ---- A --
.Ọ....ỌỴ *vac.*

5 ṂḤṆOṢ̣ *fort.* μὴ 'πός.

'[Greek A] Brogimaros (son) of Epikrates (dedicates) to Zeus of Brogimaros and to Kyria (his wife) a prayer; and he (dedicates) also the tomb for himself. [Phrygian] If' the parents put this tomb in this place and ... let them have holy fruits. If anybody does harm to this place and ..., let him become accursed by the great Zeus. [Greek B] Praying for this purpose with sacred incantations I enjoyed my tribe and my children... [Greek D] I Brogimaros the priest of the great Zeus stay here among my sacred offspring...'

3 Çavdarhisar (Aizanoi)

3.1 (*97*)

White marble door-stele (1.25×0.60×0.15 m) with the relief of a couple. Preserved in Çavdarhisar Museum (without inv. no.). The letters are rough. Rectangular sigma and epsilon.

Miltner 1937, col. 51–52 no. 55 (*photograph no. 29 and copy of the text*); *MAMA VII, xxviii* (*a*); *Haas 1966, 127 no. 97; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 81–82 no. B 97* (*as variant of B 6*); *Waelkens 1986, 96 no. 226* (*Tafel 33, no. 226 and Tafel 103*); *TITUS, no. 97* (*only Phrygian text*); *Orel 1997a, 118–119 no. W*-50.*

Διόδοτος καὶ Θήρυνος καὶ Πείσας καὶ Αὖκτος

Αὔκτω τῶ πατρὶ μνήμης χάριν.

Αὔκτου καὶ Ναναι συνβίου ἔτι δὲ ζώσης
διὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ὁμόνοιαν.

ιος νι σεμον κνουμανε κακεν αδακετ αινι
μανκα, με ζε⟨με⟩λως κε δεως κε τιε τιτε-
τικμ[ενος ειτου].

6 με ζελως κε δεως κ ετιετιτετικμ[ενος ειτου] *Haas* : με ζε⟨με⟩λως ϰε δεως κε τι ετιτε|τικμ̣ε̣γο[ς ειτου]. *MAMA et Waelkens* : με ζε⟨με⟩λως κε δεως κε τιε τι τετικμ[ενος ειτου] *TITUS et Orel.*

'[Greek] Diodotos and Therynos and Pisas and Auktos for their father Auktos in memory. Of Auktos and Nana, his wife, whilst she is alive, for their concord. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this tomb or the stele, let him [become] accurse[d] by Zeus among men and gods.'

4 Üçüyük

4.1 (2)

A lost funerary stele dated to the second c. AD and copied by Ramsay in August 1884. Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Ramsay 1887, 386–387 no. 11 (with copy); Ramsay 1905, col. 105–106 no. 11 (only the Phrygian text); Calder 1911, 165 no. 11; Friedrich 1932, 128 no. B-2; Haas 1951, 4–5 no. 2; Haas 1966, 43, 114 no. 2; Haas 1970b, 4–6 no. 2; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 78 no. B 2 (only the Phrygian text); TITUS, no. 2 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 57–60 no. W-12; Brixhe 1999, 300, 301, 311 (only l. 8).*

Ἀντίπα-
τρος καὶ Βα-
βους Πασίω-
4 νος Λεοντ[ίω]
ἀδελφῶ ἰδί-

ν.

ῶ και Αφία γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ Γλύκω[ν γ]αμ⟨β⟩ρὸς μνήμης χάρι-

ιος σα μανκαι κακουν αδδακετ, τιε τιτ[τ]ετικμενος ειτου

8 υ κε ακαλα οουιτετου ουα ❧

6 Γλύκων γαμβρὸς *Ramsay* || 7 ιος ταμαν και κακουν αδδακεττι, ετιττετικμενος *Ramsay 1887* : ΙΟΣ ΤΑ-ΜΑΝΚΑΙ ΚΑΚΟΥΝ ΑΔΔΑΚΕΤ ΤΙ, ΕΤΙΤΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟΣ *Ramsay 1905* : ιος τα μανκαι κακουν αδδακετ, τι ετιτ[τ]ετικμενος *Calder, Friedrich et Diaknoff-Neroznak* : ιος τα μανκαι κακουν αδδακετ τι | ετιτ[τ]ετικμενος ειτου *Haas* : ιοσ τα μανκαι κακουν αδδακετ τι|ε τιτ [τ]ετικμενοσ ειτου *TITUS et Orel.*

'[Greek] Antipatros and Babus (sons of) Pasion for his own brother Leontios and for Aphia, his daughter. Also, Glykon his son-in-law in memory. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this stele, let him become accursed by Zeus and let him not find ακαλα.'

5 Ortaköy (Formerly Alikel Yaila, Orkistos)

5.1 (*19*)

First New Phrygian inscription published by Pococke, who only commented that it was found among broken stones (1752, 9).

Pococke 1752, 9 no. 3 (a copy); CIG III no. 3822e (with Pocockes's copy); Gosche 1864, 225 no. 14; Ramsay 1887, 395–396 no. XIX (with Pococke's copy); Ramsay 1905, col. 116–117 no. XIX (only the Phrygian text); Calder 1911, 174 no. XIX; Friedrich 1932, 131 no. B-19; Haas 1966, 117 no. 19; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 77 no. B 19 (only the Phrygian text as variant of B 10); TITUS 19 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 86–87 no. W-24.*

Αὐρ(ήλιος) Τύραννος Παπα καὶ Εἰρήνη
ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἑαυτοῖς ἐποίησαν
μνήμης χάριν. ιος σεμου κνου-
μανει κα[κον] ⟨αδδακ⟩ε⟨τ⟩, τιτετεικμενος ειτο[υ].

1 ΚΑΙΣΙΡΕΝΗ *Pococke et* CIG *III leg.* : καὶ [Ε]ἰρήνη CIG *III ed., seq. cett.* || 4 ⟨αδδακ⟩ετ *uel* ⟨αββερ⟩ετ : MANEKA...\ *Pococke et CIG* III *leg.* : κνουμανει κα[κουν]..... *Ramsay* : ΕΤΙΤΕΤΕΙΚΜΕΝΟΣΕΙΤΟ *Pococke et CIG III* : ετιτεικ[μ]ενος ειτο[υ *Calder et Friedrich* : ετιτεικμενος ειτο[υ] *Haas* : ⟨αδδακετ⟩ ετιτετεικμενος ειτο[υ] *Lubotsky 1989* : Ε ΤΙ ΤΕ ΤΕΙΚΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΙΤΟ[Υ] *TITUS* : κα[κον...]ε τι τετεικμενος ειτο[υ] *Orel.*

'[Greek] Aur(elios) Tyrannos Papa and Irene, his wife, made it for themselves in memory. [Phrygian] Whoever ⟨mak⟩es ha[rm] to this tomb, let him become accursed.'

6 Bağlıca and Kadıkuyusu

6.1 (*88*)

"Baghlija, in the wall of the cemetery behind the tekke. Limestone stele. H., 1·82; w., 0·84; letters, ll. 1–7, 0·025, ll. 8,9, 0·0175. Of the inscription, ll. 1–7 are carved in a tabula ansata, l. 8 on the border of the tabula, and l. 9 on the shaft immediately below the receding surface" (*MAMA* I, 216–217). Now preserved in Konya

Museum. A last Greek line was added, ignoring the Phrygian text, since it is related to the first Greek text. Lunate sigma and epsilon, minuscule omega. Ivy leaves delimiting the code-switching.

MAMA I, 216–217 no. 413 (with photographs); Friedrich 1932, 140 no. 88 (SEG 6.96); Gusmani 1958, 903; Haas 1966, 108–110, 126 no. 88; Haas 1970a, 47, 51 no. 88; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 81 no. B 88; Lubotsky 1989b no. 88; TITUS, no. 88 (only the Phrygian text); RECAM IV, no. 96 (SEG 52.1458, only the Greek text); Orel 1997a, 109–112 no. W-42.*

Αὐρ(ήλιος) Μηνόφιλος Οὐενούστου κὲ Μα-
νια Ἀντιόχου ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Αππη καὶ
Οὐεναουιη τέκνοις ἀώροις καὶ
4 ἑαυτοῖς μνήμης χάριν. ❧ ιος
νι σεμουν κνουμανει κακε
αδδακετ αωρω ουεναουιας, τιγ-
γεγαριτμενος ιτου, πουρ ουανα-
8 κταν κε ουρανιον ιστ?εικετ διουνσιν. ❧

❧ καὶ Αὐρ(ηλίω) Σώζοντι Κανκαρου ἀνδρὶ τῆς Οὐεναουιης.

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6 ἀώρῳ *Haas* : τιγ|γεγαριτμενο⟨ς⟩ *MAMA, Friedrich et Diakonoff-Neroznak* : τιγ | γεγαριτμενο⟨ς⟩ *Haas et TITUS* : γεγαριτμενος ιτου *Brixhe* : τιγ | γεγαριτμενο ειτου *Orel* || 7 ουανα|κτον *Diakonoff-Neroznak* || 8 ιστεικετ *Brixhe 1999, 304 fn. 46 prop. et Lubotsky 2004, 235 seq.* : ισγει-κετ *cett.*

'[Greek] Aur(elios) Menophilos (the son) of Venustos and Mania (the daughter) of Antiochos, his wife, for Appe and Venavia, their untimely (dead) children in memory. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this tomb of the untimely (dead) Venavia, let him be at the mercy of and he will have to do with the heavenly king Dionysos. [Greek] Also for Aur(elios) Sozon (the son) of Kankaros, Venavia's husband.'

6.2 (*131*)

Door-stone discovered by Thomas Drew-Bear in Kadıkuyu (province of Eskişşehir). "Its measurements are: height 1.52; width 0.63; thickness 0.36; letter height (lines 1–2): 0.025, (line 3) 0.04" (Lubotsky fthc.). The Phrygian inscriptions was incised between the bottom of the projecting moulding and the incised acroteria and below the panels (where, as usual, several objects are represented). Rectangular sigma and epsilon.

Lubotsky fthc.

ιος νι σεμουν κνουμα-
νει κακουν αββερετοι αινι α-
τεαμα, τος νι με σζεμε-
4 λως κε τιε κε τιττετικμε-
νος ειτου

'Whoever inflicts harm upon this grave or upon the stone, let him be cursed before men and Zeus.'

7 Erten

7.1 (*99*)

"Copied in or before 1934 by Süleyman Gökçe at Erten Yayla, in front of the Kale. Erten Yayla is between Kümbet and Hoşref Paşa Han; the stone has since disappeared" (*MAMA* VII 1956, xxviii).

MAMA VII, xxviii no. (c); Haas 1966, 128 no. 99; Haas 1970a, 45 no. 99; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 81 no. B 99; TITUS, no. 99; Orel 1997a, 119–120 no. W-51.*

ιος νι ϛεμον κνουμανει κα-
κε̣ αδακετ, τιτετικμενος
ας τιαν ε̣ιτου, με κε οι
4 τοτοσσειτι βας βεκος.

---

3 ας Τιαν ε̣ιτου με κε οι *MAMA et TITUS* : αστι ανειτου *Haas et Diakonoff-Neroznak* || 4 τοτος σειτι Βας βεκος *MAMA et Brixhe* : τοτοσς ειτι Βας βεκος *Haas* : κεοι | τοτος σειτι βας βεκος *Diaknoff-Neroznak* : ΤΟΤΟΣΣΕΙ ΤΙ ΒΑΣ ΒΕΚΟΣ *TITUS* : τοτοσς ειτι βας βεκος *Orel*.

'Whoever does harms to this tomb, let him become accursed by Zeus and let Bas not give bread to him.'

7.2 (*111*)

"Erten. On a hilly ridge NW of the village, in the ancient necropolis. Inscription on slab forming part of a tomb construction of considerable size, in dark gray hard stone. The slab was originally decorated with a relief showing two doors, consisting of four panels each. Two panels only preserved, decorated each with a frontal figure, the one male, the other female. Inscription carved on flat band running along upper part. Band h. 0.235 (chipped of above, along a first line, now disappeared, spoiling top of first surviving line). Inscription broken at both

ends. The two lines together h. 0.08 to 0.09; line 2 w. 1.02 (extant). Letters h. 0.02 to 0.05" (Haspels 1971: 316). Lunate sigma and epsilon, minuscule omega.
Haspels 1971 I, 316 no. 45 (II, fig. 617 or 614 no. 45 photograph of a squeeze); Brixhe 1978a, 5 no. III (only the Phrygian text); Waelkens 1986, 128–129 no. 319 (Tafel 47 no. 319, with Haspel's photograph); TITUS, no. III (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 120–121 no. W-54.*

[---]
[--- κ]αὶ τέκνοις καὶ [.]αται Νυνφηδώρῳ Ι[---]
[---] ιος αδακετ, βας ιοι β⌜ε⌝κος με βερετ [---]

---

3 BCKOC *lapis* : ιος αδακετ βασιοι β(ε)κος *Haspels* : . ος αδακετ βασιοι β(ε)κος *Brixhe* : ιος αδακετ βασιοι β(ε)κος μεβερετ *Waelkens* : .ΟΣ ΑΔΑΚΕΤ ΒΑΣ ΙΟΙ ΒḘΚΟΣ ΜΕΒΕΡΕΤ | ?[ΙΟΣ ΣΕΜΟΥΝ ΚΝΟΥΜΙΝ]ΟΣ *TITUS* : [---]ῠος αδακετ βας ιοι βḛκος με βερετ *Orel*.

'[Greek] ... and for the children and [.]atas Nymphedoros ... [Phrygian] Whoever does (harm to this tomb), let Bas not produce bread to him.'

7.3 (*14*)

Copied by Ramsay in Hürsevpaşa in May 1881 and August 1883, also by J.R.S. Sterrett in 1883 (Ramsay 1887, 393). Lunate sigma and epsilon.
Ramsay 1887, 393–394 no. XIV (with copy); Ramsay 1905, col. 114 no. XIV (only the Phrygian text); Calder 1911, 172 no. XIV; Friedrich 1932, 130 no. 14; Haas 1966, 116 no. 14; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 79 no. B 14 (only the Phrygian text); TITUS, no. 14 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 325–326 no. S-05.*

Ṭείμαιος καὶ Απ-
η θυγατρὶ Μάνη
ἀώρη καὶ Τειμό-
θεος συνβιῶ μνή-
μης ἕ- νεκον
ιος νι σεμουν κνο-
υμανει κακιν αδα-
κετ αιν' αδ ατεαμᾳ-
ς, τιτετικμενος α-
σ τιαν [ειτο]υ.

---

1 [Τ]είμαιος καὶ Ἄπ[π]|η *Ramsay 1887 et cett.* || 6 ιος *Ramsay 1887, Ramsay 1905 et Calder* : [ι]ος *Friedrich, Haas, TITUS et Orel* || 6–7 κνο|υμανει *Ramsay 1887, Ramsay 1905 et Calder* : κνο|[υ]μανει *Friedrich, Haas, Diakonoff-Neroznak, TITUS et Orel* || 7–8 αδα|κετ *Ramsay 1905 et cett.* : αδ[α]|κετ *Ramsay 1887* || 8 αινι *fort.* : αιναδατεαμα *dub. Ramsay 1887* : AINA ΔATEAM[A] *uel* ΔATEMA[M] *Ramsay 1905* : αιν αδατεα, Μ[α] *Calder* : αιν αδατεα Μα|τιτετι-

κμενος *Friedrich* : αινα δα τεαμᾳς *Haas et Orel* : αι ν' αδα τια Μας *Diakonoff-Neroznak* : AIN' ΑΔΑ ΤΕΑΜᾺΣ *TITUS* || 9–10 [ε]τιτετικμενος αστιαν [ειτο]υ *Ramsay 1887 et 1905 et Calder* : Αστιαν [ειτο]υ *Friedrich* : τι τετικμενος αᾳτι αν[ειτ]ου *Haas et Diakonoff-Neroznak* : τι τετικμενος αᾳ τιαν [ειτ]ου *TITUS et Orel.*

'[Greek] Timaios and Ape for (their) untimely (dead) daughter Manes and Timotheos for (his) wife in memory. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this tomb or to this plot, let him be accursed by Zeus.'

8 Güney

8.1 (*86*)

"Geinik, in a heap of building material. Bomos of white marble, broken above, worn at the edges. H., 0·34; base, 0·40; th., 0·37; letters, 0·025; h. of inscription, 0·21" (*MAMA* I, 212). Lunate sigma and epsilon.

MAMA I, 212 no. 405 (with photography); Friedrich 1932, 140 no. 86; Haas 1966, 126 no. 86; Haas 1970a, 45 no. 86; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 83 no. B 86; TITUS, no. 86; Orel 1997a, 106–107 no. W-40.*

ιος νι σεμουν κ[νου]-
μανι κακουν αδδ[α]-
κετ αινι μανκης, βα[ς]
ιοι βεκος με βερε[τ]
ᾳτ τιη κε τιττετικμ[ε]-
νος ειτου.

3 βα[-] *MAMA, Friedrich et Diakonoff-Neroznak* : βα[-]|ι *Haas* : βα[ς] *TITUS et Orel* || 4 ιοι βεκος μεβερε[-] *MAMA et Friedrich* : οι βεκος με βερε[-] *Haas* : ιοι βεκος με βερε[ν] *Diakonoff-Neroznak* : IOI BEKOΣ ME BEPE[-] *TITUS* : ιοι βεκος με βερε[τ] *Orel* || 5 Ᾱττιη κε τιτετικμ[ε]|νος *MAMA et Friedrich* : ᾱττιη κ ετιτετικμ[ε]|νος *Haas* : Ᾱττιη κ' ετιτετικμ[ε]νος *Diakonoff-Neroznak* : ᾱτ τιη κε τι τετικμ[ε]|νος *TITUS et Orel.*

'Whoever does harm to this tomb or to this stele, let Bas not produce bread to him and let him become accursed by Zeus.'

9 Beyköyü

9.1 (*87*)

"Bey Köi, in the cemetery. Block of bluish limestone, cut flat in front, sides rough-hewn, back unworked. H. 1·10; w. 0·54; th., 0·61; letters, 0·015 to 0·0225. The inscription begins m. 0·035 from the top of the stone, an its h. is 0·12" (*MAMA* I 1928, 212). Lunate sigma and epsilon.

MAMA I, 212 no. 406 (with photography); Friedrich 1932, 140 no. 87; Haas 1966, 126 no. 87; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 79–80 no. B 87; TITUS, no. 87 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 107–108 no. W-41.*

ιος νι σεμουν κνουμανει
κακουν αδακετ αινι τια-
μας, α τι αδειτου ọυελ̣ας κε
4 του κε ισνου αστοι παρτης.

---

3 Ατι *MAMA, Friedrich et Diakonof-Neroznak* : ατι *Haas* : α τι *TITUS et Orel* || 4 αστοιπαρτης *MAMA et Friedrich* : αστοι παρτης *Haas et TITUS* : ισνουαṣτοι παρτης *Diakonoff-Neroznak* : ας τοι παρτης *Orel*.

'Whoever does harm to this tomb or the plot, let him become accursed by Zeus and…'

10 Gökçeyayla (Formerly Orhaniye and Kilise, near Malos)

10.1 (*112*)

Found by Haspels: "Kilise-Orhaniye, in the village. Rectangular block of gray marble, built into corner of house, base buried in ground. Inscription (a) in *tabula ansata*. Inscription (b) above a small four-panelled 'door,' sculptured lower down on the stone, a little left of centre; on the two upper panels, a knocker and a key-plate. Right upper part of inscription (a) rather damaged. Stone h. from 'door' to top 0.72, w. 0.54, th. 0.39. 'Door' h. 0.20, w. 0.17, d. 0.015. Inscription (a) h. 0.245, w. 0.47. Letters h. 0.012 to 0.02." (Haspels 1971, 321). Lunate sigma and epsilon. The last Greek text seems to be a later addition.

Haspels 1971 I, 321 no. 56 (II, fig. 619 no. 56 photography); Brixhe 1978, 5–6 no. 112; Waelkens 1986, 122 no. 292 (Tafel 44, no. 292 with Haspels's photography); TITUS, no. 112 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 121–122 no. W-53.*

Ṇανα ζῶσα καὶ φρονộ-
σα ἀνδρὶ Ἀλεξάνδρω καὶ θ-

υγατρὶ Τατια μνῆμα ἀνέϙ-
τησεν σὺν Ἀλεξάνδρω καὶ Φιλ-
ωτᾶ ὃν ἀνεθρείψαντο ᾳ̣νθ' υἱοῦ
[ι]ος νι σεμον κνουμανε κακον αδακ-
ε̣ṭ αινι ατεαμας, με δεως τιε τιττετικμ-
ενος ειτου.
Ἀντίοχε,
χαῖρε.

---

5 υἱόν *Haspels* : υἱοῦ *Brixhe et Orel* : υἱού *Waelkens* || 7 ατελμας με δεως τι ετιττετικμ|ενος *Haspels* : ατε(α)μας με δεως τι ετιττετικμ|ενος *Brixhe et Waelkens* : α τεᾳμας με δεως τιε τιτ τετικμ|ενος TITUS *et Orel.*

'[Greek] Nana, whilst she is alive and of sound mind, for her husband Alexandros and his daughter Tatia built this tomb with Alexandros and Philotas, whom she grew up like a son. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this tomb or the plot, let him become accursed by Zeus among gods. [Greek] Hail, Antiochos!'

10.2 (*113*)

"Kilise-Orhaniye. In the village, in front of a house SW of mosque. Fragmentary dark marble 'door-stone,' partly covered by earth. The right side seems to have been sawn off straight at some time or other, probably for re-use; more than half remains. The left side of the pediment survives, with traces of a side-akroterion. In the door-panels, knocker in left lower panel, and remains of key-plate in what is left of right upper panel. Inscription begins above 'door,' but here is entirely illegible as the surface is damaged; it is then carried on the upper part of the door-frame (see the transcription). 'Door-stone' h. 0.68, w. below 0.46 (extant). Door panels h. 0.145, w. 0.145. Inscription w. 0.42 (extant). Letters h. 0.0I to 0.015" (Haspels 1971, 321–322). Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Haspels 1971 I, 321–322 no. 57 (II, fig. 619 no. 57 with photograph of the squeeze); Brixhe 1978a, 6–7 no. 113; Waelkens 1986, 122 no. 293; TITUS, *no. 113 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 122–123 no. W*-54.*

[---]
[κακο]υν αββερετοι, με σζεμελως κε δυως κε τιṭ-
[τετικμενος ειτου].

---

1 ABBEPETOI *lapis* || 1–2 αββερετοι μες ζεμελως κε δυως κε τιṭ|[τετικμενος *Haspels* : αββερετο(ρ) με σζεμελως κε δυως κ ετιṭ|[τετικμενος *Brixhe et Waenkels* : ABBEPETO(P) ME ΣZE-

ΜΕΛΩΣ ΚΕ ΔΥΩΣ ΚΕ ΤΙṬ | [ΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟΣ *TITUS* : [κακο]υν αββερετοι, με σζεμελως κε δυως κε τιṭ | [τετικμενος *Orel.*

'[Whoever] brings [har]m [to this tomb], [let him be] ac[cursed] among men and gods.'

11 Bayat (*Etsyena)

11.1 (*17*)

Last words of a curse: a participle and the imperative verb. Copied by Ramsay in August 1884 (Ramsay 1887, 395). According to Haas (perhaps based on Friedrich 1932, 138 fn. 74), it is the same inscription of 11.3, but Brixhe (1999, 286) considered that very likely they are two different inscriptions.

Ramsay 1887, 395 no. XVII (only copy); Friedrich 1932, 131 no. 17; Haas 1966, 116 no. 17 (confused with 11.3); Waelkens 1986, 214 no. 544 (confused with 11.3); TITUS, no. 17.

[--- ...με]ṿος ειτου.

---

1 [--------- ετιττετικμε]νος ειτου *Friedrich* : [-----ττετικμε]ṿος ειτου *Haas* : [-----ΤΤΕΤΙΚΜΕ]-ṆΟΣ ΕΙΤΟΥ *TITUS* : -]ṿος ειτου Brixhe.

'... let him be [---]ed'

11.2 (*18*)

Found in a fountain, "the following inscription was clearly cut in small well-formed letters, but some zealous Kizilbash (Bayat is a village of heretics) has taken the trouble to deface every line with a chisel. I made an impression in the hope that some elucidative text might hereafter be discovered. There were originally several more lines at the top: 10 is complete and ends the inscription" (Ramsay 1887, 395). Rectangular sigma and epsilon.

Ramsay 1887, 395 no. XVIII (with copy); Ramsay 1905, col. 110 no. XVIII (the three last lines); Calder 1911, 174 no. XVIII (the three last lines); Calder 1926, 26–27 no. XVIII (revision of some lectures); Friedrich 1932, 131 no. 18 (without lines 1–3, 5 and 6); Haas 1951, 9–10 no. 18; Haas 1966, 85–87 (with copy) and 116–117 no. 18 (p. 99 copy); Haas 1970b, 9–10 no. 18; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 84–85 no. C 18; TITUS, no. 18; Orel 1997a, 79–86 no. W-23; Hämmig fthc. a. no. 18.*

[---]οι κνουμα ετι δεᾳδᾳ μανκα-
ν μιμογαδις ακε̣ʔνικου οκαυγοσι

μιδακας δαδου λευκιωι δακαρ
λευκις μιμογας κε ματαρ ευγεξα-
ρναι κ'οτ ατιαμα κνουμεν ταν ε-
[.]τας ται κολταμανει ιος νι ουκρα-
ον λατομειον εγδαες μουρσα
αινι κος σεμουν κνουμανει κ-
ακουν αδδακετ αινι μανκα, βε(κ)ο-
ς ιοι με τοτοσσει?τ?ι σαρναν.

1]αν[*Ramsay 1887* :]οι κνουμα ετι δεαδα μανκα|ν *Haas, TITUS et Lubotsky* || 2 ΝΟΜΑΔΙΣΑΚΙ[-]ΝΙΚΟΥΟΚΑ *Ramsay 1887* : Μιμογα δίς Ακ[.]νικου οκ αουγοσι *Haas* : διϛακινικουκαυγοσι *Diakonoff et Neroznak* : διε ακϝνι κου οκαυγοϝι *Orel*: ΜΙΜΟΓΑ ΔΙΣ ΑΚ[.]ΝΙΚΟΥ ΟΚΑΥΓΟΣΙ *TITUS* : μιμογα διε ακϝνικου οκαυγοϝι *Orel* || 3]ΑΚΑΙΔΑΔΟΥΛΕΡΚΓΩΔΑΚΑΡ *Ramsay 1887* : Μιδακας Δαδου Λευκίωι δακαρ *Haas, TITUS et Orel* || 4 ευγεξαρναι *fort.* ευγε ξαρνα : Ε.ΝΙΜΟΓΑΕΚΕΙΝΑΙΔΡΕΥΓΕΞΑ *Ramsay 1887* : [πρι]βις Μιμβιας κε ματαρ Ευρεξα *Friedrich* : Λευκις Μιμογας κε [?] ματαρ Ευγεξα|ρναι *Haas et TITUS* : λευκις μιμογας κει ματαρ ευγεξα|ρναι *Orel* || 5 κ' ο τα τιαμα *fort.* κ' οτ ατιαμα : ΡΝΒΕΚΟΤΑΠΡΑΜΑΝ[-]ΥΜΕΝΤΑΝΕ *Ramsay 1887* : κο τα ϙιαμα κνουμεν ταν ε|[.?]τας *Haas* : ΚΟ ΤΑ ṬΙΑΜΑ ΚΝΟΥΜΕΝ ΤΑΝ Ε|[?]ΤΑΣ *TITUS* : ε|τ ασται *Orel* || 6 ΙΤΑΕΤΑΙΚΛΓΑΜΕ[-]Ε[-]ΟΣΜΟΙΚΡΑ *Ramsay 1887* : τας ται κολταμαν ει ιος μοι κρα|[ο?] *Haas* : ΤΑΙ ΚΟΛΤΑΜΑΝΕΙ ΙΟΣ ΝΙ ΟΥΚΡΑ|ΟΝ *TITUS* : κολταμανει ιος νι μοικραν *Orel* || 7 [-]Ν[--]ΤΑΤΟΛ[-]ΕΟΝΕΙ[-]ΑΕΣΜΟΥΡΣ/ *Ramsay 1887* : [----------] εκυαες [------] *Friedrich* : ν[?] λατομειον εγδαες μουρα *Haas* : ΛΑΤΟΜΕΙΟΝ ΕΓΔΑΕΣ ΜΟΥΡΣΑ TITUS || 8 ΑΙΝΙΚΟΣ ΣΕΜΟΥΝ ΚΝΟΥΜΑΝΕΙ Κ|ΑΚΟΥΝ *Ramsay 1905* : αι νι κος σεμουν κνουμανει κ|ακουν *Calder et Friedrich* : αινι κος σεμουν κνουμανει κ|ακουν *Haas, TITUS et Orel* || 9 ΑΔΔΑΚΕΤ ΑΙΝΙ ΜΑΝΚ(Α) ΑΚΕΟ *Ramsay 1905* : αδδακετ αινι μανκα ϐεο *Calder et Friedrich* : αδδακετ αινι μανκα βεο *Haas* : αδδακετ αινι μανκα βε(κ)ο|ς *TITUS et Orel* || 10 ευγισαρναι *fort.* ευγε σαρνα : ΣΙΟΙ ΜΕ ΤΟΤΟΣ ΣΕΥΓΙΣΑΡΝΑΝ *Ramsay 1905* : ΣΙΟΙΜΕΤΟΤΟΣΣΙΙΙΣΑΡΝΑΝ *Calder* : ΣΙΟΙ με τοτος Σευγισαρναν *Friedrich* : σιοι με τοτοσς Ευγισαρναν *Haas* : ΙΟΙ ΜΕ ΤΟΤΟΣΣ' ΕΥΓΙΣΑΡΝΑΝ *TITUS et Orel* : ιοι με τοτοσσειτι σαρναν legend. Hämmig.

'[L. 8–10] If someone does harm to this tomb or to the stele, let Sarnan not give him bread.'

11.3 (*74*)

Copied by Calder in 1912, "above the triangular pediment of a doorstone" (Calder 1926, 23). Lunate sigma and epsilon. This inscription was confused with 11.1 by Haas (1966, 116 no. 17 and 124 no. 74). However, Brixhe (1999, 286.) argued that 11.1 (17) and 11.3 (74) are two different inscriptions.

Calder 1926, 23 no. LXXIV; Friedrich 1932, 138 no. 74; Haas 1966, 116 no. 17, 124 no. 74 (redirecting to his no. 17 = 11.1); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 77 B 17 (as variant of B 10); Waelkens 1986, 214 no. 544 (also confused with 11.1); TITUS, no. 17 (following Haas); Orel 1997a, 79 no. W-22; Brixhe 1999, 286.*

[--- ...]μ̣ενος ειτο[υ].

1]μ̣ενος ειτο[υ *Calder, Friedrich et Brixhe* : [-----ττετικμε]γος ειτου *Haas* : [---]ττετικ]μ̣ενος ειτου. *Waelkens* : [-----ττετικμε]Ṇος ειτου *TITUS* : ...]μ̣ενος ειτου *Orel.*

'... let him be [---]ed.'

12 Akpınar

12.1 (*121*)

Fragment of a door-stele (0,135×0,51×0,24 m, letters 0,015) (Brixhe and Drew-Bear 1997, 92). Now preserved in Afyon Museum (inv. no. E 9991). Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Brixhe and Drew-Bear 1997, 91–95 no. IV (with photography); Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 182 no. 121 (only the number is given to it).

[-?-]
Ῥιποτειτω μ̣γ[ήμης χαριν]. ι̣ς̣ γ̣[ι κακου]γ̣ [αδδ]-
ᾳ̣κετορ, διως ορ ζεμ[ελ]ως τιττετικμενος
4 [ειτου].

---

1 Ριποτειτῳ μ̣γ[ήμης χαριν]. ι̣ς̣ γ̣[ι κακου]γ̣ *dub.* : ΡΙΠΟΤЄΙΤΩΜΝ̣ *-ca* 6/7.Ι̣Ϛ̣Ν̣-*ca* 5/6-Ν̣[.δ]| ᾳ̣κετορ *dub. Brixhe-Drew-Bear* || 2 τιτ τετικμενος *Brixhe-Drew-Bear.*

'[Greek] ... for Rhipotitos in memory. [Phrygian] Whoever [ma]kes har[m], let him be accursed (in the sight of) gods and men.'

13 Özburun

13.1 (*122*)

Gray basalt stele-door (1,25×1,48×0,50 m; letters 0,03) dated to 190 BC because of its typology (Drew-Bear and Lochman 1996, 123). It was found in a fountain in a place called Kaklık Mevkii. Some reliefs of tools were engraved on the panels of the door. Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Drew-Bear and Lochman 1996, 123 (Levha / Pl. XXII with photograph); Brixhe and Drew-Bear 1997, 95–98 no. V (with photographs); Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 182 no. 122 (only enumerated).

[ιο]ς [σε]μο̣ν [κ]γουμαγ̣ει κακουν [αδ]δ[ακετ],
[ατ τιε τιττετικμενος] ειτου. *uac.*
[Ἀλ]έξανδρος Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Τατια⟨ς⟩ σύμβιος αὐτοῦ
4 ζῶντες ἑαυτοῖς μνήμης χάριν.

---

1 [αδ]δ[ακετ] *dub.* : --κν]ουμαν[ε κακ]ουν [----------] Drew-*Bear-Lochman* : [ ][---]Δ[----] *Brixhe-Drew-Bear* || 2 *e.g., fort.* δεως κε ζεμελως (κε) : [----------] ειτου *Drew-Bear-Lochman et Brixhe-Drew-Bear.*

'[Phrygian] [Wh]oever [ma]k[es] harm to this tomb, let him be [accursed by Zeus]. [Greek] [Al]exandros (the son) of Alexandros and Tatias, his wife, whilst they are alive, made it for themselves in memory.'

14 Göynük

14.1 (*73*)

Fragment of an inscription engraved on a door-stele found in a wall of the *oda* by Calder (1926, 22).

Calder 1926, 22–23 no. LXXIII; Friedrich 1932, 138 no. 73; Haas 1966, 124 no. 73; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 82 no. B 73 (only the Phrygian text); Waelkens 1986, 203 no. 505; TITUS, no. 73; Orel 1997a, 105–106 no. W-39.*

Βαβεις Ἀμμωνίου θυγάτηρ Νουνα {συ}σύνβ[ιο]ν κὲ [ἑαυτῇ].
ιος νι σεμον κνουμανι κακον αββερετορ αι̣γι σας μδ̣υει, [δεως]
ζεμελως τιε τιττετικμενος ειτου.

---

2 μδ̣υει [με δεως] *Calder et Waelkens* : ΜΔΥΕΙ[*Friedrich, Haas et TITUS* : αι νι σας μλυει[ας? με δεως] *Diakonoff-Neroznak* : αι̣ νι̣ σας μ̣α̣γ̣κι [---] *Orel* || 3 ζεμελως τι ετιττετικμενος ειτου *Calder et Waelkens* : ζεμελος τι ετιτ τετικμενος ειτου *Diakonoff-Neorznak* : *om. cett.*

'[Greek] Babis the daughter of Ammonios for Nunas, her husband, and [for herself]. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this tomb and to this μδ̣υει, let him be made accursed (by) Zeus (in the sight of) [gods] and men.'

15 Sopalının Köprü

15.1 (*120*)

Door-stele (0,81×0,55 m; letters 0,015) found in Sopalının köprü, in the south of the Seyitler Gölü (not far from Gezler Köyü, Brixhe and Drew-Bear 1997, 86–87). Some reliefs were engraved on the panels. Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Brixhe and Drew-Bear 1997, 86–91 no. III (with photographs); Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 182 no. 120 (only enumerated).

[..... π]αρτυς ουεβρα. ιος νι σεμον το
[κνουμα]ṿε κακον αδδακετ αιν' ατεαμα, ις τιε τι-
[ττετικ]μ̣ḛṿος ειτυ ουελας κοννου κ' ηνκ-
4 [.....]ṿọịς γ̣ḛṇṭị β̣ḛṇ̣α̣ị κε π̣αρτης β̣ḛκος.

---

2 ις τιε τι *Brixhe-Drew-Bear* || 3 κ' ηνκ *Brixhe-Drew-Bear* : ουελασκοννου *prop. Hämmig* || 4]ṾỌỊÇΓḚṆṬỊḂḚṆ̣Α̣Ị *Brixhe-Drew-Bear*.

'... Whoever does harm to this [tom]b or to this plot, let him be [accur]sed by Zeus...'

16 Gezler Köyü

16.1 (*116*)

White marble stele with a pediment in the top (93×36×12,5 cm) identified by Brixhe in Afyon Museum (without inv. no.). The fourteen lines of this inscriptions are eroded in both margins. It is dated to the first or beginning of the second c. BC because of palaeographic reasons (considered one of the oldest NPhr. texts by Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 161). Classic letters without apices but rectangular sigma.

Brixhe and Neumann 1985, 161–184 (pl. I–III with photographs and copy); Lubotsky 1993a, 128 (only l. 1–4); TITUS, no. 116; Orel 1997a, 125–135 no. W-57.*

ξ̣ḛυνε ιοσος κε δετοṿ [ο?υ]-
ψ̣οδ̣αν κε τ̣α̣ν σαυναμαν [.?]
κ̣ṇ̣ọυμαν κ ακροδμαν κε λ̣ọ-
4 ḍ̣ιμ̣ον μειομον ριδιτι ται τοα̣
μ̣ḛ̣ ọ̣ṿọμανιας εναρκε ερμω[λ]-
α̣ọ̣ς κναικο⟨ς⟩ εκατηας
ọ̣μ̣ọυσασαι ποσεκανες ακα[.?]-

8 ḍ̣εο ποκ γονιον τευτωσι ιε[.]-
ỵ̇ọ̣υταις εδαες πινκε τας ḍ̣[α?]-
ḳ̣ερης ονομανιαις μ̣ιρου ικ[.]
ḳ̣ναικαν εδαες, ις αργμενα[.?]
12 ọ̣̈π̣αρικο οαν οεαυταιι ις κε ε̣ỵ̇
τοιṣ̣ινιοι κνουμαν τιαν τε[.]
[.]μαρḍ̣ι ιδετοι οινις.

1–2 [υ]|ψοḍ̣αν *fort.* [ου]|ψοḍ̣αν : ιος {ος} *Orel* || 5–6 Ερμω[.]|λ̣ọ̣ς *Brixhe-Neumann et* TITUS : ερμω|..ος *Orel* || 6 κναικο εκατηας *cett.* || 9 πινκε τας *Ligorio-Lubotsky 2013* : πινκετας *cett.* || 11–12 τε|ḳ̣μαρ ḍ̣ιι *Orel* || 12 οανο εαυται *Brixhe-Neumann.*

17 Afyonkarahisar (Akroenos)

17.1 (*4b*)

Copied by Seetzen (according to *CIG* III, 10). It is said to be engraved in a little altar. Only the beginning of the imprecative protasis remains of the Phrygian text.

CIG III, 10 no. 3880 (with copy but only edition of the Greek text); Ramsay 1887, 388 no. IV bis; Calder 1911, 167, IV (bis); Friedrich 1932, 129 no. 4 bis; Haas 1966, 114 no. 4bis; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 77 no. B 4 bis (only the Phrygian text as variant of B 10); TITUS, no. 4b (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 65–66 no. W-15.*

[Δ]αδης κατ̣ḍ̣ḳ̣κεύα[σε]ν τοῖς ⟨ἐ⟩νγόνοις,
Μάνῃ καὶ Ζωτικῶ. ις νι σεμου κνο[υμανει]
[---]

---

1 Ἀσκληπιά]δης ? κα[τεσ]κεύα[σε]ν τοῖς ἐνγόνοις [ἑαυτοῦ] *dub. CIG* III : Ἀσκληπι]άδης κα[τ]εσκεύα[σε]ν τοῖς [ἐ]νγόνοις *Ramsay* : [Δ]άδης κα[τεσ]κεύα[σε]ν τοῖς ⟨ἐ⟩νγόνοις *Calder, Friedrich et Haas* || 2 ις *uel* ιο⟨ς⟩ : ιος *Ramsay* : ιο⟨ς⟩ *Calder et Friedrich* : ιο *Haas et TITUS* : ις *uel* ιο *Diakonoff-Neroznak* : ιο νι [σ]εμου *Orel.*

'[Greek] Dades built (it) for her children, Manes and Zotikos. [Phrygian] Whoever [does] ha[rm] to this tomb…'

17.2 (*3*)

Inscription dated to the second c. BC. Copied by Ramsay in November 1881 (1887, 387).

Ramsay 1887, 387 no. III (with copy); Ramsay 1905, col. 106 no. III; Meister 1909, 317–318;

Calder 1911, 166 no. III; Friedrich 1932, 129 no. 3; Haas 1966, 114 no. 3; TITUS, no. 3; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 81–82 no. B 3 (as variant of B 6); Waelkens 1986, 198 no. 490; Lubotsky 1998, 418 no. 3; Orel 1997a, 60–61 no. W-13.*

ιος νι σεμον κνουμανει κακον αḍδακετ
[αινι]? μαγκαι, τ̣ο̣ς γι μ̣ε̣ [δ]ε̣[ως κε ζεμελως κ]ε Τιε

τιττετικμ-
4 ενος ειτου.

---

1 αḍδακετ *Ramsay 1887 et cett.* || 2 [αινι] μαγκαι, τ̣ο̣ς γι *dub.* : δεως *fort.* δεος : τ̣αικαι τ̣ο̣ς γι μ̣ε̣ [ζ]ε̣[μελως κε δεως κ]ε *Lubotsky 1998* : [δεως κε ζεμελζως κ]ε, *Brixhe et Waelkens e.g., TITUS et Orel suppl.* : [ΝΑΙΚ? ΔΙ?]ΔΕΟΣ · ΖΙΜΕΛΩΣ [12 letters] ΕΤΙ *Ramsay 1905 coni.* : μ]α[ν]κα[ν, τ]ος [νι με διος κε ζεμελως] ετι *Calder coni. et Friedrich et Wawlkens seq.* : *Haas non suppl.* || 2–4 κ]ε τιε | τιτ τετικμ|ενος *TITUS et Orel* : ετι ετιττετικμενος *Ramsay 1887* : ΕΤΙ|ΤΙΤΤΕΤΙΚΜ|ΕΝΟΣ *Ramsay 1905* : ετι ετι | ττετικμενος ετι ατ Τιαδ *Meister* : ε|τιττετικμ|ενος *Calder et Friedrich* : ετιετιττετικμενος *Haas* : τιττετικμ|ενος ειτου *Waelkens*.

'Whoever does harm to this tomb [or] stele, let him be accursed by Zeus in the sight of [g]o[ds and men].'

17.3 (7)

Copied by Hamilton in 1836 and, later by Ramsay in November 1881. It was found "in the Armenian burial-ground" of Afyon according to Hamilton.

Hamilton 1842, 432 Appendix V no. 165 (with copy); CIG III 3882c (only a drawing based on Hamilton); Mordtmann 1862, 15 no. 1 (pl. A); Gosche 1864, 225 no. 11; Ramsay 1887, 389–391, VII; Ramsay 1905, col. 10 no. VII; Calder 1911, 168 no. VII; Friedrich 1932, 130 no. 7; Haas 1966, 115 no. 7; TITUS, no. 7; Orel 1997a, 70–71 no. W-18.*

[ιος σεμου]ν κνουμανι κακα
[αδδακ]εν, δεος κε ζεμ[ελος κε]
[---] α̣κε οι ειροι α τιε τιττ[ε-
4 τικμενοι ειν]νου.

---

1 σεμο]ν *fort.* : κακα[ν *Ramsay et Calder*: κακα[.] *Haas et TITUS* : κακα[ν] *Orel* || 2 ZEMI.. *Hamilton, CIG* III, *Mordtmann et Gosche* : χειραν αδακ]εν δεος κε ζεμ[ελω *Ramsay* : ζειραν αδδακ ?]εν, δεος κε ζεμ[ελως *Calder* : α]εν δεος κε ζεμ[ελω] *Haas et TITUS* : αββε]ρεν δεος κε ζεμ[ελως] *Orel* || 3 ΑΚΕΟΙΕΙΡΟΙΑΤΙΕΤΙΠ. *Mordtmann* || 3–4 ...ζειρ]α κε οι ειριοιατι ετιττ[ετικμενα . . . . . ειτ]νου *Ramsay* : ακεοι ειροια τι ετιττ[ε-| ? τικμενα ειττ]νου *Calder et Friedirch* : ατιετιττ[ε | τικμενοι ειττ]νου *Haas* : ...]ακε οι ειροι α τιε τιτ τ[ε]|τικμενοι ειττ]νου *TITUS et Orel.*

'[Whoever] does harms [to thi]s tomb, (in the sight of) gods and m[en] ... and let his ειροι b[e accursed] by Zeus.'

17.4 (*90*)

"Afıon Karahisar, in the garden of the Primary School. Limestone stele with a male and a female figure standing above and uninscribed panel. Beside the male figure, a stylus-case; beside the female figure, a keyplate with keyhole (symbolising a doorstone). On either border, a rope festoon with tassels. H. 1·18; w. 0·84; th. (top) 0·32, (shaft) 0·26; letters, 0·015 to 0·02. The inscription is carved on the upper moulding" (*MAMA* IV 1933: 6). Lunate sigma and epsilon.

MAMA IV, 6 no. 16 (Pl. 13); Haas 1966, 126 no. 90; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 77 no. B-90 (only the Phrygian text as variant of B 10); Waelkens 1986, 195 no. 484 no. 484 (Tafel 74); TITUS, no. 90; Orel 1997a, 112–113 no. W-44.*

[---]μοῠ μνεία[ς χ]άριῠ. [ιος σεμουν]
[κνουμ]ανε κακουν αδδακετ, ⟨τ⟩ε̣ṭ̣τετικμενος ειτο[υ].

2 αδδακετ {ετ} τετικμενος *Orel.*

'[Greek] ... in memory. [Phrygian] [Whoever] does harm [to this tom]b, let him b[e] accursed.'

17.5 (*91*)

White marble door-stele (45×78×26,5 cm) preserved in Afyon Museum (without inv. no.), found "in the yard of the Secondary School" (*MAMA* IV, 6). Rectangular sigma and epsilon.

MAMA IV, 6 no. 17; Haas 1966, 126 no. 91; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 83 no. B 91 (only the Phrygian text); Waelkens 1986, 191 no. 469 (Tafel 70 no. 469); TITUS, no. 91 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 113–114 no. W-45.*

[ιος νι σε]μον [κνουμανει]
[κ]ạ̣κοῠ[ν α]ββερετοι α⟨ι⟩νι
ạ̣ṣ̣ṭ̣αι σα μ[ανκ]ε, [τιτ]-
4 τετικμενος ειτου.

Αφφια ἰδίω ἀνδρί Δ̣ηδη ἐποίησεν μνήμης χάριν.

2 ABBEPETOIANI *lapis* : α]ββερετοι α⟨ι⟩νι *MAMA* : α]ββερετ οι α[ι]νι *Haas et TITUS* : α]ββερετο⟨ρ⟩ α⟨ι⟩νι *Waelkens* : α⟨ι⟩ νι *Orel* || 3 μειμισα μ[.....] *MAMA* : ạ̣ṣ̣τατ ʂạ μ[ανκα?] *Haas et Waelkens* : Ạ̣Ṣ̣ΤΑΤ ʂạ̣ Μ[ΑΝΚΑ]|Ε *Diakonoff-Neroznak et TITUS* : ..... ʂαμ....ε *Orel* || 4 ε[τι]|ττε

τικμενος *MAMA, Haas, Diakonoff-Neroznak et Waelkens* : [τι]|τ τετικμενος *TITUS et Orel* || 5 Ἀφφια MAMA et *Haas* : Αφφια *Waelkens*.

'[Phrygian] [Whoever] brings [h]ar[m to th]is [tomb] or ą̣ṛ̣ṭą̣ị this s[tel]e, let him be accursed. [Greek] Appia made (it) for her own husband Dedes in memory.'

17.6 (*119*)

Broken door-stele (0,97 × 0,75 × 0,25 m) found in 1987 in the north of Afyon, during the scoring of the industrial area called Çapak Çayırı. In light of its iconography, it is thought to have come from İscehisar (Dokimeion). It was later reused and now is preserved in Afyon Museum (inv. no. 10102). Relieves of a couple and some objects engraved on the doors. Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Brixhe and Drew-Bear 1997, 80–86 no. 11 (with photograph); Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 182 no. 119 (only enumerated).

[---]
[..... μνήμη]ς χάριν. *uac.* ιǫ̣ς νι σεμ[ουν] ṭο

κνουμανε κακεν αδδακετ, με ζεμελως κε δεως κε

τιτετικμενος ειτου.

---

3 τι τετικμενος *Brixhe-Drew-Bear*.

'[Greek] ... in [memor]y. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to th[is] tomb, let him be accursed in the sight of men and gods.'

18 Sülümenli (Augustopolis)

18.1 (*4*)

Inscription copied by Ramsay in 1881 and in 1884. Lunate sigma and epsilon, cursive omega.

Ramsay 1882, 143; Ramsay 1887, 387–388 no. IV (with copy); Ramsay 1905, col. 106 no. IV; Calder 1911, 166 no. IV; Friedrich 1932, 128 no. 4; Haas 1966, 114 no. 4; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 81–82 no. B 6; TITUS, no. 4 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 62–65 no. W-14.*

Διόδοτος Μακεδονικὸ[ς καὶ Αλέξαν]δρος Ἀριστάρχου ἐποίησεν Δέ-
τη ἰδία πενθερᾶ. ιος νι σεμοῦ [κνουμανει] κακουν αδακετ αινι οι
θαλαμειδη, διως ζεμελω[ς τιτετ]ικμενος ειτου.

---

1 Μακεδονικὸ[ς ὁ καὶ Μέναν]δρος *Ramsay 1882 suppl. et cett. secuti* || 2 πενθερᾷ *Ramsay, Friedrich, Haas et Orel* : πενθερᾶ *Calder* : *κνουμανι Ramsay 1882 suppl. et cett. secuti* : AINI OI *TITUS leg.* : αινιοι *Ramsay 1887 et 1905 et Haas* : αιν οι *Calder et Friedrich* : αι νι οι *Orel* || 3 θαλαμειδη *Ligorio-Lubotsky 2013 et 2018* : θαλαμει δη ζεμελω[ς τιτ τετ]ικμενος *TITUS et Orel* : θαλαμει δη ζεμελω [ετιττετ]ικμενος ειτου *Ramsay 1887 et Haas* : ΘΑΛΑΜΕΙ ΔΗ ΖΕΜΕΛΩ[Σ? ΕΤΙΤΤΕΤ]ΙΚΜΕΝΟΣ *Ramsay 1905* : θαλαμει δη, ζεμελω[ς τιττετ]ικμενος ειτου *vel dub.* ζεμελ[ω ετι -- *Calder* : θαλαμει, δη ζεμελω[ς τιττετ]ικμενος ειτου *Friedrich*.

'[Greek] Diodotos Macedonia[n and Alexan]dros (the sons) of Aristarkhos made it for Dete, their own mother-in-law. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this [tomb] or its (funerary) chamber, let him be [accu]rsed among gods (and) men.'

18.2 (5)

Inscription found and read by Hamilton. Cursive omega, lunate sigma and epsilon.

Hamilton 1842 II, 477 no. 376 (only copy); CIG III, Add., no. 3883c; Mordtmann 1862, 15 no. 2 (pl. A, no. 122, copy based on Hamilton); Gosche 1864, 225 no. 15; Ramsay 1887, 388–389 no. V (with copy); Ramsay 1905, col. 108–109 no. V (with copy); Calder 1911, 167 no. V; Friedrich 1932, 129 no. 5; Haas 1966, 115 no. 5; Haas 1970a, 48 and 60 no. 5; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 82 no. B 75 (only the Phrygian text); Strubbe 1997, 178 no. 257 (only the Greek text); TITUS, no. 5 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 66–68 no. W-16; Anfosso 2018, 16–17.*

Λα Ιμενος ἀνδρί γλυκυτάτω Ζωτι[κ]ῶ μ-
νήμης χάριν· ις κε σεμουν κ⟨ν⟩ουμινος ⟨κακουν⟩
αδακεν, με διω[ς ζ]εμελως τιτετικμενος ητου.
4 ὃς ἂν δὲ κακῶς [π]υήσε, τέκνα ἄω-
ρα ἐντύ[χοιτο].

---

1 Λᾶ Ἰ[μ]ενος ἀ[νρί] *Calder, Haas, Orel et Anfosso* : [ἡ δεῖνα κατεσκεύ]α[σ]εν [τ]έ[κνῳ] *dub. Ramsay 1887* : [Μνησιθὲ]α [υἱῶ] γλυκυτάτῳ *dub. Ramsay 1905* || 2 σεμουν *fort.* σεμουμ : ICKЄCЄMOYNKNOYMINOC *Mordtmann* : σεμου κ[ν]ουμινος *Ramsay 1887* : ΣΕΜΟΥΝ Κ[Ν]-ΟΥΜΙΝ[Ε ΚΑΚΟΥΝ *Ramsay 1905* : σεμου[ν] κ(ν)ουμινος (κακουν) *Calder* : σεμουμ κουμινος ⟨κακουν⟩ *Haas* : σεμου[ς] κ⟨ν⟩ουμινος ⟨κακουν⟩ *Diakonoff-Neroznak* : ΣΕΜΟΥΜ Κ⟨Ν⟩ΟΥΜΙ-ΝΟΣ ⟨ΚΑΚΟΥΝ⟩ *TITUS et Anfosso* : σεμουμ κουμινος *Orel* || 3 ΑΔΑΚΕΝ, ΜΕ ΔΙΩ[Σ Ζ]ΟΜΟΛΩΣ ΤΙ ΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟΣ ΗΤΟΝ *TITUS* : ΑΛΑΚЄΝΜЄΔΙω . . . ΟΜΟΛωЄΤΙΤЄΤΙΚΜΕΝΟC *Mordtmann* : α[δ]ακεν με διως ζ[ε]μ[ε]λω ετιτετικμενος ητο[υ] *Ramsay 1887* : Α[Δ]ΑΚΕΝ, ΜΕ ΔΙΩ[Σ Ζ]ΟΜΟΛΩ[Σ] ΤΙ ΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟΣ ΗΕΤΟ[Υ] *Ramsay 1905* : με διω[ς ζ]ομολω ετιτετικμενος ητου

Calder et Friedrich : με διω[ς ζ]ομολω ετιτετικμενος ητου *Diakonoff-Neroznak* : ητον *Haas* : αδακεν με διω[ς ζ]εμελως τιτετικμενος ητου *Orel* : με διως[ς ζ]ομολω ετιτετικμενος *Anfosso* || 4 hyhce *Hamilton*: [π]υήσε⟨ι⟩ *CIG III* : [π]υήσε[ι] *Ramsay 1887 leg. et cett. seq.* : ⟨π⟩υήσε *Strubbe et Anfosso* || 5 aω|paenty.. *Hamilton* : ἄω|ρα [--] *CIG III* : ἐντύ[χοιτο *Ramsay 1887 et cett. seq.* : ἐντύ[χυτο] *vac. Strubbe* : ἐντύ[χυτο] ... ητον *Anfosso* || 4–5 *Orel om.*

'[Greek] La (the daughter) of Iman for her dearest husband Zoti[k]os in memory. [Phrygian] And whoever does ⟨harm⟩ to this tomb, let him be accursed in the sight of god[s (and) m]en. [Greek] Whoever does harm (to it), let him have children untimely (dead).'

18.3 (*6*)

Inscription copied by Ramsay in August 1884, found "beside Surmeneh, on one of the circle of stones (χρηπίς) which surrounded a small tumulus. There seem to have been in this neighbourhood many small tumuli, built all in the same way with a low circular wall enclosing and holding together a mound of earth" (Ramsay 1887, 389). The letters were eroded when copied. Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Ramsay 1887, 389 (with copy), VI; Ramsay 1905, col. 109–110 no. VI; Calder 1911, 167–168 no. VI; Friedrich 1932, 129 no. 6; Haas 1951, 6–7 no. 6; Haas 1966, 115 no. 6; Haas 1970b, 6–7 no. 6; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 81–82 no. B 6; TITUS, no. 6; Orel 1997a, 68–69 no. W-17.*

[ιο]ς νι σεμουν κνουμανε ⸗[ακον]
αββερετ ατ νου[.] μου[ρου]ν,
τος νι με ζεμελος κε δεος
4 ⸗κε τιη τιττετικμενος ε[ι]⸗του.

---

1 κνουμανει [κακουν] *Ramsay 1887* : ιο]σ νι σεμουν κνουμανε κ[akin *Ramsay 1905* || 2 α[ι]νου [μ.]μονκ[κα]ν *TITUS* : α[ι]νου[ν] μο[υρα]τος *Ramsay 1887* : α[ι]νου[ν] μ[α]νκ[α]ν.[αυ *Ramsay 1905* : α[ι]νου[μ] μ[α]ν[κα]ν *Calder et Friedrich* : α[ι]νου[μ] μον-[κα]ν *Haas 1966* : ατνου[μ] μον[κα]ν *Haas 1970b* : αι νου[μ] μον[κα]ν Orel || 3 ζεμελος : ζεμελω *cett.* || 4 .. ετι ητιττετικμενος *Ramsay 1887, 1905, Calder et Friedrich* : [. .] | [α⸗]τιη τιττετικμε-νος *Haas* : ⸗κ|ε τιη τιτ τετικμενος *Diakonoff-Neroznak* : [κ]|ε τιη τιτ τετικμενος ε[ιτ]ου *Orel.*

'[Wh]oever brings h[arm] to this tomb..., let him be made accursed by Zeus in the sight of men and gods.'

19 Sülün (Formerly Süğlün, Prymnessos)

19.1 (*96*)

Withe marble door-stele (85,5×71×13,5 bottom—-20,5 above) preserved in Afyon Musem (inv. no. E 1550/80,). Dated to between 138 and 161 AD (Waelkens 1986, 199). Rectangular sigma and epsilon. Greek protasis followed by a Phrygian apodosis.

MAMA VI 1939, 133 no. 382 (pl. 67 no. 382); Haas 1966, 127 no. 96; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 81 no. B 96; Waelkens 1986, 199 no. 493 (Tafel 71, no. 493); TITUS, no. 96; Orel 1997a, 118 no. W-49; Brixhe 2002a, 252–253; Anfosso 2018, 13.*

ὃς ἂν τούτω τῶ μνημείω κακῶς προσποιήσει ἢ τοῖς
προγεγραμμένοις ὑπεναντίον τι πράξη, με δεως κε

ζεμελως κε τιτετικ̰μενος ειτου.

---

3 ζεμελως κ ετιτετικμενος ειτου *MAMA et Haas* : ζεμελος κ ετιτετικμενος ειτου *Waelkens* : ζεμελως κε τι τετικμενος *Diakonoff-Nerorznak, TITUS, Orel et Anfosso*.

'[Greek] Who damages this monument or contravenes the foregoing injunctions, [Phrygian] let him be accursed in the sight of gods and men.'

19.2 (*129*)

Upper fragment of a calcareous stele found in höyük located in the Ahmet Karahisarı campus of the Kocatepe Univesity at Afyon-karahisar and preserved in the museum of this city. It was dated to the second c. BC by the first editos (Brixhe and Drew-Bear 2010, 162), but recently Ligorio and Lubotsky (2013, 182) labelled it as a NPhr. inscription, so dated to the first or second c. AD. The shape of the sigma is classic, but it is not a so conclusive a feature to consider it a Hellenistic inscription.

Brixhe and Drew-Bear 2010; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 182 no. 129 (only enumerated); Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1818 no. 129 (only enumerated); Lubotsky 2017, 430–431.

ı̣ος νι σα μα̣τ[ε]-
ρε κακον αββε̣ -
ρ̣ετοι αινι σερ̣[?]-
4 οα, τος νι με
ζ̣εμελω̣[ς ....]
[---]

1–2 μα̣τ[ε]|ρε *Ligorio—Lubotsky* : μα̣τ[ε̣]|ρε *Lubotsky* : μα̣γ[?]|ρε *Brixhe-Drew-Bear*.

'Whoever brings harm to the Mother or to Serva, [let] him … in the sight of me[n…].'

20 Bolvadin (Polybotos)

20.1 (*63*)

Inscription copied by Calder in 1908 and 1910 (with a better reading). Although he was able to see it again in 1912, now it is lost. Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Calder 1911, 208–210 no. LXIII (with copy); Calder 1926, 28 no. LXIII (revised reading); MAMA I, 201 no. 385 (with photograph); Friedrich 1932, 137 no. 63; Haas 1966, 123 no. 63; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 81–82 no. B 63 (as variant of B 6); Waelkens 1986, 204–205 no. 509 (with photograph from MAMA I); TITUS, no. 63 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 102–103 no. W-36.*

ιος νι σεμουν κνουμανε κακουν αδδ̣α-
κεττ̣ορ, δεως ζεμελως κ̣ε τιτε{τε}-
τι[κμενο]ς [ειτου].

2–3 [τ]ε τιτετ[οκμενος *uel* εικμενος ειτου] *Calder* : τε τιτε{τ̣ε}|τι[κμενο]ς [ειτου] *MAMA et Friedrich* : τετιτετ̣ε|τι[κμεν]ς [ειτου] *Haas* : ⟨κ⟩ε τι τε{τ̣ε}|τι[κμενο]ς *Waelkens* : ΤΕ ΤΙ{ΤΕ} ΤΕ|ΤΙ[ΚΜΕΝΟ]Σ *TITUS* : κ̣ε τι τε{τε}|τι[κμενος ειτου] *Orel.*

'Whoever does harm to this tomb, [let him] be accursed (in the sight of) gods and men.'

20.2 (*128*)

Stele ("H. 1.82; w. [top] 0.515, [shaft] 0.46, [bottom] 0.54; th. max. 0.175; l. h. 0.02") found in Dura Yeri, now preserved in Bolvadin Museum. It has three acroteria decorated with palmetes, "triangular pediment with raised boss centre, below which is a shell motif between mouldings of stylized eggs and darts above a Lesbian leaf motif surmounting pilaster capitals (that on right damaged) with double volutes and stylized floral decoration. On the shaft, between fluted pilasters above bases with mouldings in relief, is a male child between two standing figures […] on a broken base" (Drew-Bear, Lubotsky and Üyümez 2008, 113). Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Drew-Bear, Lubotsky and Üyümez 2008, 113–115 no. 3 (with photograph and the translation); Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 182 no. 128 (only enumerated); Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1818 no. 128 (only enumerated).

Πασικράτης β’
Χάρμου ζῶν καὶ
φρονῶν σὺν γυ-
4 ναικὶ Τατια καὶ
τέκνοις Ἀριστογέ-
νη καὶ Ἀλεξάν-
δρω.

8 ιος νι σεμουν κνου-
μανε κακουν αδδα-
κετ, με δδεω με ζεμε-
λος τιτετικμενος
12 ειτου

ας βαταν ορουεναν κε.

‘[Greek] Pasikrates, son of Pasikrates grandson of Charmos, whilst he is alive and of sound mind, with his wife Tatia and their children Aristogenes and Alexandros. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this grave, let him be cursed among gods and men by Bas and the Father.’

20.3 (62)

Complete Phrygian inscription engraved in a block stone found in 1910 in the east of the Bolovadin road to Çay. Lunate sigma and epsilon, cursive omega. *Calder 1911, 203–208 no. LXII (with copy); MAMA I, 200 no. 384 (with photograph); Friedrich 1932, 137 no. 62; Haas 1966, 123 no. 62; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 79 no. 62; TITUS, no. 62 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 102 no. W*-35.*

ιος νι σεμυν κν°υ-
μανει κακυν αδδα-
κετ αι καν, ατ τιη κε
4 δεως κε τιττετικμε-
νος ειτου.

---

3 Αττιη *Calder, Friedrich et Diakonoff-Neroznak* : αττιη *Haas* : ατ τιη *TITUS et Orel* || 4 τιττετικμε|νος *Calder et Friedrich* : ετιττετικμε|νος *Haas et Diakonoff-Neroznak* : τιτ τετικμε|νος *TITUS et Orel.*

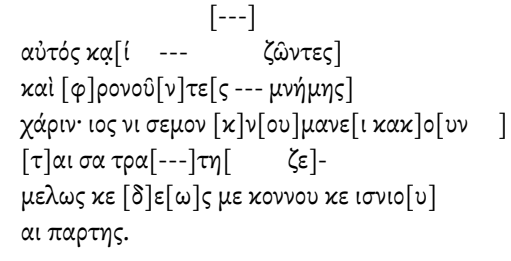
‘Whoever does harm to this tomb or whatever, let him be accursed by Zeus and the gods.’

21 Kocaöz (Formerly Feleli)

21.1 (*42*)

Copied by Hogarth: "Fellelü: on a door-tomb of which three panels remain; in the upper two are female figures, and in the lower one a wheatsheaf. The stone is half buried in packed earth, upside down, and thus the first lines and much of the right-hand portion cannot be seen. The Phrygian part of the lettering is smaller and more crowded" (1890, 158–159). Ramsay added that it was recopied by Hogarth in 1890, "when a few letters were added" (1905, col. 102). Lunate sigma and epsilon, cursive omega.

Hogarth 1890, 158–159 no. 2 (with copy); Ramsay 1905, col. 102 no. XLII (with copy); Calder 1911, 184–185 no. XLII; Friedrich 1932, 134 no. 42; Haas 1966, 120 no. 42; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 80 no. B 42 (only the Phrygian text); Waelkens 1986, 204 no. 507; TITUS, no. 42; Orel 1997a, 94–96 no. W-32.*



[---]
αὐτός κᾳ[ί --- ζῶντες]
καὶ [φ]ρονοῦ[ν]τε[ς --- μνήμης]
χάριν· ιος νι σεμον [κ]ν[ου]μανε[ι κακ]ο[υν]
4 [τ]αι σα τρα[---]τη[ζε]-
μελως κε [δ]ε[ω]ς με κοννου κε ισνιο[υ]
αι παρτης.

---

1 [Ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος ἀνεστησε] | αὐτὸς κα[ὶ ἡ δεῖνα ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ζωντες] *Hogarth* : αὐτὸς κ[αὶ ἡ δεῖνα ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ζωντες] *Ramsay* : αὐτὸς κ[αὶ . . . . . ζῶντες] Calder, *Friedrich et Haas* : --- | αὐτὸς κᾳ[ὶ --- ζῶντες] *Waelkens* || 2 καὶ [φ]ρονοῦ[ν]τε[ς τῷ δεῖνι τῷ τέκνῳ μνήμης] *Hogarth* : καὶ [φ]ρονοῦ[ν]τε[ς ἑαυτοῖς τὸ μνημεῖον ἐποίησαν μνήμης] *Ramsay* : καὶ [φ]ρονοῦ[ν]τε[ς ἀνέστησαν μνήμης] *Calder et Friedrich* : καὶ [φ]ρονου[ν]τε[ς . . . . .] *Haas* : καὶ [φ]ρονοῦ[ν]τε[ς --- μνήμης] *Waelkens* || 3 χάριν. Ἴος νι σεμον [κνουμανει κακουν ἀδδακετ αἰνι]αι *dub. Hogarth* : χάριν. ΙΟΣ ΝΙ ΣΕΜΟΝ [Κ]Ν[Ι]ΜΑΝΕ[Ι ΚΑΚ]Ο[ΥΝ ΑΒΒΕΡΕ|Τ]ΑΙ *Ramsay* : χάριν· ιος νι σεμον [κ]ν[ι]μαν[ει κακ]ο[υν δακε|τ]αι *Calder et Friedrich* : χάριν ιος νι σεμον [κ]ν[.]μαν[ει κακ]ο[υν δακ]||[τ]αι *Haas et Waelkens* : ιος νι σεμον [κ]ν[ι]μαν[ει κακ]ο[υν δακετ] | [αι] *Diakonoff-Neroznak* : ΙΟΣ ΝΙ ΣΕΜΟΝ [Κ]Ν[Ο]ΥΜΑΝ[ΕΙ ΚΑΚ]Ο[ΥΝ ΔΑΚΕ]||[Τ]ΑΙ *TITUS* : ιος νι σεμον [κ]ν[.]μαν[ει κακ]ο[υν δακ]||[τ] αι *Orel* || 4 σα . . . . . [. . . . . ζε|μελως *sic Hogarth* : [με ζε|μελως *sic Ramsay* : σα τρα[. . .]τη [. . . . . με ζεμελως] *Calder et Friedrich* : σα τρα[. . .] τη [. . . . . ζε]||μελως *Haas* : σα τρα[πε]ζη [..ξε]μελως *Diakonoff-Neroznak* : σα τρα[...]τη [- - - ζε]||μελως *Waelkens* : ΣΑΤΡΑ[...]ΤΗ[..... [ΖΕ|ΜΕΛΩΣ *TITUS* : τρα..ζ̣η [... ζεμελως] *Orel* || 5 μελως κε [δ]ε[ο]ς με ἰς νι . . . . . *Hogarth* : ΚΕ [Δ]Ε[Ο]Σ ΜΕ ΚΟΝΝΟΥ ΚΕ ΙΣΝΙΟ[Υ] *Ramsay* : κε [δ]ε[ως] ΜΕΚΟΝΝΟΥΚΕΙΣΝΙΟ/// *Calder et Friedrich* : κε [δ]ε[ω]ς με κοννου κε ισνιο[υ] *Haas, Diakonoff-Neroznak et TITUS* : [δ]ε[ω]ς ⟨κ⟩ε κοννου κε ισνιο[υ] *Waelkens* : κε [δ]ε[ω]ς μεκον νου κε ισνιο[υ] *Orel* || 5 αι παρτης *Hogarth* : ΑΙ ΠΑ *Ramsay* : ΑΙΠΑΡΤΗΣ *Calder et Friedrich* : αι παρτης *Haas* : ..αι παρτης *Diakonoff-Neroznak* : αι παρ̣τ̣ης *Waelkens* : αι παρτης *TITUS et Orel.*

'[Greek] ... himself and [---, whilst they are alive] and of sound min[d, ---- in] memory. [Greek] Whoever [--- ha]rm to this t[o]m[b] ..., let him ... (in the sight of) men and gods...'

21.2 (*43*)

Inscription engraved "on a door-tomb, broken top and right, and no built into a courtyard wall" (Hogarth 1890, 158). Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Hogarth 1890, 158 no. 1 (copy); Ramsay 1905, col. 103 (with Hogarth's copy); Calder 1911, 185 no. XLIII; Friedrich 1932, 134 no. 43; Haas 1966, 120 no. 43; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 79 no. B 43 (only the Phrygian text as variant of B 14); Waelkens 1986, 203–204 no. 506; TITUS, no. 43; Orel 1997a, 96–97 no. W-33.*

[--- μνήμης]
1 χάρ]ιν.
[ι]ǫς νι σεμ- ουν κνου[μ]-
ανει κακουν αδδακετ αινι α
4 [τεαμας?]

---

1 χάρ]ιν *Hogarth* || 2 [Ι]ος νι σεμ[[--]]ουν κνου[μ]|ανει *Waelkens* || 3 ανει κακουν ἀδδακετ αἰνια [ἐτιτετικμενος εἰτου *dub. Hogarth* : ΚΑΚΟΥΝ Α[ΔΔ]ΑΚΕΤ ΑΙΝΙ Α[*Ramsay* : αινει κακουν α[δδ]ακετ αινι α|[δατεα] *dub. Calder et Friedrich* : κακουν αδδακετ αινια[--- *Haas* : ατεαμας *mal. Brixhe* : ανει κακουν α(δδ)ακετ αινι α[τεαμα?] *Waelkens* : ΚΑΚΟΥΝ ΑΔΔΑΚΕΤ ΑΙΝΙ Α|[ΤΕΑΜΑ *dub. TITUS* : κακουν αδδακετ αι νι α|[---] *Orel.*

'[Greek] [... in] memory. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this to[m]b or to [this plot? ---]'

22 Işıklar

22.1 (*9*)

"White marble stele. H. 0·76; w. 0·46; th. 0·20; letters, 0·02. Pediment with foliate side-pieces and acroterion, containing boss" (*MAMA* IV, 6). Inscription copied by Ramsay in August 1884, who found it "among the hills south of Tchobanlar [...] in a fountain" (Ramsay 1887, 390). Dated to the third c. AD. Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Ramsay 1887, 390–391 no. IX (with copy); Ramsay 1905, col. 110–112 no. IX (only the Phrygian text); Calder 1911, 169 no. IX; Friedrich 1932, 129–130 no. 9; MAMA IV, 6–7 no. 18 (Pl. 14); Haas 1966, 115 no. 9; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 84 no. C 9; TITUS, no. 9; Orel 1997a, 72–76 no. W-20.*

υς δουμ?ετυου πασε
δεκμουταις κινο[υ]-
μα ε̣τι μ⟨α⟩νκαν οπεσταμ-
ε̣ν̣α̣ν̣ δαδιτι νεν[υε]ρια
παρτυς ουβρα.
Κόϊντος Ῥούφου τῇ ἰδί-
ᾳ γυναικὶ Νενυερια μν-
[ήμη]ς ἀ̣[ϊδ]ιότατον ἵνεκα.
[---]

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1 ΥΣΔΟΥΝΕΤ[.]ΟΥΠΑΣΕ *Ramsay 1887* : ΥΣΔΟΥΝΕΤΥΟΥΠΑΣΕ *Ramsay 1905* : ?Θ]υς Δουμ[μ]ετ-[α]ου Πασε|δεκμουταις *Calder* : ʔΥς Δουμ[μ]ετ[α]ου Πασε| δεκμουταις *Friedrich* : υσδουνετυ-ουπασε *MAMA* : [------] τ[.] ΟΥΠΑΣΕ *Haas* : [ΥΣΔΟΥΝΕ]Τ[Υ]ΑΥΠΑΣΕ *TITUS* : ϰο̣[υ]θυ[σ] ετ [ρ]ουπασ̣ *Orel* || 2 ΔΕΚΜΟΥΤΑΙΣΚΙΝΟ[--] Ramsay 1887 : ΔΕΚΜΟΥΤΑΙΣΚΙΝΟ *Ramsay 1905* : κινο[υ]||μα[ν] *Calder* : κινομ|μα[ν] *Friedrich* : δεκμουτα ισκινο{γο} *MAMA* : δεκμουνταις ϰινοῠ *Haas* : ΔΕΚΜΟΥΤΑΙΣ ϰΙΝΟΥ|ΜΑ *Diaknoff-Neroznak et TITUS* : δεκμουνταις ϰνου|μα *Orel* || 3 ΜΑ[.]ΤΙΜΝΚΑΝΟΤΕΣΤΑΜ *Ramsay 1887 et 1905* : τι μ⟨α⟩νκ[α]ν οπε σταμ|ν[αν] *Calder et Friedrich* : μαγ τι μνκαν οπε εταμε|ναγ *MAMA* : μα ετι μνκαν οπεσταμ *Haas* : τι μ⟨α⟩νκαν οπε-σταμε̣ν̣α̣ν̣ *Diaknoff-Neroznak* : ε̣ΤΙ ΜΝΚΑΝ ΟΠΕΣΤΑΜ|ε̣ν̣α̣ν̣ *TITUS* : ετι μ⟨α⟩νκα οπεσ̣ταμ|ενα̣ *Orel* || 4 Ν[.]ΔΑΔΙΤΙΝΕΝ[..]ΡΙΑ *Ramsay 1887* : ΝΑ̣ΙΙΔΑΔΙΤΙΝΕΝ̣Υ̣Σ̣ΡΙΑ *Ramsay 1905* : δαδιτι Νενυσρια *Calder et Friedrich* : δαδιτι Νενυεριᾳ *MAMA et Diaknoff-Neroznak* : ε̣γαγ δαδιτι Νενυ-ερια *Haas* : ΔΑΔΙΤΙ ΝΕΝΥΕΡΙΑ *TITUS* : δαδιτι νενυερια *Orel* || 5 ΠΑΡΤΥΣΟΥΒΡΑ *Ramsay 1887 et 1905* : Παρτυσουβρα *Caldet et Friedrich* : παρτυσουβρα *MAMA et Diaknoff-Neroznak* : [ε]παρ-τυς ουκρα *Haas et TITUS* : παρτυ σουβρα *Orel* || 6 Κόϊντος, Ῥούφου τῇ ἰδί|α *MAMA* : Κοίντος Ρούφου τῇ ἰδίᾳ *Ramsay 1887* : Κόϊντος Ρούφου τῇ[ι] ἰδί|αι *Calder et Friedrich* : Κοιτος Ρούφου τῇ ιδί *Haas et Orel* || 7 [γ]υναικὶ Νενυσρίᾳ μν[ήμη]ς *Ramsay 1887, Calder et Friedrich* : Νενυερία *MAMA* : γυναικ[ὶ] Νενυερία μν[ει]|ας *Haas et Orel* || 8 ἀ̣[ϊ]δ̣ιότατον ἵνεκα *MAMA* : ἀ[ιδ]ιότατον ⟨ε⟩ἵνεκα *Calder et Friedrich* : ἀ[ιδ]ιότατον ⟨ε⟩ἵνεκα κ.τ.λ. *Ramsay 1887* : [α---]ὸτατον [ἵν]εκα *Haas* : ἀ[...]ὸτατον [ἕν]εκα *Orel.*

'[Phrygian] ... [Greek] Quintus Rufus (made it) for his own daughter Nenueria in eternal memory.'

22.2 (*118*)

Lower part of a broken stele preserved in Afyon Museum (inv. E. 1978). Under the figures of a man and a woman a complete Phrygian curse was engraved. Lunate sigma and epsilon, cursive omega.

Mitchell 1993, 186 fig. 33 (*photography only*)*; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 182 no. 118* (*only enumerated*)*; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1818 no. 118.*

ιος νι σεμον
ϰνουμανει
ϰακον αδδ-

4 ακετ, τετιο-
κμενος ειτου διως
κε ζεμελως κε παρ-
της.

'Whoever does harm to this tomb, let him be accursed (in the sight of) gods and men *partes*.'

23 Kuzören

23.1 (*89*)

Fragment of an inscription found by Anderson (no more information available). Now lost. Only a Greek anthroponym and the beginning of a common Phrygian protasis was read. Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Anderson 1899 II, 300 no. 224; Haas 1966, 126 no. 89; TITUS, no. 89; Orel 1997a, 112 no. W-43.*

Ἑρμογέν[ης ---]
ιος νι σε[μουν ---]

2 σε[μουν *Anderson, Haas et Orel* : ΣΕ[ΜΟΥΝ ΚΝΟΥΜΑΝΕΙ *TITUS*.

'[Greek] Hermogenes [---] [Phrygian] Whoever to th[is ---]'

24 Efesultan

24.1 (*40*)

"Plain limestone block. H. 0·97; w. 0·89; letters, 0·04. The inscription begins 0·085 from the top of the Stone" (*MAMA* IV, 24). It was found by Legrand and Chamonard in a wall of a mosque on the road side. Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Legrand and Chamonard 1893, 289 no. 94 (only copy); Radet and Ouvré 1896, 111–114 no. 7 (with copy); Ramsay 1905, col. 101 no. XL (where it is said to be following Anderson's copy 1898, 122, although actually it is the inscription no. 41.1); Calder 1911, 184 no. XL; MAMA IV, 24 no. 76 (pl. 22); Friedrich 1932, 134 no. 40; Haas 1966, 119 no. 40; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 81–82 no. B 40 (as variant of B 6); TITUS, no. 40; Orel 1997a, 94 no. W-31.*

ιος νι σεμουν κνουμανε κακεν
αδδακετορ, δεως ζεμελως κε τιτ-
τετικμε-·νος ειτου.

1 σ[ε]μουν *Ramsay* : σεμουν *cett.* || 2 αδδακετ ορ δεως ζεμελως κ(ε) ετιτ|τετικμε[ν]ος *Ramsay* : αδδακετορ, δεως ζεμελως κε τιτ|τετικμε[ν]ος *Calder* : αδδακετορ δεως ζεμελως κε τιτ|τετικμενος *Ramsay*: αδδακετορ δεως ζεμελως κ ετιτ|τετικμενος *Haas* : αδδακετορ δεως ζεμελως κε τιτ|τετικμενος *TITUS et Orel.*

'Whoever does harm to this tomb, let him be accursed (in the sight of) gods and men.'

25 Şuhut (Synnada)

25.1 (*115*)

Door-stele (1×0,75×0,16–0,20 m) identified in 1973 by Marc Waelkens in Afyon Museum (without inv. no.), it is said to be found in Çai, but because of typology is considered to come from Synnada. "Il s'agit d'un monument rectangulaire, taillé dans un bloc de marbre blanc veiné de rouge des carrières de Dokimeion. Son dos a été travaillé à la pinte, tandis que les côtés et la face sont dressés à la gradine. Ce traitement indique que le monument—comme le groupe de pierres tombales à fausse porte qu'il imite et don il sera question plus loin—fut à l'origine encastré dans un ensemble funéraire plus grand" (Brixhe and Waelkens 1981, 68). Dated ca. 150–200 AD. The inscription is engraved in the pediment. Cursive letters (0,9 cm) with ligatures.

Brixhe and Waelkens 1981, 68–75 (with photograph); SEG 31.1126; Waelkens 1986, 191 no. 470 (Tafel 70, no. 470); TITUS, no. 115 (onlty the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 124–125 no. W-56.*

Ἀριστόξ[ενος] ἰδ[ί]ῳ ṗενθερῷ Ἀδυμήτω θαλαμείδα.
ιος νι σεμον κνουμανει κακον αδακετ αινι σα τ[ο]υ τ̰εμας,
τιε τιττετικμενος ειτ̰ου.

1 Θαλαμείδα *Brixhe-Waelkens et Orel* : θαλαμειδα *Waelkens* : θαλαμείδα *SEG* || 3 τι ετιττετικμενος *Brixhe-Waelkens, Waelkens et SEG* : τιε τιτ τετικμενος *TITUS et Orel.*

'[Greek] Aristox[enos] (built this burial) chamber for his own father-in-law Adymetos. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this tomb or to this plot, let him be accursed.'

25.2 (*126*)

Complete inscription on a broken stele ("H. 0.53, w. 0.40, th. 0.12, l. h. 0.03" Drew-Bear, Lubotsky and Üyümez 2008, 109), preserved in Afyon Museum. The stele preserves the settings lines above and below the letters. Interpunction is used only in the syllables of the common theonym and participle of the Phrygian imprecation. Rectangular sigma and epsilon. Hedera separates the Greek text from the Phrygian one.

Drew-Bear, Lubotsky and Üyümez 2008, 109–111 no. 1; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 182 no. 126 (*only enumerated*)*; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1818 no. 126* (*only enumerated*)*.*

Ṭρόφιμος Καί-
σαρος δοῦλος
καὶ Οὐαλερία Γλυκέ-
4 α Κλαυδία Πρεπούσῃ
συνγενίδι καὶ εὐεργ-
έτιδι. ❧ ιος νι σεμουν
κνουμανε κακ[ου]ν αδ-
8 δακετ, Τι·ε τιτ·τε[·]τι·-

[κμενος] ẹιτoṿ.

'[Greek] Trophimos slave of Caesar and Valeria Glykea (made it) for Claudia Preopusa their relative and benefactor. [Phrygian] Whoever does ha[r]m to this tomb, let him be acc[ursed] by Zeus.'

26 Inl1

26.1 (*8*)

Inscription copied by Ramsay in August 1884. Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Ramsay 1887, 390 no. VIII (*with copy*)*; Calder 1911, 168 no. VIII; Friedrich 1932, 129 no. 8; Haas 1966, 115 no. 8; TITUS, no. 8; Orel 1997a, 71–72 no. W*-19.*

[--- ...]μενος ειτου.

1]μενος *TITUS et Orel* : τετικ]μενος *Clader et Friedrich* :] μενος *Haas* : *fort.* [--- (τι)(τ)τετικ]-μενος aut [--- γεγαριτ]μενος.

'[---] let him be [---]ed.'

26.2 (*38*)

Inscription "engraved above a tombstone of the usual Phrygian 'door' type" (Ramsay 1905, col. 101), found by Ramsay in 1884. Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Ramsay 1905, col. 100–101 no. XXXVIII (without copy); Calder 1911, no. XXXVIII; Friedrich 1932, 134 no. 38; Haas 1966, 119 no. 38; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 77 no. B 38 (as variant of B 10); Waelkens 1986, 201 no. 499; TITUS, no. 38; Orel 1997a, 92 no. W-29.*

[ ] κακο[υν
[*circ. 7* τι]τετικμενος ειτου, τιτεγ̣[.]
[*circa 9*]ις.

---

1 κακο[υν *uel* κακο[ν : ΙΣ ΚΕ ΣΕΜΟΥΝ ΚΝΟΥΜΑΝΙ] ΚΑΚΟ[Ν ΑΔΔΑΚΕΤ *Ramsay et Calder* : [ιος νι σεμουν κνουμα]νε κακ[ο]ν [αδδακ]|ετ *Friedrich* : [ιος νι σεμουν κνουμα]νε κακο[ν] αδδακ]|[ετ *sic Haas* : [Ιος νι σεμουν κνουμα]νε κακουγ̣ [αδδακ]|ετ *Waelkens* : [----------]ΝΕ ΚΑΚΟ[Ν] ΑΔΔΑΚ|[ΕΤ *TITUS* : [...κνουμα]νε κακ[ο]γ̣ [αδδακ]|[ετ *Orel* || 2 τιτεγ̣[-] *dub.* :]τετικμενος ειτου τιτελ- *Friedrich* : -----] τετικμενος ειτου ΤΙΤΕ Λ[.] *Haas* : τετικμενος ειτου τιτελ̣. *Waelkens* : ------] ΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΙΤΟΥ ΤΙΤΕΛ[.] *TITUS* : [.....] τετικμενος ειτου τιτεγ̣ *Orel* || 3 *fort.* παρτ]ις.

'... har[m] ..., let him be [ac]cursed...'

27 İcikli

27.1 (*92*)

"Ijikli, in the fountain. Limestone block with incised panel, broken on l. upper corner and on r. side, complete above and below. H. 0·72; w. 0·47; letters, 0·02" (*MAMA* IV, 37). Dated to the late third c. AD.

MAMA IV, 37 no. 116 (pl. 30); Haas 1966, 127 no. 92 (excluding the third first letters); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 83 no. B 92 (only the Phrygian text); TITUS, no. 92 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 114–116 no. W-46.*

[Ἀπολ]λ̣ώνιος Μα[νου καὶ]
[Ἀθην]ᾳ̣ὶς Ἀ⟨ρ⟩τεμει[σία καὶ]
[Γ]ᾳ̣ί̣ω [κα]ἰ̣? πενθερὰ [καὶ θυ]-
γάτηρ Αμμια τοῖς γο[νεῦσιν]
ἐποίησαν τὸ μνημεῖο[ν ἔνε]-
κα ἀρετῆς καὶ τὰ ἔγγον[α αὐτῶν]
συνεπεσκεύασαν Ἀ[μμια]
καὶ Μανης καὶ Φωτίω[ν]
καὶ Μαμμη ἕνεκ[α μνήμης],

χα⟨ῖ⟩ρε. ❧ ιος νι σ[εμουν κνου]-
μανε κακουν [αδακετ αι]-
12 νι κορου ουε̣[βας?, με ζεμ]-
ελωσι κε δεως̣ [κε τιε]
κε τιτετικμ[ενος ειτου]
κε οτ᾽ ἐκτεί[σει].

---

1 Μα[νου καὶ] *e.g., fort.* [Ἀπολ]λώνιος, Μά[ξιμος] : [Ἀπολ]λώνιος Μα[νου δὶς(?)] *MAMA et Orel* || 2 [Ἀθην]αὶς Ἀτεμει[σία καὶ] *fort.* [καὶ -]αισα τέκνοι [---] : [καὶ Ἀθην]αὶς Ἀτεμει[σίου(?) ὑῶ] *MAMA et Orel* || 3 [Γ]αί̣ω [κα]ὶ̣ πενθερᾶ *MAMA et Orel* : [---- καὶ] πενθερ *Haas* || 7 συνεπεσκεύασαν *Haas* : συνεπε⟨σ⟩κεύασαν *MAMA et Orel* || 10 ΧΑΡΕ *lapis.* : χάριν *cett.* || 12–13 κορου ΟΥΤ̣[------ ζεμ]|ελωσι κε δεως̣ [κε Αττιε(?)] *MAMA* : κ ορου ου[ε̣βαν εγερετ ? ζεμ]|ελωσι κε θεως [-------] *Haas* : κ᾽ορουε[.....ζεμ]ελωσι κε θεω[σι Diakonoff-Neroznak ΚΟΡΟΥ ΟΥ[Ε.ΒΑΝ ΕΓΕΡΕΤ? ΖΕΜ]|ΕΛΩΣΙ ΚΕ ΔΕΩΣ̣ [ΚΕ ΑΤΤΙΕ] *TITUS* : νι κ ορου ουτ̣αν ....[ζεμ]μελωσι *Orel* || 14 κε τιτετικμ[ενος *MAMA* : κ ετιτετικμ[ενος *Haas et Diakonoff-Neroznak* : κε τι τετικμ[ενος *TITUS et Orel* || 15 οτ᾽ ἐκτεί[σει] *dub.* : ΚΕΟΤΕΚΤΕΙ *MAMA* : οτ εκτει[σει *dub. Haas et dub. TITUS* : κε οτ τ⟨αλάντους⟩ ἐκτεί[σει(?)] *Diakonoff-Neroznak* : κε οτεκτει[---] *Orel.*

'[Greek] [Apol]onios (the son of)? Man[es? and] Athenais for Artemi[sia? and G]aius and (his?) mother-in-law [and (their) dau]ghter Ammia made this memorial for (her) parents for the sake of their goodness and [her] children A[mmia] and Manes and Photion and Mamme built (it) in memory. Hail! [Phrygian] Whoever [does] harm to th[is to]mb [o]r the plot of this mem[orial], [let him be] accurs[ed by Zeus in the sight of m]en and gods] [Greek] and he shall pa[y] 370 (drachmae).'

28 Sağir

28.1 (*71*)

Inscription read on a bomos found "on an Imperial Estate near Antiochia ad Pisidiam" (Calder 1913, 101) by Ramsay and Calder in 1911.

Calder 1913, 101–103 no. LXXI; Friedrich 1932, 138 no. 71; Haas 1966, 124 no. 71; Haas 1970, 49 no. 71; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 79 no. B 71; TITUS, no. 71; Orel 1997a, 104–105 no. W-38.*

τις κε γερε[ν/τ],
τιττετικμ[ε]-
νοι ιννου.

1–3 τις κ⟨ε⟩ εγερε[τ, ε]|τιττετικμ[ε]|νοι ιννου *Calder et Friedrich* : τις κ εγερε[τ ε]|τιττε-

τικμ[ε]|νοι ινοου *Haas* : ιις(?) *uel* τις κε γερε[ν ε]ττικμ[ε]νοι ιννου *Diakonoff-Neroznak* : ΤΙΣ Κ ΕΓΕΡΕ[Τ] | ΤΙΤ ΤΕΤΙΚΜ[Ε]ΝΟΙ ΙΝΝΟΥ *TITUS* : τ.ις κε γερε[τ] | τιτ κμ[ε]νοι ιννου *Orel*.

'Whoever ..., let them be accurs[e]d.'

29 Yukarıkaşıkara

29.1 (*114*)

Calcareous pediment-stele (0,52 × 0,73 × 0,36; letters 0.025) found by Drew-Bear in the wall of a house. In 1997 Brixhe and Drew-Bear were able to see it again and complete the reading.

Brixhe 1978a, 7 no. 114 (fragment); Brixhe and Drew-Bear 1978, 50–54 (fragment); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 83–84 no. B 111 (fragment); TITUS, no. 114 (fragment); Brixhe and Drew-Bear 1997, 71–80 no. 1 (fig. 4, complete); Orel 1997a, 123–124 no. W-55 (fragment).*

ιος νι [σ]εμον κν[ου]μανη κακον αββ̣ε-
ρετ ατ νουκτ- ον μρος σας, ιος
κε βρειτ περβ- εδαν, τιη τιτ-
4 τετικμενο- ς ειτου.

---

1 ιος νι σεμον κν[ου]μανη κακον αββ̣ε|ρετ *Brixhe-Drew-Bear 1997* : [*ca. 13/14 lettres*] μανη κακον αββε|[ρετ] *Brixhe* : [ιος νι σεμον κνου]μανη κακον αββ̣ε|[ρετ] *Brixhe-Drew-Bear 1978, Diaknoff-Neroznak, TITUS et Orel* : ασβ̣ε[ρετ *quoque dub. propg. Diaknoff-Neroznak* || 2 νουκτον *fort.* νουκτ[-]ον : ατ νουκτον μροσσας *Brixhe-Drew-Bear* 1997 : ατνου κτον μρος σας *Lubotsky in Brixhe-Drew-Bear 1997* :]ΟΝΜΡΟΣΣΑΣ, ιος *Brixhe et Brixhe-Drew-Bear 1978* :]ον μρος σας, ιος *TITUS et Orel* || 3–4 κεβρειτ περβεδαν, τιη τιτ | τετικμενος *Brixhe-Drew-Bear 1997* :]ΕΔΑΝ τι ητιτ[ε|τικμενο]ς *Brixhe et Brixhe-Drew-Bear 1978* :]εσαντιητιτ[ετικμενο]σειτου *Diaknoff-Neroznak* :]εδαν τιη τι τ[ε|τικμενο]ς *TITUS et Orel*.

'Whoever brings harm to [t]his tomb by beating to this μρος and who breaks[?] the monument[?], let him be accursed (by) Zeus.'

30 Karadilli

30.1 (*39*)

Inscription found by Ramsay "on the top of a fountain in the plain below Karadil-li," adding that "the stone has been carefully defaced by the mason; and only a few letters are legible" (Ramsay 1905, 101). According to Calder, "the stone bearing this inscription had been deliberately hacked all over, and it was dif-

ficult in many places to distinguish the modern chisel-marks from the original letters" (1913, 98). Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Ramsay 1905, col. 101 no. XXXIX; Calder 1911, 182–183 no. XXIX; Calder 1913, 97 no. XXXIX; Friedrich 1932, 134 no. 39; Haas 1966, 119 no. 39; Haas 1970a, 47 no. 39; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 81–82 no. B 39 (*only the Phrygian text as variant of B 6*); TITUS, *no. 39* (*only the Phrygian text*); *Orel 1997a, 92–93 no. W*-30.*

[ ] A-
φφα ή ἀδελφὴ αὐ-
[τοῦ]
[ ]
[... μ]νήμης χ[άρι]ν.
ιος νι σ[εμ]ον τ[ου] κνου-
μαν[ε] κακουν τι ᾰδ[δ]α-
κετ, διος [κ]ε ᾰζεμελως
κᾰ τιτ[τ]ε[τ]ικμεν[ος] ᾰι-
του, ατ τιη κε αδειτου.

---

1 κ]α[ὶ *Calder 1913, Friedrich et Orel* || 2]ΛΗΛΔΕΙΦΗΛΥ *Ramsay* : -ἱλ]λῃ ἀδε[ρ]φῇ [α]ὐ|[τοῦ] *Calder 1911* : Ἄ]φφα ἡ ἀδελφὴ αὐ|[τοῦ] *Calder 1913 et Friedrich* || 4 [ἀνέστησ|αν] *Calder 1911 et Calder 1913* || 5 [μ]νήμης χ[άρι]ν *Calder 1913, Friedrich, Haas et Orel* || 8 [δ]ιος [κ]ε [σ?]ζμ[ελ]ως *Calder 1913 et Friedrich* : διος [κ]ε ᾰζεμελως *Haas,* TITUS : ᾰζεμ[ελ]ως *Orel* || 9 κε τιτ[τ]ε[τ]ικμε[νος] ει|του *Calder 1913, Friedrich* : κ ᾰτιτ[τ]ε[τ]ικμεᾰ[ος] ει|του *Haas* : κᾰ ΤΙΤ [Τ]Ε[Τ]ΙΚΜΕᾺ[ΟΣ] ΕΙ|ΤΟ[Υ] TITUS : κε τιτ [τ]ε[τ]ικμεν[ος] *Orel* || 10 τογ Αττιη κε αδειτου *Ramsay* : ΤΟ-Γ Αττιη κε αδειτου *Calder 1911* : Αττιη κε αδειτου *Calder 1913, Friedrich* : αττιη κε αδειτου *Haas* : ατ τιη κε αδειτου TITUS *et Orel.*

'[Greek] [---] Appa, his sister [--- i]n memory. [Phrygian] Whoever d[o]es some harm to t[h]is tom[b], let him be a[c]cu[r]se[d] (in the sight of) gods [a]nd men and let him become (accursed) by Zeus.'

30.2 (*68*)

Copied by Calder in 1911, "the stone on which this inscription was engraved had just been broken into fragments to build into the wall of a new mosque. I was able to find only the above [*infra*] two pieces. It is uncertain how many lines are lost after the first line; the edges did not fit exactly, and a thin piece had been lost" (Calder 1913, 98). Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Calder 1913, 98 no. LXVIII; Friedrich 1932, 138 no. 68; Haas 1966, 124 no. 68; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 77 no. B 68 (*only the Phrygian text as variant of B 10*); TITUS, *no. 68* (*only the Phrygian text*); *Orel 1997a, 103–104 no. W*-37.*

1 Ἀπολλώνιος [
---
2 ζῶν]-
3 τες και φρονοῦ[τες ανέστή]-
4 σαν. ιος νι ⟨σ⟩εμ.[ουν κνουμανε? κα]-
κουν αδακε[τ --- ατ τι]-
ε τιτετικ[μενος ειτου].

---

1 Ἀπολλώνιος [καὶ ἡ δεῖνα] *Calder et Friedrich* : Ἀπολλώνιος [καὶ ---] *Haas et Orel* || 2 [σύμβιος αὐτοῦ ἑαυτοῖς ζῶν]|τες *Calder et Friedrich* : [... ζῶν]|τες *Haas et Orel* || 5 αδακε[τ, δεως ζεμελως] *Calder et Friedrich* : αδακετ[... *Haas* : ΑΔΑΚΕ[...]Ε *TITUS* : αδακε[τ, δεως ζεμελως κ]|ε *Orel* || 6 αδειτου] *uel* ειτου] : ετι[τ]τετικ[μενος ειτου] *Calder, Friedrich et Haas* : τι[τ]τετικ[μενος ειτου] *titus et Orel.*

'[Greek] Apolonios [---], whilst they are alive and of sound mi[nd, erect]ed (it). [Phrygian] Whoever doe[s ha]rm to ⟨t⟩hi[is tomb ---, let him be] accur[sed by Zeu]s.'

31 Büyükkabaca

31.1 (29)

"Stele with gable in the wall of a large water-trough in the village fountain. The inscription is partly submerged" (Sterrett 1888b, 402). "Limestone pediment, with circular ornament in tympanum and acroteria on each side; much worn by water, and lower edge (now forming the upper front of the trough) broken and chipped. H. 0·70; w. 1·40; th. at edge, 0·14; letters, 0·02 to 0·032." Nowadays it can be seen in the façade of the mosque of Dere Mahallesi, according to Brixhe and Drew-Bear (1997, 100). Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Ramsay 1887, 400 no. XXIX (*only Sterrett's copy of the Phrygian text*)*; Sterrett 1888b, 402 no. 590; Ramsay 1905, col. 119–120 no. XXIX; Calder 1911, 177–178 no. XXIX; Friedrich 1932, 132 no. 29; MAMA IV, 88–89 no. 240* (*fig. 21*)*; Haas 1966, 120 no. 29; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 78 no. B 29* (*only the Phrygian text as variant of B 26*)*; TITUS, no. 29; Brixhe and Drew-Bear 1997, 110–113 no. VIII; Orel 1997a, 90–91 no. W*-27; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 182 no. 125* (*only enumerated*)*; Bru 2017, 409 fig. 39* (*only photo*).

(*Pediment:*)
Μεννέας, Αππας, Διογέν-
ης, ὑοὶ Διογένους, ἐποίησαν
διὰ τεχνήτο⟨υ⟩ Νουναδος.

(*Molding:*)
ιος σεμουν κνουμανε
αινι μαṿχ̣α̣ χ̣α̣χ̣ον αδδακ-
[ετ, ---]

---

2 οἱ Διογένους ἐποίησαν *Sterrett, Ramsay 1905, Calder et Friedrich* : ὑοὶ Διογένους *MAMA, Haas et Brixhe-Drew-Bear* || 3 ΔΙΑΤΕΧΝΗΤΟΝΟΥΝΑΔΟΣ *lapis* : διὰ τεχνητ[ῶ]ν *et dub.* Οὐνά(λ)π-[ου] *Sterrett* : διὰ τεχνήτο⟨υ⟩ Νουνᾶ. δπσ' *Ramsay 1905, Calder, Friedrich, MAMA, Haas et Orel* : διὰ τεχνίτο⟨υ⟩ Μουναδος *Brixhe-Drew-Bear* || 4 ιος σεμουν κνουμανε *Ramsay 1905, MAMA, Haas, TITUS et Orel* : κνουμανε|ι *Calder et Friedrich* || 5 κε] αινι μανκα κακον αδδακ|[ετ] *Ramsay 1905* : αινι μανκα κακον αδδακ|[ετ] *Calder, Friedrich et MAMA* : αινι μανκαν κακουν αδδακ[*Haas et TITUS* : αινι μαṿχ̣α̣ χ̣α̣χ̣ον αδδακ[ετ] --- *Brixhe-Drew-Bear* : αι νι *Orel.*

'[Greek] Menneas, Appas (and) Diogenes, children of Digones, made it through the craft Nunas. [Phrygian] Whoever do[es] harm to this tomb or stele, [---].'

32 Alcıbar-Senirkent

32.1 (*93*)

"Aljibar, in a courtyard. Plain limestone slab. H. 0·74; w. 0·92; th. 0·23; letters, 0·02 to 0·035, clear but not deep cut. The inscription is aligned 0·09 from the l. edge and begins 0·09 from the top; the slab is otherwise uninscribed" (*MAMA* IV, 88). Dated to the late third c. AD.

MAMA IV, 88 no. 239 (pl. 51); Haas 1966, 127 no. 93; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 82 no. B 47 (as variant of B 75); TITUS, no. 93; Orel 1997a, 116–117 no. W-47.*

ιος νι σεμον
κνουμανε κακοṿ
αδακετ, δεως
ζεμελως τιτετιχ-
μενος ειτου.

'Whoever does harm to this tomb, let thim be accursed (in the sight of) gods and men.'

33 Yassıören

33.1 (*28*)

Found and copied by Sterret: "Yaztü Verau. In the wall of the Djami" (Sterrett 1888b, 393). "Limestone bomos, with defaced bust in relief on the front; the text runs above, below, and on each side of the bust. H. 0·55; w. 0·36; th. 0·22; letters, 0·015 to 0·03" (*MAMA* IV 1933: 89). Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Ramsay 1887, 400 no. XXVIII (*with Sterrett's copy of the Phrygian text*)*; Sterrett 1888b, 393 no. 571; Ramsay 1905, col. 118–119 no. XXVIII* (*only the Phrygian text*)*; Calder 1911, 177 no. XXVIII* (*only the Phrygian text*)*; Friedrich 1932, 133 no. 28* (*only the Phrygian text*)*; Calder, MAMA IV, 89 no. 241* (*pl. 52*)*; Haas 1966, 118 no. 28; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 77 no. B 28* (*only the Phrygian text*)*; TITUS, no. 28* (*only the Phrygian text*)*; Orel 1997a, 89–90 no. W*-26.*

Νεικων καὶ Νεικη
ἑατῶ καὶ τοῖς
ἰδίοις τέκ⌜ν⌝οις
4 μνήμης (*eroded*
relief) χάριν.
ιος νι σε- μουν
κνου- μανε
8 κακο- υν αδα-
κετ, ι[?]ος τιτετουκμε-
νουν ειτου.

---

1 Νείκων καὶ Νείκη *Sterrett, MAMA et Orel* : Νεικων καὶ Νεικη *Haas* || 3 ΤΕΚΤΟΙΣ *lapis.* : ἰδίοις τέτκτοις *Sterrett* : τέκ(ν)οις *MAMA* : ἰδίοις τέκ[ν]οις *Haas et Orel* || 7 κνουμανε *MAMA, Haas, TITUS et Orel* : κνουμανε[ι] *dub. Ramsay 1905, Calder et Friedrich* || 8 ΚΑΚΟΥΝ ΑΔ[ΔΑ] *Ramsay 1905* : κακουν αδ[δα]|κετ *Calder et Friedrich* : κακουν αδα|κετ *MAMA, Haas, TITUS et Orel* || 9 ι[?]ος : *fort.* τος : ΚΕΤ ΙΣ ΕΤΙΤΕΤΟΥΚΜΕ|ΝΟΥΝ *Ramsay 1905* : ις ετιτετουκμε|νουν *Calder, Friedrich, Haas et Diakonoff-Neroznak* : ιος τιτετουκμε|νουν *MAMA* : ιος τι τετουκμε|νουν *TITUS et Orel.*

'[Greek] Nikon and Nike for himself and their own children in memory. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this tomb, let them be accursed.'

33.2 (*95*)

"Yaztu Veran, in the gate beside a foundation known locally as the Hamam. Limestone architrave, with projecting moulding, formerly bearing two lines of script, the upper one of which is now erased; broken at both ends. H. 0·40; w. 1·15; th. 0·70; letters, 0·025" (*MAMA* IV, 89).

MAMA IV, 89 no. 243 (*pl. 52*)*; Haas 1966, 127 no. 95; TITUS, no. 95; Orel 1997a, 117 no. W*-48.*

[---]
[..]. ιος σεμουν κνουμανε κακουν [.....]
[---]

'[---]. Whoever does harm [---]'

33.3 (*127*)

Broken gravestone with pediment where an eagle is depicted ("H. 0.65, w. 1.14, th. 0.37, l. h. line 1 0.02, line 2 0.025, line 3 0.015" Drew-Bear, Lubotsky and Üyümez 2008, 111) found in 2002 in the school of the village (said to be taken from the Gani Baba street) and preserved in Isparta Museum. Rectangular sigma and epsilon.

Drew-Bear, Lubotsky and Üyümez 2008, 111–112 no. 2; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 182 no. 127 (*only enumerated*)*; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1818 no. 127* (*only enumerated*)*.*

Ζωσᾶς καὶ Βαβεις Ἀντιόχω Μενέου Αἴθοντος καὶ τοῖ[ς ἑαυτῶν]
γονεῦσιν ζῶσιν καὶ φρονοῦσιν εὐνοίας καὶ μν[ήμης χάριν].
ιος νι σεμον κνουμανι κακον αḍακ⌜ετ⌝, τιε τιτετικμεγ[ος ειτου].

---

3 αḍακ⌜ετ⌝ : ΑΔΑΚΤΕ *lapis*.

'[Greek] Zosas and Babeis, for Antiochos (son) of Meneas (grandson) of Aithon, and for [their] parents who are alive and of sound mind, because of their good will and in their memory. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm on this grave, [let him be] accurse[d] by Zeus.'

34 Senirkent

34.1 (*37*)

Inscription read "on a fragment of architrave of a large heroon: the inscription was engraved in two long lines, most of which is lost. Complete on right" (Ramsay 1905, colum. 100). The block (H. 0·42; w. 1·08; letters, 0·025) was used in the wall of the Büyük mosque (MAMA IV, 89). Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Ramsay 1905, col. 100 no. XXXVII; Calder 1911, 184 no. XXXVII; Friedrich 1932, 134 no. 37; MAMA IV, 89 no. 242 (*pl. 52*)*; Haas 1966, 119 no. 37; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 77 no. B 37* (*only the Phrygian text as variant of B 10*)*; TITUS, no. 37* (*only the Phrygian text*)*.*

[μ]νήμης χάριν. ❧ ισος κε σεμουν κνουμανε ❧
[κακουν αδδακετ, τιττετκιμενο]ς ειτου.❧

1 μνήμης χάριν ι{σ}ος κε σεμουν κνουμανε *propg. Ramsay, seq. Calder, Friedrich, MAMA, Haas et TITUS* || 2 κακουν αδδακετ τετικμενο]ς ειτου *Calder, Haas et TITUS* : κακουν αδδακετ τετικμενο[ς ειτου] *sic Friedrich* : [. . τετικμενο]ς ειτου (*leaf*) *MAMA*.

'[Greek] [--- i]n memory. [Phrygian] Whoever [does harm] to this tomb, let him be [accurse]d.'

35 Uluborlu (Apollonia)

35.1 (*25*)

Inscription copied by Hamilton.

Hamilton 1842, 490 Appendix V no. 449; CIG III, 58 no. 3974; Mordtmann 1862, 15 no. 4 (pl. A); Gosche 1864, 225 no. 12; Ramsay 1887, 339 no. XXV; Ramsay 1905, col. 118 no. XXV; Calder 1911, 176–177 no. XXV; Friedrich 1932, 132 no. 25; Haas 1966, 117 no. 25; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 81–82 no. B 25 (as variant of B 6); TITUS, no. 25; Orel 1997a, 87–89 no. W-25; Obrador-Cursach 2016, 182.*

ιος νι σιμουν
κνουμανι κακουν αβ-
βιρετο αινι μμυρα, τος
4 νι δ̣[ιως ζ]ιμ̣ελως τι μεκα
τ[ιε] τιττετικμενος ειτου.

2 κνουμαν[ε]ι [κ]ακουν *et dub.* αββιρετο *Ramsay 1887* : KNOY MANI [K]AKOYN *et dub.* AB|BIPETO *Ramsay 1905* : κνουμανι [κ]ακουν αβ|βιρετο⟨ρ⟩ *Calder et Friedrich* : κνουμανι [κ]ακουν αβ|βιρετο *Haas, TITUS et Orel* || 3 αινιμ μυρατος Ramsay 1887 : AINIM *et dub.* MYPATOΣ *Ramsay 1905* : μ⟨α⟩[νκ]α, τος *Calder et Friedrich* : αινιμ μυρα τος|νι *Haas* : AINI MMYPA TOΣ *TITUS et Orel* || 4 μεκα *fort.* μεκα[ι] : νι [δεος?] ζ[ε]μ[ε]λω [ε]τιμεκατ[ι] *Ramsay 1887* : NI [ΔEOΣ Z]IMEΛΩΣ TI MEKA|T[I] *Ramsay 1905* : νι [δεος ζ]ιμ[ε]λως τι με κ⟨ε⟩ Α|τ[τι] *Calder et Friedrich* : [δεος ζ]ιμελωσι με κα|τ[--]τιττετικμενος *Haas* : Δ[ΕΩΣ Z]IMEΛΩΣ TI ME K A|T[--] *TITUS* : δ[εωσ ζ]ιμελωσ τι μεκα| τ[..] *Orel* || 5 τιττετικμενος *Calder et Friedrich* : [ε]τιττετικμενος *Ramsay 1887 et 1905* : τιτ τετικμενος ειτου *TITUS et Orel.*

'Whoever brings harm or mistreatments to this tomb, let thim be accursed by the great Z[eus] (in the sight of) g[ods and m]en.'

36 Şarkıkaraağaç (Tetrapolis)

36.1 (*26*)

Copied by Sterrett.

Sterrett 1885, 11 no. 6; Sterrett 1888a, 176 no. 175; Ramsay 1887, 399–400 no. XXVI; Ramsay 1905, col. 118 no. XXVI; Calder 1911, 177 no. XXVI; Friedrich 1932, 133 no. 26; Haas 1966, 117 no. 26; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 78 no. B 26; TITUS, no. 26; Orel 1997a, 327 no. S-06.*

ιος νι σεμον κνουμα-
νε κακον δακετ αινι
μανκα, τιε τιττετι-
κμενος ειτου.

2 δακετ, αινι *Ramsay 1887* || 3 μανκατι ετιττετικμενος *Ramsay 1887* : MANKA TI ETITTETI|KMENOΣ *Ramsay 1905* : μανκα, τι ετιττετι|κμενος *Calder* : μανκα τι ετιττετι|κμενος *Friedrich, Haas et Diakonoff–Neroznak* : μανκα τιε τιτ τετι|κμενος *TITUS et Orel.*

'Whoever does harm to this tomb or stele, let him be accursed (by) Zeus.'

36.2 (*27*)

Copied by Sterret. Beginning of a Phrygian imprecative protasis.

Sterrett 1885, 11 no. 7; Ramsay 1887, 400 no. XXVII; Ramsay 1905, col. 118 no. XXVII; Calder 1911, 177 no. XXVII; Friedrich 1932, 133 no. 27; Haas 1966, 117 no. 27; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 77 no. B 27 (as variant of B 10); TITUS, no. 27; Orel 1997a, 327–328 no. S-07.*

ιος σεμον το κακον οḍ[---]

1 οḍ[---] *fort.* οḍ[(δ)ακετ].

'Whoever d[oes] harm to this tomb [---].'

36.3 (*94*)

Read on a "block with plain moulding in front. H. 0·44; w. 0·76; th. 0·46; letters 0·03 to 0·04" (*MAMA* VIII, 62).

MAMA VIII, 62 no. 347 (pl. 171); Haas 1966, 127 no. 94; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 82 no. B 94 (as variant of B 75); TITUS, no. 94; Orel 1997a, 349–350 no. S-19*

[ιος σ]α μακκα κακουν αδακετ,
ατ τιε τιτετικμενος ειτου.

1 [ιος σ]α μακκα *suppl. MAMA et cett. seq.* || 2 Ατι ετιτετικμενος *MAMA* : ατι τετικμενος *Haas* : ατ τιε τι τετικμενος *TITUS et Orel.*

'[Whoever] does harm to [th]is tomb, let him be accursed by Zeus.'

37 Akşehir (Philomelion)

37.1 (*10*)

Found and copied by Sterrett and Ramsay in "high in the wall of the Mekteb Djami" (Ramsay 1887, 391). Lunate sigma and epsilon. A later Byzantine inscriptions with a cross was added.

Ramsay 1887, 391 no. X; Ramsay 1905, col. 112–113 no. X; Calder 1911, 169–170 no. X; Friedrich 1932, 130 no. 10; Haas 1966, 115–116 no. 10; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 77 no. B 10; TITUS, no. 10 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 321–322 no. S-01.*

Αμμια Πατ[ηρᾶ] καὶ [Πα]ππα,
[πα]ιδίοις [αὐτ]ῆς μνή-
μη[ς χάρ]ιν.
ιος νι σεμουν του κνου-
μανει κακουν αδδακετ,
[τιττ]ετικμενος ειτου.

☩ Νηκίτας

1 Ἀμμία Πατ[ηρᾶ] καὶ [Παπ]πᾶ *Calder, Friedrich, Haas et Orel* || 2–3 ⟨τέκνοις⟩ ἰδίοις [αὐτ]ῆς μνή|μη[ς χάρ]ιν *Calder, Friedrich, Haas et Orel* || 6 ετιτ]ετικμενος *Ramsay 1905, Haas et Diakonoff-Neroznak* : [τιτ]ετικμενος *Calder et Friedrich* : [τιτ τ]ετικμενος *TITUS et Orel* || 7 *om. Calder.*

'[Greek] Ammia for Pat[era] and [Pa]pa, [h]er [ch]ildren, in memory. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this tomb, let him be [ac]cursed. [Greek] Niketas.'

37.2 (*30*)

On the top of a door-stone ("H. 0·98; w. 0·65; letters 0·02" *MAMA* VII, 39). Seen for the last time by Calder in 1910. Classic sigma but lunate epsilon.

Heberdey and Wilhelm 1896, 163 no. 271; Ramsay 1905, col. 86–88 no. XXX; Calder 1911, 178–179 no. XXX; Friedrich 1932, 132 no. 30; MAMA VII, 39 no. 195 (pl. 10–11 no. 195); Haas 1951, 14–15 no. 30; Haas 1966, 118 no. 30; Haas 1970a, 49 and 60 no. 30; Haas 1970b, 14–15 no. 30; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 85 no C 30; Waelkens 1986, 263–264 no. 678o (Tafel 86 no. 678); TITUS, no. 30; Orel 1997a, 328–329 no. S-08 (lines 1–2 as Greek).*

[.....]ι επρι̣
[.....]ει κ᾽ ονομα

[.....] δ̣ουδας ακαλας ευκιν αργου. σιβη
4 [.....] ουεβαν εγερετοι αυτω αυταη κε ταν ειν̣ᵛο̣υ̣.

1–2 om. *Ramsay, Calder et Friedrich* || 1]ιεπρι *Haas* :]ι επρι̣ *TITUS* : [---]ι̣ ἐπρ|[ίατο . . .] *Orel* || 2 *εικονομα Haas, Waelkens et TITUS* : εἰκῷ̣ ὀνομα *sic. Orel* || 3 Αὐρ. Δουδας ακαλας εθκιν αργου σιβη|ους *Calder et Friedrich* : Δουδας Ακαλας ευκιν αργου ΣΙΒΗ *Haas et Titus et Orel* : Δουδας Ακαλας ευκιν αργου ΣΙΒΗ *Waelkens* || 4]ουεβαν *fort.*] ουεβαν : βανεκος Τοια κ(ε) Κιολτα ηκε-ταν ἐπ⟨οίησε⟩ν *Calder et Friedrich* :]ουεβαν εγερετ οι αυτω ᾳ̣υτα ηκεν ανειτ̣ῦ̣ο̣ῦ̣ *Haas* : ουεβαν ЄΚ̣ΡЄΤΟΙΑΚΚΟΛΤΑ ηκετ ΑΝЄΙΤΗ̣Ν *Waelkens*:]ΟΥΕΒΑΝ ΕΓΕΡΕΤ ΟΙ ΑΥΤΩ ΑΥΤΑΗ ΚΕ ΤΑΝ ΕΙΤΤ̣Ν̣Ο̣Υ̣ *TITUS* : [...]ουεβαν εγερετοι ακ κολταη κε ταν επταν *sic. Orel.*

38 Doğanhisar (near Hadrianoupolis)

38.1 (*44*)

Inscription found by Sterrett: "Daghan Hissar. On a sarcophagus used as a water-trough in a fountain near a Djami" (1888a, 176). Ander and Calder (in 1908) were able to copy it again, but now it is lost. Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Sterrett 1888a, 176 no. 174; Ramsay 1905, col. 103 no. XLIV; Calder 1911, 185 no. XLIV; Friedrich 1932, 134 no. 44; MAMA VII, 27 no. 137, (pl. 8); Haas 1966, 120 no. 44; TITUS, no. 44; Orel 1997a, 336–337 no. S-11.*

[ι]ος ᾳ̣ν̣ ϙ̣[εμουν κακου]ν̣ κνου̣μ-
μανει δοκε[τ, ατ τ]ι αδειτου.

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1 [Ι]ΟΣ ΑΝ Σ[ΕΜΟΥΝ ΚΑΚΟ]Ν ΚΝΟΥΜ|ΜΑΝΕΙ *Ramsay* : [ι]ος αν σ[εμουν κακο]ν κνου[μ]|μανει *Calder et Friedrich* : [ι]ος ᾳ̣ν̣ ϙ̣[εμουν κακου]ν̣ κ̣ν̣ο̣υ̣μ̣|μανει *Haas, TITUS et Orel* : ο̣ς ᾳ̣ν̣ ϙ̣[εμουν? κακου]ν̣ κ̣ν̣ο̣υ̣μ̣|μανει *MAMA* || 2 δοκε [..... ατ̣τ]ιαδ ε ιτου *Anderson* : ΔΟΚΕ[Τ...ΑΤΤ]ΙΑΔ ΕΙΤΟΥ *Ramsay* : δοκε[τ, Ατ̣τ]ι αδειτου *Calder, Friedrich et MAMA* : δοκε[τ ατ̣τ]ιαδειτου *Haas* : δοκε[τ ατ τ]ι αδειτου *TITUS et Orel.*

'[Wh]oever doe[s harm to this tomb], let him become (accursed) [by Ze]us.'

39 Argıtanı

39.1 (*11*)

Copied by Sterrett and Ramsay in 1883 (Ramsay 1887, 391). Lunate sigma and epsilon, cursive omega.

Ramsay 1887, 391–392 no. XI; Ramsay 1905, col. 113 no. XI; Calder 1911, 70 no. XI; Friedrich 1932, 130 no. 11; Haas 1966, 116 no. 11; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 79 no. B 11; TITUS, no. 11; Orel 1997a, 322–323 no. S-02.*

[ιος σε]μον κνου-
[μανε]ι κακων
[....]αν αββε-
[ρετ, τι]τετικμε-
[νος α]τ τι αδε-
[ι]του.

1–2 ιος σε]μον κνου|[μανε]ι *Ramsay 1887 et cett. secuti* || 3 [----]αν *Haas, Diakonoff-Neroznak et* TITUS : [χειρ?]αν *e.g., Ramsay 1887* : [ZEIP?]AN *e.g., Ramsay 1905* : [ζειρ]αν *Calder et Friedrich* : [μανκ]αν *Orel* || 3–6 αββε|[ρετ ετι]τετικμε|[νος ας]ττιαδ ε|[ι]του *Ramsay 1887* : ABBE|[PET], TETIKME|[NOΣ A]TTIAΔ E|[I]TOY *Ramsay 1905* : αββε|[ρετ, τι]τετικμε|[νος Α]ττι αδε|[ι]του *Calder, Friedrich et Diakonoff-Neroznak* : αββε|[ρετ ετι]τετικ[μ]ε[νος α]ττι αδε|[ι]του *Haas* : αββε|[ρετ τι] τετικ[μ]ε|[νος α]τ τι αδε|[ι]του *TITUS et Orel.*

'[Who]ever brin[gs] harm to this t[om]b, let him become [a]ccursed [b]y Zeus.'

40 Ilgın (*Lageina)

40.1 (*12*)

On a white marble stone reused in the wall of a bath (*CIG*, 62). Copied by Seetzen in October 1803 according to *CIG*, and by Hamilton. Lunate sigma and epsilon, cursive omega.

Hamilton 1842 II, 478 Appendix no. 383; CIG III, 62 pars XVII no. 3986; Mordtmann 1862, 15 no. 3 (pl. A); Gosche 1864, 225 no. 13; Schmidt 1869, 132–136; Ramsay 1887, 391–393 no. XII; Ramsay 1905, col. 113–114, XII; Calder 1911, 170–172 no. XII; Friedrich 1932, 130 no. 12; Haas 1966, 116 no. 12; Haas 1970a, 60 no. 12; TITUS, no. 12; Orel 1997a, 323–324 no. S-03.*

Εὔδαμ[ος ἰ]π[π]εὺ[ς]
Ἰρήσχη γυν⟨α⟩ικ[ὶ]
καὶ ἑαυτῷ ζῶν
μνήμης χάριν.

εις νι σεμουν κνουμανι κακον
αδδακετ, ζειρα κε οι πετες κε τιτ-
τετικμενα ατ τιε αδεινου.

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1 ΕΥΔΑΜ..... *Hamilton, qui* ΠΙΥ *om.* : Εὐδαμ[ίων ἐπίησε τῆ CIG : Εὔδαμ[ος Ἀρχί]π[που *Ramsay 1887* : Εὐδαμ[ίνω] Π[ρ]ε[ι|βει] *Ramsay 1905* : Εὔδαμ[ος ἰ]π[π]εὺ[ς *Calder, Friedrich, Haas et Orel* || 2 [Π]ρήσχῃ *dub.* : *Hamilton om.* : [τ]ῇ [γ]υν[α]ικὶ CIG *et Ramsay 1905* : ....]χῃ [γ]υν[α]ικὶ *Ramsay 1887* : [Π]ρ[ή]σχῃ [γ]υν⟨α⟩ικ[ὶ] *dub. Calder et Friedrich* : [π]ρ[ή]σχη [γ]υν⟨α⟩κ[ὶ] Haas || 6 ζειρα κε οιπεις κ⟨ε⟩ ετιτ|τετικμενα *Ramsay 1887* : ΑΔΔΑΚΕΤ ΖΕΙΡ[ΑΝ], ΑΚΕΟΙ ΠΕΙΕΣ Κ⟨Ε⟩ ΕΤΙΤ|ΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΑ *Ramsay 1905* : αδδακετ ζειρ ακεοι πειες κε τιτ|τετικμενα *Calder et Friedrich* : αδδακετ ζειρ ακε οι πειες κ ετιτ|τετικμενα *Haas* : αδδακετ ζειρα κε οι πειες κε τιτ *TITUS et Orel* || 7 αδεινου *prop. Hämmig* : αδειτταυ *cett.* : τετικμενα ατ Τιε αδειττνου *TITUS* : ΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΑ ΑΤΤΙΕΑΔ ΕΙΤΤΝΟΥ *Ramsay 1905* : Αττι[ε] αδειττνου *Calder et Friedrich* : αττι[ε] αδειττνου *Haas* : ατ τι [ε] αδειττνου *Orel.*

'[Greek] Eudam[os e]q[u]ite[s] for his wife Presche and for himself, whilst he is alive, in memory. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this tomb, let his hands and feet become accursed by Zeus.'

40.2 (*13*)

Inscription copied by Ramsay in 1883 (Ramsay 1887, 393). Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Ramsay 1887, 393 no. XIII; Calder 1911, 172 no. XIII; Friedrich 1932, 130 no. 13; Haas 1966, 116 no. 13; TITUS, no. 13; Orel 1997a, 325 no. S-04*

[--- κ]ᾳκουν αββερετ αιγ̣[ι ---]
[---] αδειτου.

---

1 αισ *fort.* αιγ̣[ι] *uel* ατ̣ Τ̣[ιε] : ιος σεμον κνουμανι κ]ακουν αββερετ, αι. *Ramsay 1887* : αββερεται, [ε|τιττετικμενος *Calder et Friedrich* : κ]ακουν αββερετ αι[. *Haas, TITUS et Orel* || 2 ..... ετιττε-τικμενος αστ̣τι]αδ ειτου. *Ramsay* : [Αττιε] αδειτου. *Calder et Friedrich* : [----------]αδειτου *Haas, TITUS et Orel.*

'[---] brings [h]arm o[r ---], let him become [---].'

40.3 (*31*)

Copied in Ilgın by Anderson (1898 II, 121). According to Ramsay (1905, col. 88), it is "the oldest of the whole series, and stands midway between the archaic inscriptions and those of the Roman times."

Anderson 1898 II, 121 no. 67; Ramsay, 1905, col. 88–94 no. XXXI; Calder 1911, 179–180 no. XXXI; Friedrich 1932, 132–133 no. 31; Haas 1951, 12–14 no. 31; Haas 1966, 103–104 II § 16/3 and 118

no. 31; Haas 1969, 80–81 no. 31; Haas 1970b, 12–14 no. 31; Kowal 1984b, 180–185; Neumann 1986a; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 85–86 no. C 31; TITUS, no. 31; Orel 1997a, 330–331 no. S-09.*

ας σεμουν κνουμαν αδιθρερακ
ξευνεοι αδικες εσ?αν *uac.*
μανκαν ιαν εσταες βρατερε
μαιμαρηαν, πουκρος μανισ-
[ο]υ ενεπαρκες δετουν.
[... ξ]ευναν αι δμως βροκειω
[.....] δεκμουταης ιου
[.....] προ τοσου

---

1 ΑΣΣΕΜΟΥΝ ΚΝΟΥΜΑΝ ΑΔΙΘΡΕΡΑ Κ(Ε) *Ramsay* : ασ σεμουν κνουμανα διθρερα κ⟨ε⟩ *Calder et Friedrich* : ας σεμουν κνουμαν αδιθρερακ *Haas, TITUS et Orel* : ας σεμουν κνουμαν' αδιθρεραχ' *Kowal* : Αδιθρερας *Neumann prop.* || 2 αδικεσειαν *fort.* αδικειειαν *uel* αδικερειαν *uel* αδικερει α⟨ι⟩ν⟨ι⟩ : ξευνεοι *fort.* ξευνε οι : ΞΕΥΝΕΟΙ ΔΔΙΚΕΡΕΙΑΝ *Ramsay* : Ξευνεοι 'δδικε[τ] ειαν *Calder* : Ξευνοι 'δδικες ειαν *Friedrich* : Ξευνοι [α]δικεσει αν|μανκαν *Haas et Brixhe seq.* : Ξευνε̣ οι⟨α⟩δικες ειαν μανκαν *Kowal* : ΞΕΥΝΕΟΙ ΔΔΙΚΕΣ ΕΙΑΝ *TITUS* : εσαν *Neumann propg.* : ξευνεοι [ε]δικεσειαν [-?-] *Orel* || 3 μανκαν ιαν εσταες βρατερε *Ramsay, Calder, Friedrich, Kowal, TITUS et Orel* : ιαν μανκαν *Haas* || 4 ΜΑΙΜΑΡΗΑΝ ΠΟΥΚΡΟΣ ΜΑΝΙΣ|ΙΟΥ *Ramsay* : μαιμαρηαν Πουκρος Μανις|[ου] *Calder et Friedrich* : μαιμαρηαν πουκρος Μανισουενεπαρκεσδετουν *Haas* : μα⟨ρ⟩μαρηαν | Πουκρος Μανις[ο]υ Kowal : ΜΑΙΜΑΡΗΑΝ ΠΟΥΚΡΟΣ ΜΑΝΙΣΟΥ ΕΝΕΠΑΡΚΕΣ ΔΕΤΟΥΝ *TITUS* : μαιμαρηαν πουκρος μανις | .υ Orel || 5 ΕΝΕΠΑΡΚΕΣ ΔΕ ΤΟΥΝ|[βον] *Ramsay, Calder et Friedrich* : ενεπαρκες δετουν *Kowal et Orel* || 6 Ξ]ευναν *dub.* : ΞΕΥΝΑ ΝΑΙΔΜΩΣ ΒΡΟΚΕΙΩ *Ramsay* : Ξευνα ΝΑΙΔΜΩΣΒΡΟΚΕΙΩ *Calder et Friedrich* : Ξευν αναιδμως βροκειω *Haas* : Ξευναν αιδμως βροκειω *Kowal* || 7 ΠΑΣΕ]ΔΕΚΜΟΥΤΑΗΣΙΟΥ *dub. Ramsay* : ΔΕΚΜΟΥΤΑΗΣΙΟΥ *Calder et Friedrich* : δεκμουταης ιου *Haas, Kowal, TITUS et Orel* || 8 ΠΡΟΤΟΣΟΥ[ΒΡΑ] *dub. Ramsay* : ΠΡΟΤΟΣΟΥ *Calder et Friedrich* : προ τοσου Kowal : ΠΡΟΤΟΣΟΥ [? *TITUS* : ṗροτοσου [---] *Orel.*

'In this tomb ... for Xeune ... this stele that (s)he erected for her/his brother as a memorial. Poukros (the son) of Manisos chiselled the monument...'

40.4 (*102*)

Stone block "with moulding on the left side, rough below. H. 0·83; w. 0·61; th. 0·19: letters 0·02 to 0·03" (*MAMA* VII, 21).

MAMA VII, 21–22 no. 108 (pl. 128); Haas 1966, 128 no. 102; TITUS, no. 102; Orel 1997a, 350–351 no. S-21.*

[ι]ος νι σεμον κνουμανε
[κα]κον αδακετ αινι α τεᾳμ-
[ας, α] τιε τιτετικμενος ειτ-

4 [ου].

---

2 αινι ατε⟨α⟩μ|[α *MAMA* : αινια τεᾳμ|[α] *Haas* : AINI A TEᾼM|[AΣ TITUS : αι νι α τεᾳμ|[α] *Orel* || 3 Ατ]τι ετιτετικμενος ειτ|[ου] *MAMA* : [ε]τιετιτετικμενος ειτ|[ου] *Haas* : α] τιε τι τετικμενος ειτ|[ου] *TITUS et Orel.*

'[Wh]oever does [ha]rm to this tomb or this plo[t], let him b[e] accursed [b]y Zeus.'

41 Mahmuthisar

41.1 (*45*)

"Pedestal with circular column-rest above. Planed in front and on half the sides, otherwise left, otherwise left rough. Pedestal: h. 0·69; w. 0·50 to 0·40; th. 0·60; letters 0·02 to 0·035. Column-res (not rounded behind); h. 0·15; diam. 0·50" (*MAMA* VII, 27). Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Anderson 1989 II, 122 no. 68; Ramsay 1905, col. 103 no. XLV; Calder 1911, 185 no. XLV; MAMA VII, 27 no. 136 (pl. 123); Friedrich 1932, 135 no. 45; Haas 1966, 120 no. 45; TITUS, no. 45; Orel 1997a, 337–338 no. S-12.*

ιος σεμου[ν κ]νουμ-
ανει καϗ̣υ[ν α]δδακετ
τιττετικμενος ατ Τι-
4 ε αδειτου.

---

1 ιος σεμου[ν κ]νουμ|ανει *Anderson, Ramsay, Calder et Friedrich* : ιος σεμου [κ]νουμ|ανει *MAMA, Haas, TITUS et Orel* || 2 κα[κ]ευ[ν] αδακε[τ *Anderson, Ramsay, Calder et Friedrich* : κακευγ αδακετ|τιττετικμενος *sic. MAMA* : κακεῦν αδακετ *Haas* : κακεῦν αδδακετ *TITUS et Orel* || 3 τιττετικμενος αττι|εαδ *Anderson et Ramsay* : τιττετικμενος Αττι|ε *Calder, MAMA et Friedrich* : τι τετικμεγος αττι|ε *Haas* : τιτ τετικμεγος ατ τι|ε *TITUS et Orel* || 4 ειδτου *Anderson et Ramsay* : αδειτου *cett.*

'Whoever does har[m] to th[is t]omb, let him become accursed by Zeus.'

42 Söğütözü

42.1 (*101*)

Broken calcareous stele ("h. 0–77; w. 0·50; th. 0.41; letters 0·0175 to 0·0225" *MAMA* VII, 2).

MAMA VII, 2 no. 10 (pl. 1); Haas 1966, 128 no. 101; TITUS, no. 101; Orel 1997a, 350 no. S-20.*

[ιος νι σεμουν κνο]υνμανει κακουν αδ-
[δακετ, τιτ?τετικμε]νος ατ τι αδειτου.

---

1 [ιος νι σεμουν κνο]υνμανει κακουν αδ|[δακετ *MAMA et Orel* : [ιος --- κνο]υνμανει κακουν αδ|[δακετ *Haas et TITUS* || 2 τιτετικμεν]ος Αττι αδειτου *MAMA* : τετικμε]γος αττι αδειτου *Haas* : [..ΤΕΤΙΚΜΕ]Ṇ̣ΟΣ ΑΤ ΤΙ ΑΔΕΙΤΟΥ *TITUS* : τι τετικμε]νος ατ τι αδειτου *Orel.*

'[Whoever] d[oes] harm [to this to]mb, let him become [accurs]ed by Zeus.'

43 Kadınhanı

43.1 (*69*)

Engraved on the panels of a stele-door found by Ramsay "in the front wall of the ruined Khan" (Calder 1913, 99). Its "upper panels are broken across the middle, but there is no Greek inscription on the part which remains, and the above is very probably the complete epitaph" (Calder 1913, 99). Lunate sigma and epsilon, cursive omegas.

Calder 1913, 98–101 no. LXIX; MAMA I, 23 no. 33; Friedrich 1932, 138 no. 69; Haas 1951, 10–12 no. 69; Haas 1966, 124 no. 69; Haas 1970a, 53–54 no. 69; Haas 1970b, 10–12 no. 69; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 86–87 no. C 69; Waelkens 1986, 256–257 no. 664 (SEG 36.1191); Laminger-Pascher 1989, 51–53 (lines 1–13 as Greek!) (SEG 39.1416); TITUS, no. 69; Orel 1997a, 343–348 no. S-17; Hämmig fthc. a. no. 69.*

ειneα̣ μ-
δους, ξευ-
νε πειρ α-
ρεοπ αδε-
ν(π)ατω κγ̣υ-
μαν [ο]γ̣εκρ-
ω δαδωνε-
ι ονουειᾳ̣ ει-
ροι τ̣ε̣ αδ̣ενπ-
α̣τῃς δεουε̣̣-
ιας μᾳ̣νεις
δαδων κε
οκκαυγοι
ουργ̣ουσαε-
ν. ιος σαι κα-
κον αδδα-
κετ μανκ-
αι, τ̣[ος] νι
ζως κ̣ε π-
εις κε τιτε-
τικμενος
ειτου.

---

1 EINEAM *fort.* EINEMA : Ειneαμ|δους *Calder, MAMA et Friedrich* : Ειneᾳ̣ μ|δους *Haas et TITUS* : Εινε⟨α̣⟩ μ̣ | δους *Waelkens* : εινεμᾳ̣|δο *Orel* : Σ?INEM?A?|ΔΟΤ?Ε̣? *Hämmig* || 2 Ξευ|ν' *Calder et Friedrich* : ξευ|ν *MAMA* : Ξευ|νε *Haas, Waelkens et TITUS* : [ξ]ευνε *Orel* : ξ̣ευ|νε *Hämmig* ||

3 επειρα|ρε *Calder, MAMA et Friedrich* : πειρ Α|ρεοπαδε|ν *Haas, Waelkens et TITUS* : πε̣ιρα|ρ *Orel* : ΠΕ̣ΙΡΑ|ΡΕ *Hämmig* || 4 οπαδε|ν *Calder, MAMA, Friedrich et Orel* : οπ Αδε|ν⟨π⟩ατω *Hämmig* || 5–6 ατ ω κ̣ν̣ǫ̣υ|μαν[α? *Calder et Friedrich* : ατ ω κ̣ν̣υ|μαν *MAMA* : ατω κ̣ν̣ǫ̣υ|μαν *Haas, Waelkens et TITUS* : α τω κ̣ν̣ǫ̣υ|μανε̣ *Orel* : κ̣ν̣ǫ̣υ|μαν *Hämmig* || 6 .]εκρ|ω *Calder et Friedrich* : [ο]ṷ̣εκρ|ω *MAMA, Haas, Waelkens et TITUS* : υεκρω *Orel* : ϙ̣ʾṷ̣ʾε̣κρ|ω *Hämmig* || 7 Δαδωνε|ι *Calder et cett.* : Δαδων Σʾ|ΙΟΝΟΥΣʾΙʾĄʾ *Hämmig* || 8 Ονουεως ι|ροι *Calder et Friedrich* : Ονουειας ι|ροι *MAMA* : Ονουειαι *dub.* ει|ροι *Haas et TITUS* : Ονουειᾳ ε̣ι|ροι *Waelkens* : ο̣υ̣σω ε̣ι|ροιτǫ̣μεν Orel : ϙ̣ʾι|ροι *Hämmig* || 9 τε̣ Αλενπ|ατης *Calder, MAMA, Friedrich et Waelkens* : τε Αλενπ|ατης *Haas et Lubotsky* : τε̣ Α̣δ̣ενπ|ατης *Hämmig* || 10 Δεουε|ιας *Calder, MAMA, Friedrich et Hämmig* : δεουϙ̣|ιας *Haas et TITUS* : δεου⟨σ⟩|ιας *Waelkens* : π|ατρε δεουσ|ι *Orel* || 11 Μ̣ανεις *Calder et MAMA* : Μ̣ανεις *Friedrich* : *Manеis Haas, Waelkens, TITUS et Hämmig* : μανεις *Orel* || 12 Δαδων κε *Calder, MAMA, Friedrich, Orel Hämmig* : Δαδων κε|οκκ *Haas, Waelkens et TITUS* || 13 Οκκα υγοι *Calder, MAMA et Friedrich* : αυγοι *Haas, Waelkens et TITUS* : οκκαυγοι *Orel* : οκ κ αυτʾ|οι *Hämmig* || 14 ουρμǫ̣υσαε|ν *Calder et Friedrich* : ουρϙ̣κυσαε | ν *sic Haas* : ουρϙ̣ǫ̣σαε|ς *MAMA et Waelkens* : ΟΥΡṆΚΥΣΑΕ|Ν *TITUS* : ουρνους αε|νι *Orel* : ΟΥΡ[..]ΥΣΑΕʾ|Ν *Hämmig* || 18 [το]ς νι *Calder et Friedrich* : τ[ος ?] νι|ζως *Haas* [τος?] νι *Waelkens* : τ̣[---] νι *MAMA et TITUS* : τ[ιος]νι *Orel* || 19 ζ̣ως κ̣ε π|εις *Calder, MAMA, Friedrich et Waelkens* : ζ⟨εμελ⟩ως *prop. Heubeck et TITUS seq.* : ζ⟨ειρ⟩ως *Orel* || 20 κε τιτε|τικμενος *Calder, MAMA et Friedrich* : κ ετιτε|τικμενος *Haas et Waelkens* : κε τι τε|τικμενος *TITUS et Orel.*

'[l. 15] … Whoever does harm to this stele, let him be accursed whilst he is alive and *dead*ʾ.'

44 Ladik

44.1 (*61*)

Inscription copied by Calder in 1908 and 1910 and engraved "on a rough shapeless stone" (Calder 1911, 203). One column is devoted to the Greek text and the other one to the Phrygian imprecation (with a smaller letter).

Calder 1911, 203 no. LXI; Friedrich 1932, 137 no. 61; Haas 1966, 122–123 no. 59; Haas 1970a, 47 no. 61; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 77 no. B 61 (only the Phrygian text); TITUS, no. 61 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 341–342 no. S-15.*

Μαρκία Μάρ-
κου Ἑκαταίου
τέκνοις ἰδίοις
μνήμης χάριν
καὶ ἑαυτ̣[ῆ ζ]ῶσα.

ιος σεμουν
του κνουμα-
νει κακον α-
δακετ, τιτετι-
κμενος ατ τιε
αδειτου.

8 κακυν *Friedrich* : κακον *cett.* || 9 ατ τιε *TITUS et Orel* : Αττιε *cett.*

'[Greek] Markia (the daughter) of Markos (the granddaughter) of Hekateos for her own children in memory and for herself, whilst she is alive. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this tomb, let him be accursed by Zeus.'

44.2 (*70*)

Copied by Calder in 1911, "was engraved on a round pillar; there was no Greek inscription accompanying it. The erasure of most of the letters appeared ancient, and was carefully executed" (Calder 1913, 101).

Calder 1913, 101 no. LXX; Friedrich 1932, 138 no. 70; Haas 1966, 124 no. 68; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 79 no. B 7 (confused with 42.1); TITUS, no. 70; Orel 1997a, S-18.*

ιος [νι σεμουν]
κν[ουμανει κ]-
ακο[υν αδδα]-
κετ, [τιττετικ]-
με[νος ατ τι]-
ε α[δειτου].

---

1 ιος [νι σεμουν] *Calder, Friedrich et Orel* : ιος [-- σεμουν] *Haas et TITUS* : [ις(?) νι σεμου]ν *Diakonoff-Neroznak* || 2 κν[ουμανε κ]|ακο[υν *Calder et cett.* : κνουμανι κακα[ν *Diakonoff-Neroznak* || 3 τι αδδα]|κε[τ *Calder, Friedrich et Orel* : αδδα]|κετ *Haas et TITUS* : αι καν αββε]ρεν *Diakonoff-Neroznak* || 4 τιτετικ]|με[νος] *Calder et Friedrich* : [τετικ]|με[νος *Haas, TITUS et Orel* || 5 Αττι]|ε *Calder et Friedrich* : αττι]|ε *Haas* : ατ τι]|ε *TITUS et Orel.*

'Who[ever do]es [h]arm to [this] to[mb], [let him become accurs]e[d by Ze]us.'

44.3 (*67*)

Copied by Hogarth, who found it in a "Road-side cemetery, a mile beyond Kunderaz: on a stele which has been much worn by exposure" (1890, 159). Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Hogarth 1890, 159–160 no. 3; Ramsay 1905, col. 101–102 no. XLI; Calder 1911, 213–214 no. XLVII (only the Phrygian text); Friedrich 1932, 137 no. 67; Haas 1966, 123 no. 67; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 78 no. B 67 (only the Phrygian text); TITUS, no. 67 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 335–336 no. S-10.*

Ἀμμώνιος
Πατροκλέος
ἀπελεύθερος

Ἀλεξάνδρω
καὶ Διογενίδι
καὶ Ḇ[α]σιλείδι
τέκνοις μνή-
μης χάριν, καὶ Σα-
τείρη γυναι-
κὶ ζώση. ιος
σα τι σκελεδριαι
κακουν δακετ, α-
τετικμενος ατ
τι αδειτου.

---

6 Ḇ[α]σιλείδι *dub.* : [Μ]ελιάδι *Hogarth, Calder et Friedrich* : Βασιλειδη *Calder* (*rev.*) : Βασιλειδῆ *Haas et Orel* || 11 σα τις κ[νουμανει] *Hogarth et Ramsay* : σα τισκελεδριαι *Calder et Friedrich* : σα τι σκελεδριαι *Haas, Diakonoff-Neroznak,* TITUS *et Orel* || 12 κακουν μακετα *Hogarth* : [ΑΔ]ΔΑΚΕΤ[Ι] *dub. Ramsay* : κακουν [δ]ακετα[ι] *Calder, Friedrich et Diakonoff-Neroznak* : κακουν δακετα[ι] *Haas* : ΔΑΚΕΤ Α *TITUS* : κακουν δακετ α [ι] *Orel* || 13 τετικμενος ἀ|τιαδ *Hogarth* : ΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟΣ Α|ΤΙΑΔ *Ramsay* : τ[ε]τικμενος Α[τ]||τι *Calder, Friedrich et Diakonoff-Neroznak* : τετικμενος ατ|τι *Haas* : ατετικμενος *Brixhe* : τετικμενος ατ *TITUS et Orel* || 14 εἰτος *dub. Hogarth* : ΕΙΤΟ[Υ] *Ramsay* : αδ[ε]ιτου *Calder* : αδειτου *Friedrich, Haas, Diakonoff-Neroznak* TITUS *et Orel.*

'[Greek] Ammonios the son of Patrocles, libertus, for his children Alexandros and Basilis in memory. Also for Satire his wife, whilst she is alive. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this *skeledria*, let him become accursed by Zeus.'

45 Kurşunlu

45.1 (*65*)

Copied by Calder in 1910 in the cemetery of Kurşunlu. "The inscription is engraved immediately under the pediment (broken) of a buried doorstone (?). I thought there had been a line (doubtless of Greek) above the inscription, but T was the only surviving trace of it. (Probably ἀνέσ]τ[ησεν.)" (Calder 1911, 211). "H. 1·00; w. 0·90; th. 0·18; letters 0·025 to 0·04" (*MAMA* VII, 45). Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Calder 1911, 211 no. LXV*; Friedrich 1932, 137 no. 65;* MAMA VII*, 45 no. 215 (pl. 12 no. 215); Haas 1966, 123 no. 65; Waelkens 1986, 223 no. 573 (Tafel 80, no. 573); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 77 no. B 65 (as variant of B 61);* TITUS*, no. 65; Orel 1997a, 342–343 no. S*-16.*

[ ]T[ ]
ιος σεμου κνουμαν[ει κα]κου[ν] αḍ̣[δακε]τ̣, ατ τι-
η θ̣ιτ[τ]ετικμενο̣[ς αδ]ειτου.

---

1 ἀνέσ]τ[ησεν *dub. Calder, Friedrich et* MAMA, *Orel seq.* || 2 α[δδακετ], Ατι|η *Calder* : αḍ̣[δακετ] Ατιι|η *Friedrich* : α[δδακετ] Αττι|η MAMA : α[δδακετ] αττι|η *Haas* : α[δδακε]τ αττι|η *Waelkens* : α[δδακετ] ατ τι|η TITUS *et Orel* || 3 [θ]ιτ[τ]ε[τ]ικμενο[ς ις αδ]ειτου *dub. Calder et Friderich* : θ̣ιτ[τ]ε[τ]ικμεν[ος αδε]ιτου MAMA *et Waelkens* : ε̣τ]ιτ[τ]ετικμενο[ς αδ]ειτου *Haas* : θ̣ιτ [τ]ε[τ]ικμενο[ς αδ]ειτου TITUS *et Orel.*

'...Whoever d[oes ha]rm to this tom[b], let him be accursed by Zeus.'

46 Sarayönü

46.1 (*53*)

"Stele of bluish limestone, broken down right side. H., 1·14; w., 0·46; th., 0·39. In the pediment, flanked by palmettes, and broken above, a lion, seated, facing r. Between the two parts of the inscription, a pick, satchel, and stylus?" (MAMA I, 22). Found in the eastern cemetery and copied by Ramsay and Calder in 1910. Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Calder 1911, 197 no. LIII; MAMA *I, 22 no. 32; Friedrich 1932, 136 no. 53; Haas 1966, 121 no. 53; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 80 no. B 53;* TITUS, *no. 53 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 339–341 no. S*-14.*

[.....]ος Γαλ-
λικ[ὼ] τῶ ἰδίω
τέκνω μνήμ-
ης χάριν.

ιος νι σεμουν κν[ου]-
μμανει κακουν [α]-
δδακεττ αι καϙ,
τιττετικμεν[ος]
ας τιαν ειτου.

---

1 [Λούκι]ος *e.g., Calder et Friedrich* : [.....]ος *Haas,* MAMA *et Orel* || 7 [α]|δδακεττ[α]ι, κ[α]ι [ἐ]|τιττετικμεν[ος] *Calder et Friedrich* : α|δδακεττ(α)ι κ(α)ι MAMA : [α]|δδακετ τ[α]ι-κ[α]ι [ε]|τιττετικμεν[ος] *Haas* : αδδακετ αι καν(?) *Diakonoff-Neroznak* : [α]|δδακεττ ᾳικᾳι TITUS *et Orel* : αικαι/ν *Brixhe* || 8 τιττετικμεν[ος] *Calder,* MAMA, *Friedrich, et Haas* : [ε]τιτε-τικμεν[ος] : *Diakonoff-Neroznak* : τιτ τετικμεν[ος] TITUS *et Orel* || 9 Αστιαν ειτου

Calder, Friedrich et MAMA : αστιανειτου *Haas* : αστι ανειτου *Diakonoff-Neroznak* : ας τιαν ειτου TITUS *et Orel.*

'[Greek] [---] for his/her own son Gallicos in memory. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this tomb or whatever, let him be accurse[d] by Zeus.'

47 Zıvarıkhan-Altınekin

47.1 (*51*)

Copied by Ramsay and Calder in 1910, "the stone had been hollowed out to make a water-spout; lines 2 and 4, where the restorations are certain, confirm or estimate of the number of letters lost in the Phrygian portion" (1911, 194). Lunate sigma and epsilon, cursive omega.

Calder 1911, 194–195 no. LI; *Friedrich 1932, 135 no. 51; Haas 1966, 121 no. 51; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 78 no. B 51;* TITUS, *no. 51* (*only the Phrygian text*)*; Orel 1997a, 338–339 no. S*-13.*

Ασκλ[âς ....]νι τε-
κνῶ [γλυκυτ]άτω
{τέ̣κν[ω} καὶ ἑα]υτῶ
{τω} ζῶ[ντι μν]ή̣μη[ς]
χάριν. [ιος σεμ]ον ρε-
κ̣τεοṇ [κακου]ν αδα-
κε, ατε[τικμενο]ς ατ τ[ι]
αδει[του. ....] ᾳ̣σγ

1 Κλέω]νι *e.g., Calder, Orel seq.* || 6–7 αδ[α]|κεατ, (τ)ε[τικμενο]ς Αττ[ι] *Calder et Friedrich* : αδ[α] κε ατε[τικμενο]ς αττ[ι] *Haas* : αδ[α]κεδ *Diakonoff-Neroznak* : ΑΔ[Α]|ΚΕ ΑΤΕ[ΤΕΤΙ-ΚΜΕΝΟ]Σ ΑΤ Τ[Ι] TITUS : αδ[α]|κε {α} τε[τετικμενο]σ ατ τ[ι] *Orel* || 8 ασγ *dub. Calder, Friedrich et Haas* :]ας ̣π̣[---] *Orel* : *om.* TITUS.

'[Greek] Ascl[as ---] his [dea]rest son and for [her]self, whilst she is alive, in memory. [Phrygian] [Whoever] does [har]m to [thi]s *rekteon*, [let him] become ac[curse]d by Ze[us].'

48 Çeşmelisebi

48.1 (*81*)

Found by Calder in 1913 "[o]n a stele representing a distyle temple in front view, with a round arched pediment. In the pediment two female busts, two sets of spindle and distaff, wool-basket, and crescent. Broken below; the bait of a large reward failed to produce the lower part of the stone" (Calder 1926, 25). Only the very beginning of a Phrygian imprecative protasis remains.

Calder 1926, 25 no. LXXXI; Friedrich 1932, 139 no. 81; Haas 1966, 125 no. 81; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 77 no. B 81 (only the Phrygian text as variant of B 10); TITUS, no. 81 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 278–279 no. C-26.*

Ὀρέστης καὶ Δουδης ❧ καὶ
Δαδα ❧ Δαδα τῆ ἑαυ-
τῶν θυγατρὶ καὶ Δαδα ἑαυ-
τῆ ζώση μνήμ̣[ης χάριν].
ιος κ̣ν̣[ουμανει ---]

---

1 Δουδης *Calder et Friedrich* : Δούδης *Haas et Orel.*

'[Greek] Orestes and Dudes and Dudas for Dada their daughter and Dada for herself, whilst she is alive, [in m]emory. [Phrygian] Whoever to the t[omb ---].'

48.2 (*84*)

"Stele of bluish limestone, defaced above and at the sides, broken below. H., 1·45; w., 0·63; th., 0·28; letters ll. 1–3, 0·04 to 0·05; ll. 4, 5, 0·03; ll. 6–7, 0·025 to 0·03." (*MAMA* I, 178). Found lying near the mosque. Lunate sigma and epsilon, cursive omega.

MAMA I, 178 no. 340; Friedrich 1932, 140 no. 84; Haas 1966, 126 no. 84; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 77 no. B 84 (only the Phrygian text as variant of B 10); TITUS, no. 84 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 280–281 no. C-28.*

Μουνα Μανηδ-
ος Αττας Λουκί-
ω ἀνδρὶ κὲ Αττας
ἰδί[ω πα]τ[ρὶ]
μν[ήμης χάριν].

ιος σεμ[ουν του]
κνου[μανει ---]

---

6 σεμ[ον του] *MAMA, Friedrich et TITUS* : σεμ[ουν ---] *Haas, Diakonoff-Neroznak et Orel* || 7 κνο[μανει κακ]|[κουν αδδακετ κτλ.] *MAMA et Friedrich* : κνου[μανει ---] *Haas, TITUS et Orel.*

'[Greek] Muna Manedos Attas for Lucius her Husband and Attas for his ow[n fa]th[er] in memory. [Phrygian] Whoever to th[is] tom[b ---].'

48.3 (*85*)
"Cheshmeli Zebir, near the fountain below the mound. Block of grey limestone with plain moulding above. H., 0·77; w., 0·83; th., 0·28 (the moulding protrudes m. 0·07 in front); letters, 0·04 to 0·045. The block has been cut away on the l., or the inscription and decoration was carried over from an adjoining block in a built tomb. Part of a table, and a basket and spindle and distaff survive" (*MAMA* I 1928, 179). Lunate sigma and epsilon.
MAMA I, 179 no. 341; Friedrich 1932, 140 no. 85; Haas 1966, 126 no. 85; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, pg. 77 no. B 85 (as variant of B 61); TITUS, no. 85; Orel 1997a, 281–282 no. C-29.*

[--- ...τετικμεν]ọς ατ τι αδειτου.

---

1 τετικμεν]ọς Αττι αδειτου *MAMA* : [τετικμεν]ọς Αττι αδειτου *Friedrich* : [τετικμεν]ọς ατ τι αδειτου *Haas* : [τετικμεν]ọς ατ τι αδειτου *TITUS et Orel.*

'[---] let him become [accurs]ed by Zeus.'

49 İnsuyu

49.1 (*110*)
"Insuyu, near Katirli Mesarlik. Round pillar. H. 1·60; diam., top 0·37, base 0·47. On the top, nine round holes round the edge and one in centre. The inscription, broken away below, is at the base" (*MAMA* VII 1956, 110).
MAMA VII, 110 no. 522 (pl. 143); Haas 1966, 129 no. 110; TITUS, no. 110; Orel 1997a, 287–288 no. C-37.*

ιος σεμουν κνο[υ]-
μ̣[αν]ẹ̣ι καχ̣[ουν]
[---]

'Whoever to this to[m]b har[m ---].'

50 Böğrüdelik

50.1 (*54*)

Inscription on a stele copied by Calder in 1908, his reading was revised and improved with Ramsay in 1910. Lunate sigma and epsilon, cursive omegas.

Calder 1911, 197–198 no. LIV; Friedrich 1932, 136 no. 54; Haas 1966, 121 no. 54; Haas 1970a, 48 no. 57; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 77 no. B 54 (only the Phrygian text as variant of B 61); TITUS, no. 54 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 259–260 no. C-11.*

Ὕλας ἰδίω πα-
τρὶ Διονυσίω κ'
Εὐρυδήμω ἐγγ-
όνω κὲ μητ[ρὶ] Δ-
ουδου μνήμη-
ς χάριν. [ι]ος κε
σεμουν κνο[υ]μα-
νει κακουν δο-
κετ, ατ τι αδει[του].

9 Αττι αδει[του *Caldet et Friedrich* : αττι αδει[του *Haas et TITUS* : ατ τι αδει[του... *Orel.*

'[Greek] Hylas for this own father Dionisios and his son Eurydemos and his mother Dudu in memory. [Phrygian] [Wh]oever does harm to this to[m]b, let him become (accursed) by Zeus.'

50.2 (*55*)

Inscription engraved on a stele copied by Calder in 1908 (in 1910 he was able to see it again, but it was broken). Lunate sigmas and epsilons, cursive omega.

Calder 1911, 198–199 no. LV; Friedrich 1932, 136 no. 55; Haas 1966, 121 no. 55; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 77 no. B 55 (as variant of B 10); TITUS, no. 55; Orel 1997a, 260–261 no. C-12.*

Αὐρήλιος Ἀσ-
κλᾶς Ἀ[χ]ιλλε-
ως Κλαυδιο-
λαο[δ]ικεὺς
τῇ ἰδία συμ-
βίω Θεοδώ-
ρα μνήμης
χάριν.

ιο[ς νι σεμ]ουν
κ[νουμα]νει
κ[ακουν] αδδα-
κ[ετ, ..]ι οι που-
σ[....]ι διισιν.

12–13 ..]ιοιπου | c[...]ιδιιcin *Calder et Friedrich* : ..]ιοι που|σ[ουσ]ι διισιν *Haas et dub. TITUS.*

'[Greek] Aurelius Asklas the son of Achilleus, Claudioladikeian for his own wife Theodora in memory. [Phrygian] Wh[oever] do[es] h[arm] to [thi]s t[om]b...'

51 Çarbaşlı Yayla

51.1 (*80*)

Inscription read by Ramsay and Calder in 1912 and 1913 "on the two top panels of a doorstone, the top of which is lost. Very rude engraving" (Calder 1926, 24). "In the panels, knocker, keyplate, spindle and distaff, defaced object. H. 0·66; w. 0·66; w. 0·64; th. 0·34; letters 0·02 to 0·025" (*MAMA* VII, 77).

Calder 1926, 24–25 no. LXXX; Friedrich 1932, 139 no. 80; MAMA VII, 77 no. 317; Haas 1966, 125 no. 80; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 77 no. B 80 (as variant of B 61); Waelkens 1986, 233 no. 595; TITUS, no. 80; Orel 1997a, 277–278 no. C-25.*

[ιος σεμο]ψν κνου-
[μανει] κακουν
[α]δδακετ, τιṭ-
[ετ]ικμενο[ς] ατ τι αδ-
ειτου.

3 [α]δδακετ τιṭ|[ετ]ικμ[ενος *Calder et Friedrich* : [--α]δδακετ τιτ|[τετ]τικμενο[ς] *Haas et TITUS* : [α]δδακετ τι τ|[ετ]ικμενο[ς] *MAMA et Waelkens* : [α]δδακετ τιτ | [τετ]ικμενο[ς] *Orel* || 4 Ατ]τι *Calder et Friedrich* : Αττι αδ|ειτου *MAMA* : αττι *Haas et Waelkens* : ατ τι *TITUS et Orel.*

'[Whoever m]akes harm [to thi]s to[mb], let him become ac[cu]rse[d] by Zeus.'

52 Sarıkaya

52.1 (*75*)

Inscription read by Ramsay and Calder in 1912 "on the base of a *bomos*, broken at the top and on the right. A Greek inscription may have been carved on the lost portion of the bomos. It is impossible to say how many letters were lost on the r[ight] of l. 1" (Calder 1926, 23).

Calder 1926, 23 no. LXXV; Friedrich 1932, 138 no. 75; MAMA VII, 86 no. 364 (pl. 23); Haas 1966, 124 no. 75; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 82 no. B 75; TITUS, no. 75; Orel 1997a, 271–272 no. C-20.*

ιος κακον αββερετορ κνουμανει αινι [---]
ζεμελως ⌜τι⌝ε τιττετικμενος ειτοῦ.

---

1 ιος κακον αββερετορ κνουμανει αινι [μανκαι δεως *dub. Calder et dub. Friedrich* : ιος κακον αββερετορ αινι [---] *MAMA, Haas et TITUS* : ιος κακον αββερετορ κνουμανει αι νι [---] *Diakonoff-Neroznak et Orel* || 2 ⌜τι⌝ε *simillimum uidetur* : ITE *lapis* : ζεμελως ιτ ετιττετικμενος ειτοῦ *Calder et Friedrich* : ζεμελωσι τετιττετικμενος ειτου *MAMA, dub. Haas et Brixhe* : ζεμελως τι ετιττετικμενος ειτου *Diakonoff-Neroznak* : ΖΕΜΕΛΩΣ ITE TIT ΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΙΤΟΥ *TITUS et Orel.*

'Whoever brings harm to this tomb or [---], let him become accursed by Zeus (in the sight of) men.'

53 Kelhasan

53.1 (*76*)

Inscription read by Ramsay and Calder in 1912 "on a doorstone. Above, in an arched pediment, woman, child and man, standing. The panels of the door are decorated with (1) comb and keyhole-plate; (2) table; (3) tripod supporting two-handled basin, under it a pitcher with one handle; (4) spindle and distaff, boss, and crescent" (Calder 1926, 23). "H. 1·25; w. 0·50; th. 0·58; letters 0·01 to 0·0175" (*MAMA* VII, 106).

Calder 1926, 23 no. LXXVI; Friedrich 1932, 139 no. 76; MAMA VII, 106 no. 495 (pl. 25 no. 495); Haas 1966, 124–125 no. 76; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 80 no. B 76 (only the Phrygian text as variant of B 33); Waelkens 1986, 247 no. 638 (Tafel 84 no. 638); TITUS, no. 76; Orel 1997a, 272–273 no. C-21.*

Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Μητ-
ρα υἱῶ μνήμης χάριν.
ιος νι σεμιντ κνουμανει κακουν

4 αδδακετ, τιττετικμενος ατ τι αδει-
του ακκε οι βεκος ακκαλος τιδρερουν ει-
του, γεγρειμεναν
γεδου κ' ε-
8 τιος
ου-
τα-
ν.

---

2 υἱῷ *MAMA et Waelkens* : υ[ἱ]ῷ *Calder, Friedrich, Haas et Orel* || 3 σεμιν τ⟨ου⟩ κνουμανει *Calder, Friedrich et MAMA* : σεμιντ *Haas* : σεμιν τ κνουμανει *Waelkens, TITUS et Orel* || 4 τιττετικμενος Αττι *Calder, Friedrich et MAMA* : τιττετικμενος αττι *Haas* : τι ττετικμενος αττι *Waelkens* : ΤΙΤ ΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟΣ ΑΤ ΤΙ *TITUS et Orel* || 5 ΔΡΕΡΟΥΝ *lapis* : ακκεοι βεκος ακκαλος τι δρερουν *Calder, Friedrich et MAMA* : ακκε οι βεκος ακκαλος τιδρεγρουν *Haas* : ακκε οι βεκος ακκαλος τι δρε⟨γ⟩ρουν *Waelkens* : ΑΚ ΚΕ ΟΙ ΒΕΚΟΣ ΑΚΚΑΛΟΣ ΤΙ ΔΡΕ⟨Γ⟩ΡΟΥΝ *TITUS* : ακκε οι βεκος ακκαλος τι δρεγρουν *Orel* || 6 κ⟨ε⟩ *Calder, Friedrich et MAMA* : κ *Haas, Waelkens, TITUS et Orel* || 7–8 ε|γεδου|τιος *Haas*.

'[Greek] Alexandros and Metra for (their) son in memory. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this tomb, let him become accursed by Zeus and let his bread be innutrible and let him have the written curse of Zeus.'

53.2 (*77*)

Inscription read by Ramsay and Calder in 1912 "on a stele (over 6 feet high) broken at the top. Below the inscription, a tripod supporting a cooking-pot, a spindle and distaff, and a wool-basket on a table. The cross carved at the end of this inscription is a later addition" (Calder 1926, 23).

Calder 1926, 23 no. LXXVII; Friedrich 1932, 139 no. 77; Haas 1966, 125 no. 77; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 77 no. 77 (as variant of B 61); TITUS, no. 77; Orel 1997a, 273–274 no. C-22.*

0 [ιος νι κουμα]-
1 [ν]ει κακ[ου]ν αδ-
δακετ, τιττετι-
κμενος ατ τι α-
4 δειτου. ☩

---

1 [ιος νι σεμουν]||[του κνουμα]||[ν]ει κακ[ου]ν *Calder, Friedrich et Orel* : [ιος... ... κνουμα]||[ν]ει κακ[ου]ν *Haas et TITUS* || 2 τιττετι|κμενος *Calder et Friedrich* : τιτ τετι|κμενος *Haas, TITUS et Orel* || 3 Αττι *Calder et Friedrich* : αττι *Haas* : ατ τι *TITUS et Orel*.

'[Whoever] does ha[rm to the tom]b, let him become accursed by Zeus.'

53.3 (*109*)

"Stele, top concealed, base broken away. H. (visible) 0·40; w. 0·52; th. 0·12; letters 0·02 to 0·025" (*MAMA* VII, 107).

MAMA VII, 107 no. 496; Haas 1966, 129 no. 109; TITUS, 109; Orel 1997a, 287 no. C-36.*

Ἀὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀλέ-
ξανδρος Μεννε-
ου Σεκούμδω
καὶ Μειρω γλυκυ-
τάτοις ἀδελφοῖς
μνήμης χάριν. ιος νι
[---]

'[Greek] Aur(elios) Alexandros (the son) of Menneos for Secundus and Miros his dearest brothers in memory. [Phrygian] Whoever [---].'

54 Bulduk

54.1 (*108*)

Inscription engraved on a damaged bomos, "H. 0·98; w. 0·56; th. 0·42; letters 0·0275 to 0·03" (*MAMA* VII, 100).

MAMA VII, 100 no. 454 (pl. 140); Haas 1966, 129 no. 108; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 80 no. 108 (as variant of B 33); TITUS, 108; Orel 1997a, 386 no. C-35.*

ιος ν[ι σεμουν κ]νουμανει
κακο[υν αδδακ]ε̣τ̣, τιττετ-
τικμε[νος α]τ [Τι] α̣δ̣ειτου
γεγρειμε[ναν κε εγεδ]ου
τιος ουτ[αν ακκε οι] βε-
κος ακκαλο̣[ς τιδρ]ε̣γρο-
υν ειδο[υ].

---

1 ν[ι σεμυν κ]νουμανει *MAMA, Haas, TITUS et Orel* || 2 κακο[υν αδδακ]ε̣τ̣ τιττε|τικμε[νος *MAMA* : κακο[υν αδδακ]ε̣τ̣, τιτ τε|ττικμενος *Haas, TITUS et Orel* || 3 Α]τ[τι] α̣δ̣ειτου *MAMA* : α]τ[τι] α̣δ̣ειτου *Haas* : α]τ̣ [τι] α̣δ̣ειτου *TITUS et Orel* || 5 ουτ[αν ακκεοι] *MAMA* : ουτ[αν ακκε οι] *Haas, TITUS et Orel* || 6 τι δρ]ε̣γρο|υν *MAMA, TITUS et Orel* : τιδρ]ε̣γρουν ειδο[υ] *Haas.*

'Whoever [mak]es [h]arm [to this t]omb, let him become accurs[ed b]y [Zeus] and let him [ha]ve the writt[en] cur[se] of Zeus [and] let [his] bread akkalo[s] be [innu]trible.'

55 Küçükbeşkavak

55.1 (*56*)

Broken stele ("H. 1·04; w., top 0·50, shaft 0·46, base 0·51; th. 0·28; letters 0·02 to 0·03," *MAMA* VII, 106) with a pediment (containing man, woman and some objects) copied by Calder in 1908 and later by Ramsay in 1910. Lunate sigmas and epsilon, cursive omega.

Calder 1911, 199–200 no. LVI; MAMA VII, 106 no. 492; Friedrich 1932, 136 no. 56; Haas 1966, 121–122 no. 56; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 78 no. B 56 (only the Phrygian text); TITUS, no. 56 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 261–262 no. C-13.*

Σαγάριος Λο-
υκίου Δουδα
τῆ ἰδία ϙ[υ]ν-
βίω καὶ ἑατῶ
ζῶντι μνήμ-
ης χάριν.

[ι]ος σας του σκερεᵭ-
ριας κακουν δακετ, [τ]-
ᵮιττετικμενος
ᾳ̣ṭ ṭ̣ιε ειτου.

---

7 [ι]ος σας τουσκεᵭ|ριας *Calder, Friedrich, MAMA et Haas* : [ι]ος σας του σκερεδριας *Diaknoff-Neroznak* : ΣΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΣΚΕΡΕᴤ|ΡΙΑΣ *TITUS* : σας του σκερεᵭ|ριας *et Orel* || 8 [τ|ε]ιττετικμενος *Calder et Friedrich* : [τ]ᵮiṭ̣τετικμενος *MAMA et Diaknoff-Neroznak* : [.]|ᵮιττετικμενος [....|.] *Haas* : Ṭ̣IT ΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟΣ [....|.] *TITUS* : ṭ̣iṭ̣τετικμενος *Orel* || 9 [Ατ]τιε ειτου *Calder* : Αττιε ειτου *Friedrich* : Ᾰṭ̣τιε ειτου *MAMA et Diaknoff-Neroznak* : αττιε ειτου *Haas* : AT TIE EITOY *TITUS* : ᾳ̣ṭ ṭ̣ιε ειτου *Orel.*

'[Greek] Sagarios (the son) of Lucius for his own wife Duda and for himself, whilst he is alive, in memory. [Phrygian] [Wh]oever does harm to this *skeredrias*, let him become [a]ccursed by Zeus.'

56 Büyük Beşkavak

56.1 (*57*)

Broken door-stele ("H. 1·25; w. 0·75; th. 0·39; letters 0·025 to 0·03," *MAMA* VII, 105) with a pediment with a relief (perhaps a horse). The Greek text was very eroded, only few letters were legible, while the Phrygian curse is complete. Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Calder 1911, 200–201 no. LVII; MAMA VII, 105 no. 487 (pl. 27 no. 487); Friedrich 1932, 136 no. 57; Haas 1966, 122 no. 57; Waelkens 1986, 244 no. 629 (Tafel 84 no. 629); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 77 no. B 57 (only the Phrygian text as variant of B 61); TITUS, no. 57 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 263–264 no. C-14.*

[---]
[--- χ]άριν[---]
[---]

ιος νι σεμ- ουν κνου-
μανε κα- κουν αδ-
δακετ, τ- τιττετικμ-
ενος α- τ τι αδει-
του.

1–3 *Waelkens* : *cett. om.* || 6 τιττετικμ|ενος *Calder, MAMA, Friedrich et Waelkens* : τιτ τετικμ|ενος *Haas, TITUS et Orel* || 7 Αττι αδει|του *Calder, MAMA, Friedrich et Waelkens* : αττι αδει|του *Haas* : ΑΤ ΤΙ ΑΔΕΙ|ΤΟΥ *TITUS* : ατ τι αδει|του *Orel.*

'[Greek] [---] in [memory ---]. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this tomb, let him become accursed by Zeus.'

56.2 (*58*)

Door-stele with an inscription copied by Calder in 1908 and by Ramsay and Calder in 1910. Lunate sigma and epsilon, cursive omega.

Calder 1911, 201–202 no. LVII[I]; Friedrich 1932, 136 no. 58; MAMA VII, 105 no. 488 (only the Greek text); Haas 1966, 122 no. 58; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 86 no. C 58 (only the Phrygian text); Waelkens 1986, 244 no. 630; TITUS, no. 58 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 264–266 no. C-15.*

Ἀπολλωνία ἀνδρὶ καὶ υἱῶ μ-
νήμης χάριν. Διογένε̣ιᾳ
πατρὶ καὶ ἀδελφῶ μνήμ-
ης χ-
άριν.

μοναν μροτιη ιον εγεσι-
τ γε-
γρι-
με-

νο-
ν.

---

2 Διογένη[ς] *Calder* : Διογένειᾳ *MAMA et Waelkens* || 6–7 MONANM-PO τιηιον εγεσιτ *Calder, Friedrich, Haas et Waenkels* : μοναν μροτι(?) ηιον *Diaknoff-Neroznak* : MONANM(-)PO TIHION ΕΓΕΣΙ|Τ *TITUS* : μοναν μρο τιη ιον εγεσιτ *Orel.*

'[Greek] Apollonia for her Husband and her son in memory. Diogeneia for his father and his brother in memory. [Phrygian] Only for the dead whose names are engraved.'

56.3 (*64*)

Damaged stele found by Calder and Ramsay in the north of Beşkavak beside a wall. Rectangular sigma and epsilon, cursive omega.

Calder 1911, 210–211 no. LXIV; Friedrich 1932, 137 no. 64; Haas 1966, 123 no. 64; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 79 no. B 64 (only the Phrygian text); TITUS, no. 64 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 268–269 no. C-18.*

Μαρ[ ]
ΝΑΣ[συν]-
βίω α[ὐτοῦ]-
4 ίμω τ[ζ]-
ῶντες [καὶ φρονοῦν]-
τες έ[αυτοῖς ἀνέσ]-
τησα[ν μνήμης χάριν].
8 τίς τοῦτ[ο]
λατομ[ῖον]-
νων τρ[ ]
τὸ χρῖμ̣α [ ].
12 αι κος [σεμουν του κνουμαν]-
ει κα[κουν αδδακετ],
γεγρ[ειμεναν εγεδου Τιος ουταν κε τοτο]-
σσει[τι βας βεκος].

1–5 Μαρ[κία θυγάτηρ Ἀθα]|νασ[ίου σὺν τῷ συν]|βίῳ α[ὐτῆς Αὐρ. Μαξ]|ίμῳ τ[ὸν τίτλον ζ]|ῶντες [καὶ φρονοῦν]|τες *Calder, Friedrich et Orel* || 6–7 έ[αυτοῖς ἀνέσ]|τησα[ν μνήμης χάριν] *Calder, Friedrich et Orel* : --- [ἀνές]|τησα[ν μνήμης χάριν] *Haas* || 8 τίς τοῦτ[ο τὸ μνημεῖον καὶ] *Calder, Friedrich et Orel* : τίς τοῦτ[ο τὸ ----- καὶ] *Haas* : τὶς τοῦτ[ο.....καὶ] *Diakonoff-Neroznak* || 9 λατομ[ῖον κακῶς ἐπισβαί]|νων *Calder, Friedrich et Orel* : λατομ[ῖον --------] *Haas et Diakonoff-Neroznak* || 10 τρ[όπῳ τινι ποιήσει] *Calder, Friedrich et Orel* : νων τρ[----------] *Haas et Diakonoff-Neroznak* || 11 τὸ χρῖμα [ἐκτείσει] *Calder, Friedrich, Haas et Orel* || 12 αι κος [σα

μανκα κε κνουμαν]|ει e.g., *Calder et Friedrich* : αι κος [σεμουν του κνουμαν]|ει *Haas et TITUS* : αικοσ[9 κνουμαν]ει *Diakonoff-Neroznak et Orel* || 13 κα[καν αδδακεται ζειραν] *e.g., Calder et Friedrich* : κα[κουν αδδακετ] *Haas et TITUS* : κακ[ουν 11–12] *Diakonoff-Neroznak et Orel* || 14 γεγ[ρειμεναν εγεδουτ ιο]|ς e.g., *Calder et Friedrich* : γεγ[αριτμενος ειτου με κε οι τοτο] *Haas* : γεγ[17–22] *Diakonoff-Neroznak* : ΓΕΓ[ΑΡΙΤΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΙΤΟΥ ΜΕ ΚΕ ΟΙ ΤΟΤΟ]ΣΣΕΙ *TITUS* || 15 σει[---] *Calder et Friedrich* : σς ει[τι Βας βεκος] *Haas* : σσει[10–12] *Diakonoff-Neroznak* : [ΤΙ ΒΑΣ ΒΕΚΟΣ] *TITUS* : ς σει[---] *Orel.*

57 Kandil

57.1 (*78*)

Inscription read by Calder in 1913 on a broken door-stele. "Above the inscription a wool-basket and spindle and distaff. Below the inscription a lock and knocker" (Calder 1926, 24).

Calder 1926, 24 no. LXXVIII; Friedrich 1932, 139 no. 78; Haas 1966, 125 no. 78; Diakonoff and Neroznak, 1985, 77 no. 78 (as variant of B 10); Waelkens 1986, 249 no. 650; TITUS, no. 78; Orel 1997a, 274–275 no. C-23.*

ιος σεμουṿ [κ]νουμανε κα-
κουν αδ[δ]ακετ, [τ]ετικμε[νο]ς
ε̣ι[τ]ο[υ.] Ṭ⁷Λ⁷Ω⁷

---

3 Ṭ⁷Λ⁷Ω⁷ *uel* T⁷Λ⁷Ǫ⁷ : ε̣ο *uel* λο *Orel.*

'Whoever d[o]es harm to this [t]omb, let him b[e] [a]ccurs[e]d. [---]'

58 Hatırlı

58.1 (*72*)

Badly defaced inscription engraved on a round pillar found by Callander, Ramsay and Calder, who copied it in 1912. Lunate sigma and epsilon, cursive omega.

Calder 1913, 103–104 no. LXXII; Friedrich 1932, 138 no. 72; Haas 1966, 124 no. 72; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 80 no. B 72 (only the Phrygian text); TITUS, no. 72 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 262–271 no. C-19.*

ιος [νι κε σ]εμουν
κ[νο]υ⟨μανει⟩ {σεμον} κακον
αδακετ, [τ]ιτετικμε
4 ṿος [ατ] τι αδ̣ειṭου,

[αι] κος ẋ[ακον αδα]κκιτορ,
[.] κε [.....]ε αὐ-
τος ειτου.
8 [....]νος Ϛ[ωτ]αιλου
[ ]α τῶ ἰδίω π[ατρὶ
μ[νήμη]ς ἕνεκεν.

1 ιος[. . . . σ]εμουν *Calder et cett.* : ιος ẋε ąγ [σ]εμουν *Diakonoff-Neroznak* : ιος [κε .. σ]εμουν || 2 κουσσ[. .]ον κακον *Calder et Friedrich* : κογccᾳᾳον κακον *Haas* : κουσσαλον κακον *Diakonoff-Neroznak* : κογσσλλον κακον *titus* : κ[νο]υ σεμον κακον *Orel* || 3 αδακετ [τ]ιτ[ε]τικμε|[ν]ος *Calder et Friedrich* : αδακετ [τ]ι τẹτικμε|νος *Haas, Diakonoff-Neroznak et Orel* : ααακετ [τ]ι τẹτικμε|ṇος *titus* || 4 [Ατ]τι [αδ]ειτου *Calder, Friedrich et Diaknoff-Neroznak* : [ατ]τιᾳδẹιτου *Haas* : [ατ]τι ᾳδẹιṭου *titus* : [ατ] τι ᾳδẹιτου *Orel* || 5 [αι] κος ẋ[ακον αδα]κκιτορ *e.g.*, : [αι?] κος[. . αδδα]κκιτορ *Calder et Friedrich* : [..] κος ¡[....]κκιτορ *dub. Haas* : [αι] κος ¡[xx xx]κκοτρ *Diakonoff-Neroznak* : [..]κος ¡[....]κκιτορ ([ααδα]κκιτορ?) κε [.....]ε α[ϒ?]|τος *titus* : [αι] κος σι [αδδα]κκιτορ *Orel* || 6 κε . . . . . ε[ν]|[τ]ος *Calder, Friedrich et Diakonoff-Neroznak* : κε [...]ς α[τ] *Orel* || 7 τ[ι]ος ειτου *Orel* || 8 . . . . . ? κ]αὶ Λού|? κιος *Calder, Friedrich, Haas et Orel* || 9 καὶ Β]ᾶ τῷ ἰδίῳ π[ατρὶ] *Calder, Friedrich, Haas et Orel.*

'[Phrygian] And whoever does harm to [t]his t[o]mb, let him be [a]c-cursed [by] Zeus. [If] anybody [d]oes h[arm] [---], let him be [---] [Greek] [---]*nos* the son of Sotelos [---] for his own father in memory.'

59 Kozanlı

59.1 (*107*)

Stele first published by Anderson in 1899 and read by Calder in 1910. It is decorated "with rounded pilasters and arched pediment containing woman, spindle and distaff. H. 1·57; w. 0·57; th. 0·50; letters 0·02 to 0·03" (*MAMA* VII, 97). Lunate sigma and epsilon, cursive omega.

Anderson 1899, 119 no. 117; Ramsay 1905, col. 103 no. XLVI; Calder 1991, 185 no. XLVI; MAMA VII, 97 no. 437; Friedrich 1932, 135 no. 46; Haas 1966, 129 no. 107; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 77 no. B 107 (only the Phrygian text as variant of 10); TITUS, no. 107 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 257–258 no. C-09.*

Σασας κᾳὶ ’Οᾳς
καὶ Πρειουεις [γυ]-
νὴ αὐτῶ Δι..-
4 δι τῇ ἰδείᾳ θυγ-
γατρὶ γλ[υκυ]-
τάτῃ παρθ[ένῳ]

ἀνέστησαν
μνήμης χάριν.
ιος σεμιν κνο-
[μανει]
[---]

1 Σαλω[νεῖος *dub.* : Σαλ[ωνίνους] *Anderson* : Σα[γ]ά[ριος τοῦ δεῖνος *dub. Calder et Friedrich* : Σασας ϗαὶ Ὡσας MAMA, *Haas et Orel* || 2 καὶ Πρεουεὶς [γυ]|νὴ *Anderson* : καὶ Πρεουεις [γυ]|νὴ *Calder et Friedrich* : καὶ Πρεουεις γυ|νὴ MAMA, *Haas et Orel* || 3 αὐτο[ῦ] *Anderson* : αὐτῶ Διδω|οι *Calder et Friedrich* : αὐτῶ Δ[..]|δι MAMA *et Haas* || 4 *om. Anderson* : τῇ ἰδείᾳ θυγ|γατρὶ *Calder et Friedrich* : τῆ ἰδείᾳ θυ|γατρὶ MAMA, *Haas et Orel* || 5 πατρὶ γλ[υκυτάτῳ] *Anderson* : γλ[υκυ]|τάτῃ *Calder et Friedrich* : γλυκυ|τάτῃ MAMA, *Haas et Orel* || 6 *om. Anderson* : παρθ[ένῳ] *Calder et Friedrich* : παρθέν[ῳ] MAMA, *Haas et Orel* || 7 ἀνέστησεν *Anderson* : ἀνέστησαν *Calder, Friedrich,* MAMA, *Haas et Orel* || 8 μνήμης χ[άριν] *Anderson* : μνήμης χάριν *Calder, Friedrich,* MAMA, *Haas et Orel* || 9 ιος σε[μουν κνουμανει κ.τ.λ *Anderson* : ΙΟΣ ΣΕ[ΜΟΥΝ κτλ.] *Ramsay* : ιος σε[μουν … *Calder et Friedrich* : σεμιν κνο MAMA, *Haas et* TITUS : σεμιν κνο[… *Orel.*

'[Greek] Sasas and Was and Preivis, his wife, for *Di..di*, their own dearest daughter, still a girl, dedicated (it) in memory. [Phrygian] Whoever to this to[mb ---].'

59.2 (*47*)

Inscription read by Anderson in "Sultân Mezarlik (1 h. 20 m. towards the south of Kozanli)" (1899, 122). Its lower part was lost. Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Anderson, 1899, 122 no. 127; Ramsay 1905, col. 103 no. XLVII (*only the Phrygian text); Calder 1991, 186 no.* XLVII; *Friedrich 1932, 135 no. 47; Haas 1966, 129 no. 47; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 77 no. B 47* (*only the Phrygian text as variant of 10);* TITUS, *no. 47* (*only the Phrygian text*)*; Orel 1997a, 258–259 no. C*-10.*

Διονύσιος
Αννα θυ[γ]α-
τρὶ μνή[μη]ς
ἕνεκεν.

ιος νι σεμ[υ]ν
κνουμᾳ-
νει κακο[υ]ν
ᾳᷣᵭᾳᷣϰᷣᵉᷣτ, [---]
[---]

5 ιος νι σεμ[ιν] *dub. Anderson* : ΙΟΣ ΝΙ ΣΕΜ[ΥΝ] *uel* Μ[ΙΝ] *Ramsay* : σεμ[υν] *Calder, Friedrich, Haas,* TITUS *et Orel.*

'[Greek] Dionysios (made it) for his daughter Anna in memory. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to th[i]s tomb, [---].'

59·3 (*79*)

Inscription first published by Crowfoot in 1899 (only the Greek text). In 1912 Ramsay and Calder were able to read it again and recover a Phrygian fragment. A man and a woman are represented in the pediment of the broken stele where the inscription is engraved ("H. 1·79; th. 0·45; letters 0·03 to 0·035," *MAMA* VII, 97). Lunate sigma and epsilon, cursive omega.

Crowfoot 1899, 121 no. 123 (only the Greek text); Calder, 1926, 24 no. LXXIX (only the Phrygian text); Friedrich 1932, 139 no. 79 (only the Phrygian text); MAMA VII, 97 no. 435; Haas 1966, 125 no. 79; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 80 no. B 79 (only the Phrygian text as variant of 33); TITUS, no. 79 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 275–276 no. C-24.*

Σωσίβιος Αννα
μητρὶ καὶ πατρὶ Εὐ-
τυχίωνι ζῶντι
γλυκυτάτοις ἀ-
νέστησεν μνή-
μης χάριν.
μνημόσυνον τοῦ-
τ' ἐστι βίου λίτος· ἄλ-
λο γὰρ οὐδέν. τις δὲ
προνεῖ ξεῖνος ἀνὴ[ρ]
μνημοσύνης ἕνε-
κεν. [ι]ος σεμουν
[κνο]ṿμανει κα-
[κου]ṿ αδδακετ,
[αββ]ęρετορ
[.....]ęμερη
[...]ṿ ορβουν
[....] τος τυ.-
[.. γεγ]αριτμ-
[ενος ειτου].

---

15 [αββ]ęρετορ *Calder, MAMA et Orel* : [κ⟨ε⟩ αββ]ερετορ *dub. Friedrich* : [---] ερετορ *Haas* : [---]ερετορ *TITUS* || 17]ορβουν *Calder et Friedrich* : [---] ṿορβουν *MAMA* :]ṿ ορβουν|[*Haas* :]Ṿ ορβουν *TITUS* || 18 τοστου· *Calder* : [--]τοστου[-] *Friedrich*: [---] τος τυ [-] *Haas* : [---]τος τυ[-] *TITUS* : .... τος τυ ẋ *Orel* || 19–20 γεγ]αριτμ|[ενος] *Calder, Friedrich, Haas, TITUS et Orel* || 20 *veri simile* αδειτου *uel* ειτου.

'[Greek] Sosibios for his dearest mother Anna and father Eutychion, whilst he is alive, erected (it) in memory. This stone is the memorial of life: there is nothing else (after death). A foreigner meditates (on it) on account of this remembrance. [Phrygian] [Wh]oever does ha[r]m to this [t]omb, …'

59.4 (*106*)

Phrygian curse engraved on a stone block with panel, "H. 0·51; w. 0·72; letters 0·0125 to 0·02" (*MAMA* VII, 97).

MAMA VII, 97 no. 436 (pl. 25); Haas 1966, 106; Haas 1970a, 60 no. 106; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 80 no. B 106; TITUS, no. 106; Orel 1997a, 285–286 no. C-34.*

ιος νι σεμουν κνου-
μανει κακουν αδοκετ
ζειραι, τιτετικμενος ατ
τι αδειτου, γεγρειμενον
κ' εγεδου ορουενος ουτον.

3 ζειρα ιτιτετικμενος Ατ|τι *MAMA* : ζειραι τι|τιτετικμενος ατ|τι *Haas* : ζειρα τι τετικμενος Αττι *Diakonoff-Neroznak* : ζειραι τι | τετικμενος ατ | τι *TITUS et Orel* || 5 κ⟨έ⟩ εγεδου *MAMA* : κ εγεδου *Haas, Diakonoff-Neroznak, TITUS et Orel.*

'Whoever does harm to this tomb with (his) hand, let him become accursed by Zeus and let him suffer the written curse of the Keeper.'

60 Kerpiç

60.1 (*59*)

Stele with a fragmented inscription copied by Ramsay and Calder in 1910.

Calder 1911, 202 no. LIX; Calder 1926, 27 no. LIX (correction of his previous copy); Friedrich 1932, 136 no. 59; Haas 1966, 122 no. 59; RECAM II, no. 369; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 80 no. B 59 (as variant of B 33); TITUS, no. 59 (sols text frigi); Orel 1997a, 266–268 no. C-16.*

[---] τ,
κακ[ου]ϙ αδδακε-
γεγρειμεναν ε-
γεδ[ου τ]ιος ουαν.

1–2 αδδακε|τ *legend.* || 4–3 ε|γεδ[ουτ] ιος ου⟨τ⟩αν *Calder, Friedrich et Mitchell* : ε|γεδ[ου τ]ιος ου⟨τ⟩αν *Haas, TITUS et Orel.*

'[Whoever] do[e]s harm, let him suffer the written curse of Zeus.'

60.2 (*60*)

Inscription engraved on a broken stele ("h. (visible) 1·32; w. 0·52; th. 0·40; letters 0·0175 to 0·02" *MAMA* VII, 92) with pediment (with reliefs of two man and a woman between them and some objects) and read by Ramsay and Calder in 1910. Lunate sigma and epsilon, cursive omega.

Calder 1911, 202–203 no. LX; Calder 1926, 27–28 no. LX (improved copy); Friedrich 1932, 136 no. 60; MAMA VII, 92 no. 406; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 80 no. B 60 (only the Phrygian part as variant of B 33); Haas 1966, 122–123 no. 59; RECAM II, no. 370; Waelkens 1986, 241–242 no. 620; TITUS, no. 60 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 266–267 no. C-17.*

Λ̣ανμουσος Ἀ[σκ]-
ληπιὸς καὶ Β̣αβα
υἱῶ Ἀσκληπιῶ κα-
4 ὶ ἑατοῖς ζῶντε-
ς ἀνεστήσαμε-
ν Δεῖός τε καὶ Μ-
ανης ἀδελφῶ ἀ-
8 ώρῶ μνήμης
χάριν. ιος νι σαν
κακουν αδ[δα]κε
μανκαι, γεγ̣[ρε]ιμε-
12 ναν εγεδου τιος
ουταν.

---

1 [Λ]ανμουσος *pr. Calder 1911* : Λ̣ανμουσος *adn. Calder 1926 et seq. MAMA, Haas et Orel* : Λανμουσος *Friedrich* : [Π]άνμουσος *RECAM* : Π̣άνμουσος *Waelkens* || 12 εγεδουτ ιος *Calder et Friedrich* : εγεδου Τιος *MAMA et cett.*

'[Greek] Lanmusos Asklepios and Baba erected (it) for his son Asklepios and for themselves, whilst they are alive, in memory and Deios and Manes for (their) brother untimely (dead) in memory. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this stele, let him suffer the written curse of Zeus.'

61 Saatlı-Modanlı

61.1 (*100*)

Inscription "recorded (photograph and impression) by Ian W. Macpherson near Modanli in 1953" (*MAMA* 1956, xxviii).

MAMA VII, xxviii–xxix no. (d); Haas 1966, 128 no. 100; Haas 1970a, 48 no. 100; RECAM II, 366; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 83 no. B 100; TITUS, no. 100 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 281–282.

ιος σεμιν κνουμανε μουρου[ν δα]-
[κετ αι]νι κακουν κιν, τιτετικμεν[ος]
[ατ τ]ιε αδ̣ε̣[ι]του. *uac.* Δόμνος [---]

---

1 ΜΟΥΡΟΥ[. . .]|[...]νι *MAMA et RECAM* : μουρου[ν δα|κετ αι-?]νι *Haas et Diakonoff-Neroznak* : μουρου[ν δα|κετ αι]νι *TITUS et Orel* || 2–3 κιν τιτετικμεν[ος | Ατ][τ]ιε *MAMA et RECAM* : κιντι τετικμεν[ος] | [αττ]ιε *Haas* : κιν τι τετικμεν[ος Αττ]ι *Diakonoff-Neroznak et Lubtosky* || 3 [ατ τ]ιε αδ̣ε̣[ι]του *Orel* : [Αὐρ] Δόμνος *dub. MAMA et Orel.*

'[Phrygian] Whoever [does] a stupid act to this tomb [or] to any harm, let him become accurse[d by Z]eus. [Greek] Domnos [---]'

62 Sinanlı

62.1 (*32*)

Broken door-stele ("H. 1·64; w. 0·47; th. 0·25; letters 0·01 to 0·02," *MAMA* VII, 76) with some reliefs (a man, a woman and several objects) and an inscription published by Ramsay in 1905 but also seen by Calder in 1910.

Ramsay 1905, col. 93–94 no. XXXII; Calder 1911, 180–181 no. XXXII; MAMA VII, 76 no. 312 (pl. 19 no. 312); Friedrich 1932, 133 no. 32; Haas 1966, 119; Haas 1970a, 48 no. 32; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 80 no. B 32 (only the Phrygian text as variant of B 33); Waelkens 1986, 236 no. 605 (Tafel 82 no. 605); TITUS, no. 32 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 249–250 no. C-04.*

Κλα̂ρος καὶ Δουδα ἡ σύμβιος αὐτοῦ
Σουσου υἱῶ μνήμης χάριν

καὶ Δουδα ἑαυτῇ ζῶσα.

4 ιος νι σεμουν κνουμανει
⟦ιο⟧

ḳ̣ạ̣κουν αδδακεκ, γεγρειμ̣ε̣να-
ν εγεδου τιος ουταν.

---

1 Κλάρος καὶ Δούδα ἡ σύμβιος αὐτοῦ *Ramsay et cett.* : Δουδα *Calder, Friedrich, Haas, Waelkens et Orel* : Κλᾶρος καὶ Δουδα *MAMA* || 2 Σούσου υἱῷ μνήμης χάριν *Ramsay et cett.* : Σουσου *Waelkens* || 3 καὶ Δούδα ἑαυτῇ ζῶσα *Ramsay et cett.* : Δουδα *Calder, Friedrich, MAMA et Haas* || 6 κα]κουν αδδακεκ, γεγρειμ[ε]να[ν *Ramsay* : κα]κουν αδδακεκ, γεγρειμ[ε]να|ν *Calder* : [κα]κουν αδδακεκ γεγρειμ[ε]να|ν *Friedrich, Haas et TITUS* : ḳ̣ạ̣κουν αδδακεκ *MAMA et Calder* || 7 εγεδον]τιος ουταν *Ramsay* : εγεδουτ ιος αυταν *Calder et Friedrich* : εγεδου Τιος ουταν *MAMA, Haas, Waelkens, TITUS et Orel.*

'[Greek] Klaros and Duda, his wife, for his son Susos in memory and Duda for herself, whilst she is alive. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this tomb, let him suffer the written curse of Zeus.'

62.2 (*33*)

"Doorstone with arched pediment containing two men and a woman. Panels empty. H. 1·99; w. 0·78; th. 0·40; letters 0·02 to 0·025" (*MAMA* VII, 76). Lunate sigma and epsilon, cursive omegas.

Ramsay 1905, col. 95–98 no. XXXIII; Calder 1911, 181–182 no. XXXIII; MAMA VII, 76 no. 313 (pl. 19 no. 313); Friedrich 1932, 133 no. 33; Haas 1966, 118 no. 33; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 80 no. B 33; Waelkens 1986, 234–235 no. 602 (Tafel 82 no. 602); TITUS, no. 33 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 251–253 no. C-05.*

3 ἐποίησαν καὶ ζῶντες ἑαυτοῖς.

1 Μειρος τέκτων καὶ Αμμια ἡ σύμβιος αὐτοῦ τέκνω ἰδί-
2 ω Μάρκω τέκτονι καὶ ζωγράφω αὐώρω μνήμης ἕνεκεν
4 ιος νι σεμουν κνουμανει κακον αδδακετ, γεγειμεναν ε-
5 γεδου τιος ουταν ḳ̣κε οι βεκος ακκαλος τιδρεγρουν ειτου ❧

6 αυτος κε ουα κ̣ọ̣ʔροκα γεγα- *uac.* ριτμενος ας βαταν τευτους.

---

4 ιος νη σεμουν κνουμανει κακουν αδδακετ, γεγειμεναν *Ramsay, Calder, Friedrich, MAMA, Diakonoff-Neroznak et Waelkens* : ιος νι σεμουν κνουμανει κακουν αδδακετ γεγ(ρ)ειμεναν *Haas, TITUS et Orel* || 5 ε|γεδουτιος ουταν: ακκεοι βεκος ακαλος τι δρεγρουν ειτου *Ramsay* : ε|γεδουτ ιος ουταν· ακκεοι βεκος ακαλος τι δρεγρουν ειτου *Calder, Friedrich, Waelkens* : εγεδου τιος ουταν ακκε οι βεκος ακκαλος τιδρεγρουν ειτου *MAMA et Haas* : ε|γεδου Τιος ουταν ακ κεοι βεκος ακκαλος τιδρεγρουν ειτου *Diakonoff-Neroznak* : ΕΓΕΔΟΥ ΤΙΟΣ ΟΥΤΑΝ ΑΚ ΚΕ ΟΙ ΒΕΚΟΣ ΑΚΚΑΛΟΣ ΤΙ ΔΡΕΓΡΟΥΝ ΕΙΤΟΥ *TITUS* : ε|γεδου τιος ουταν ακκε οι βεκος ακκαλος τι δρεγρουν ειτου *Orel* || 6 *omn. leg.* κε ροκα : αυτος κε ουα κε ροκα γεγαριτμενος ασβαταν τευτους *dub. Ramsay et MAMA* : αυτος κε ουα κε ροκα γεγαριτμενος αιβαταν τευτους *Calder et Friedrich* : αυτος κε ουα

κ εροκα γεγαριτμενος ας Βα ταν τευτους *Haas et Waelkens* : αυτος κε ουα κε ροκα γεγαριμενος α βαταν τευτους *Diakonoff-Neroznak* : ΑΥΤΟΣ ΚΕ ΟΥΑ Κ ΕΡΟΚΑ ΓΕΓΑΡΙΤΜΕΝΟΣ ΑΣ ΒΑΤΑΝ ΤΕΥΤΟΥΣ *TITUS* : αυτος κε ουα κεροκα γεγαριμενος α βαταν τευτους *Orel*.

'[Greek] Miros, the carpenter, and Ammia, his wife, for their own son Markos, the carpenter and painter, untimely (dead) in memory. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this tomb, let him suffer the written curse of Zeus and let the bread be innutrible to him and let him, cursed by Bas, lack any children.'

62.3 (*34*)

"Doorstone with arched pediment containing boy, man, woman, girl, the man and woman holding hands. In the panels: (1) knocker, (2) keyplate, (3) tripod with jar beneath supporting pot, (4) spindle and distaff and basket. H. 2·11; w. 0·87; th. 0·05 to 0·05; letter 0·015 to 0·02" (*MAMA* VII, 76). Classic letters but rectangular sigma and epsilons.

Ramsay 1905, col. 98–99 no. XXXIV; Calder 1911, 182 no. XXXIV; MAMA VII, 76 no. 314 (pl. 19 no. 314); Friedrich 1932, 133 no. 34; Haas 1966, 119 no. 34; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 80 B 34 (only the Phrygian text as variant of B 33); Waelkens 1986, 235 no. 603 (Tafel 82 no. 604); TITUS, no. 34 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 253–254 no. C-06.*

Μοῦζος Δειναρχίδι συμβίω σεμνοτάτη καὶ Βωδορει καὶ Να-
να τέκνοις γλυκυτάτοις καὶ ἑαυτῷ ζῶν
μνήμης χάριν.
ιος κε σεμ(ου)ν κνουμανει κακουν αδδακετ, γεγρειμεναν
εγεδου τιος ουταν.

---

4 ιος νε σεμν κνουμανει κακουν αδδακετ, γεγρειμεναν *Ramsay et Calder* : ιος κε σεμν κνουμανει κακουν αδδακετ γεγρειμεναν *Friedrich, MAMA Haas, Waelkens, TITUS et Orel* || 5 ΕΓΕΔΟΥΤΙΟΣ ΟΥΤΑΝ *Ramsay* : εγεδουτ ιος ουταν *Calder et Friedrich* : εγεδου τιος ουταν *MAMA, Haas, Waelkens, TITUS et Orel*.

'[Greek] Mouzos (made it) for his honourable wife Deinarchis and for (their) dearest children Bodoris and Nana and for himself, whilst he is alive, in memory. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to th[i]s tomb, let him suffer the written curse of Zeus.'

62.4 (*35*)

"Doorstone, broken above and below, with pediment containing woman, spindle and distaff, basket. H. 0·51; w. 0·68; th. 0·31; letters 0·0225 to 0·025" (*MAMA* VII, 77). Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Ramsay 1905, col. 99 no. XXXV; Calder 1911, 182 no. XXXV; MAMA VII, 77 no. 315 (pl. 21 no. 315); Friedrich 1932, 133 no. 35; Haas 1966, 119 no. 35; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 78–79 no. B 35; Waelkens 1986, 235 no. 604 (Tafel 82 no. 694); TITUS, no. 35 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 254–256 no. C-07.*

Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀλεξάνδρου μητρὶ ἰδία γλυκυ-
τάτη Ακκα μνημης ἕνεκεν. ιος νι σαι κακο-
υν αδδακεμ μανκαι, ας ανανκαι οι παντα κενα
4 ⟨ι⟩ν- νου.

---

3 ΑΔΔΑΚΕΜ ΜΑΝΚΑΙ ΑΓΑΝ *uel* ΑΣΑΝ ΑΝΚΑΙΟΙ ΠΑΝΤΕΚΕΝΑ|ΝΝΟΥ *Ramsay* : αδδακεμ μανκαι ΑΣΑΝΑΝΚΑΙΟΙΠΑΝΤΑΚΕΝΑ *Calder et Friedrich* : αδδακεμ μανκαι ας ανανκαι οι παντα κενα *Haas et Waelkens*: αδακεμ μανκαι ασανανκαιοιπαντακεναννου *MAMA* : αδακεμ μανκαι ατ(?) ανανκαι οι παντα κεναννου *Diakonoff-Neroznak* : ΑΔΔΑΚΕΜ ΜΑΝΚΑΙ ΑΣ ΑΝΑΝΚΑ ΙΟΙ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΚΕΝΑ *TITUS* || 4 ΝΝΟΥ *Calder et Friedrich* : [ι]ν νου *Haas* : ⟨ι⟩|ν νου *Waelkens* : [ι]ννου *TITUS* : [ι]ν-νου *Orel*.

'[Greek] Alexandros the son of Alexandros (made it) for his dear mother Akka in memory. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this stele, let his whole offspring be under the necessity.'

62.5 (*36*)

Broken door-stone ("H. 1·05; w. 0·59; th. 0·20; letters 0·0125 to 0·03," *MAMA* VI, 77) with reliefs (a woman, a man and some objects) and copied by Ramsay and Calder in 1910. Lunate sigmas and epsilons.

Ramsay 1905, col. 99–100 no. XXXVI; Calder 1911, 182–183 no. XXXVI (with copy); MAMA VII, 77 no. 316 (pl. 21); Friedrich 1932, 133 no. 36; Haas 1966, 119 no. 36; Waelkens 1986, 237–238 no. 610; TITUS, no. 36 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 256–257 no. C-08.*

Λαλ⟨α⟩ Εὐδημών[ος]
Δουδα ὐδ[ίω ανδρὶ κὲ ἑ]-
αυτῆ μ̲υ̲ήμης χ[άρι]ν. ιο-
4 ς κε σεμουν κνουμαν-
ι κακουν αδακετ, ερα γεγ-
ρειμεν[α]ν εγεδο[υ]
τιος ουταν, αυτος κ' ου-
8 α κοροκα [γ]εγ[αριτ]με[ν]ο-

ς α Βαταν τ-
ευτους.

---

1 Λαλε[ις] Δήμω[νος] *dub. Ramsay* : Ἀλλεγδήμνων *Calder* : Εὐδήμων *MAMA, Friedrich, Haas, Waelkens et Orel* || 2 Δούδᾳ ὑδ[ίῳ ἀνδρὶ κὲ ἑ]||αυτῇ *Ramsay* : Δουδα ἰδίω ἀνδ[ρὶ καὶ ἑ]||αυτῆ *MAMA et Orel* : Δουδᾳ ὑδ[ίῳ ἀνδρὶ κὲ ἑ]||αυτῇ *Calder et Friedrich* : Δουδα ἰδίῳ ἀνδ[ρὶ καὶ ἑ]||αυτῆ *Haas et Waelkens* || 3 μήμης χ[άριν] *Ramsay* : μνήμης χ[άρι]ν· ιο|ς *Calder* : μνήμης χά[ι]ν. ι̣ο|ς *MAMA et Orel* : μ⟨ν⟩ήμης χ[άρι]ν ιο|ς *Friedrich* : μνήμης χαρ[ι]ν ιο|ς *Haas* : μ̣ήμης χάρ[ι]ν *Waelkens* || 5–6 ΑΔΔΑΚΕΤ ΕΡΑ? ΓΕΓ|ΡΕΙΜΕΝ[Α]Ν *Ramsay* : αδ[δα]κετε ρα, γ[ε]γ|ρειμεν[α]ν *Calder et Friedrich* : αδακετ ερα γεγ|ρειμεναν *Haas, Waelkens et TITUS* : αδακετερ α γεγ|ρειμεναν *Orel* || 6–7 ЄΓ[Є]ΔΟΝ|ΤΙΟC ΟΥΤΑΝ. Δ[Є?Τ?]ΟΥ *Ramsay* : εγεδο[υ]|τ ιος ουταν ατος κε⟨ε⟩ ου|α *Calder et Friedrich* : εγεδου | τιος ουταν αυτος κε ου|α *Haas, Waelkens, TITUS et Orel* || 8 ΑΚΟ[ ]Ο *Ramsay* : κ[ε ρ]οκα [γ]ε[γαριτ]μ[ν]ο|ς *Calder et Friedrich* : κ οροκα γεγαριτμενο|ς *Haas et TITUS* : κ οροκα γεγαριτμενο|ς *Waelkens* : κοροκα γεγαριτμενο|ς *Orel* || 9–10 [ΑCΒ]ΑΤ[ΑΝ] Τ|ЄΥΤΕΥC *Ramsay* : αβαταν τ|ευτευς *Calder* : αβαταν τ|ευτ̣ους *Friedrich* : α Βα ταν τ|ετυτους *Haas et Waelkens* : Α⟨Σ⟩ ΒΑΤΑΝ Τ|ΕΥΤΟΥΣ *TITUS* : α βαταν τ|ετυτους *Orel.*

'[Greek] Lala, (the daughter) of Eudemon, for h[er own husband] Doudas [and] for herself in memory. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this tomb, let him suffer the written curse of Zeus and let him, cursed by Bas, lack any children.'

62.6 (*105*)

"Stele with pediment containing girl, woman, man. Field weathered out but lower parts of bureau and of tripod survive at bottom. The inscription is on the base. H. 1·27; w. 0·49; th. 0·30; letters 0·025 to 0·03" (*MAMA* VII, 77).

MAMA VII, 77 no. 318 (pl. 21); Haas 1966, 128 no. 105; TITUS, no. 105; Orel 1997a, 284–285 no. C-33.*

ιος νι σεμουν κνου-
μανει κακουν αδα-
[κ]ετ, γεγρειμεναν εγεδο-
4 υ Τιος ουτ[αν]
[---]

'Whoever does harm to this tomb, let him suffer the written curs[e] of Zeus [---]'

63 Davulga (near Amorion)

63.1 (*123*)

White marble block ("h. 0,43; l. 1,32; épg. max. 0,26; h. l. 0,02," Brixhe and Drew-Bear 1997, 98) reused as a bank. A Greek hexametric epigram is engraved in a corner, with a hemistique in each side. The Phrygian imprecation can be read in the second face. Rectangular sigma and epsilon.

Brixhe and Drew-Bear 1997, 98–102 no. VI (SEG 47.1725); Merkelbach and Stauber 1998, 354 no. 16 / 43 / 02 (only the Greek epigram); Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 182 no. 123 (only enumerated); Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1818 no. 123 (only enumerated).

Σύμφωνος Πρεῖμ[α τ' Ἀ]||ρ̣ούντιοι ἐνθάδε κεῖνται
οὓς κτερίσας μ[--- | ---] τῆδε κόνει πέτασεν.
Εὔτακτος υἱὸς ἄρι[στο]||ς ε̣..στ̣ο νέᾳ̣ς προπόλοιο
τειμήσας τειμᾳ̣[ῖς μ]||ῳ̣ημοσύῳ̣ης ἕνεκεν.

ιος νι σεμ[ουν κνου]μα-
νει κᾳ̣κ[ουν αδ]ᾰ̣[ακ]ετ,
τιε τιτ̣τ̣ε̣τ̣ικμ̣ε̣νος
ειτ[ου].

---

7 τιε τιτ τ̣ε̣τ̣ικμ̣ε̣νος *Brixhe-Drew-Bear*.

'[Greek] The Aruntians Symphonos and Prima lie here after having been buried [---] spread in the dust. Eutaktos, excellent son of the young servant having honoured them with honours in remembrance. [Phrygian] Whoever [d]o[e]s ha[rm] to th[is tom]b, let him be accursed by Zeus.'

64 Peribeyli

64.1 (*124*)

Round pillar found by Calder in 1913 with a Greek hexametric epigram (each line contains one hemistich) and a Phrygian imprecation. Its higher part, where almost one initial verse is expected to contain the name of the dead girl, is lost.

Calder 1922, 123–124 no. 7 (SEG 1.454); Calder 1926, 25 no. LXXXII (only the Phrygian text); Friedrich 1932, 139 no. 82; MAMA VII, 56 no. 258, (pl. 15); Haas 1966, 125 no. 82 (only the Phrygian text); Wilhelm 1980, 86 no. 112 (SEG 30.1488); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 78 no. B 82 (only the Phrygian text as variant of B 2); TITUS, no. 82 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 279–280 no. C-27; Merkelback and Stauber 1998, 356 no. 16 / 43 / 04.*

[---]
1 [ἔ]κ̣τον καὶ δέκατον ἐ̣[πιδ]-
οῦσα ἔτος ἔνθα τέθα[ψται]
ἐκ τοκετοῦ δυσμόρ[ου γὰρ]
4 ἀνήρπασε βάσκανος Ἄ[δης]
εἰκόνα σωφροσύνης [καὶ αἰ]-
δοῦ[ς] μεγάλης ἐπὶ[γαίη]
καὶ μετ' ἐπιστήμ̣η[ς]
8 ἔργ' ἐπιδεικνυμένη
πέντε ἔτη δὲ συνοίκησε̣ν̣
καὶ αἴλινα κλ̣αῦε Κοδρᾶτος
γῆ κρύπτων [σ'] οἴην
12 ἐλπίδα καὶ γονέων.
ιος νι σα του μανκα κακουν αδ-
δακετ, τι̣τ̣ετικμενος ειτου.

---

2 τέθα[πται] *Calder 1922, Friedrich, MAMA et Orel* : τέθα[μμαι] *Wilhelm* : τέθα[ψαι] *emend. Wilhelm* || 3 δυσμόρο[ου] *Calder, Friedrich, MAMA et Orel* : δύσμορ[ρον] *Wilhelm, fort.* δύσμοιρον ἀνήρπασε βάσκανος Ἄιδης || 9 *fort. legend.* συνοικήσθη *Wilhelm* : συνοικήσθαι *Calder 1922 et Friedrich* : συνοίκησε̣ν̣ (= συνῴκοεν) *propg. Cr., MAMA et Orel* ||10 κλαῦε *Wilhelm, MAMA et Orel* || 14 τι̣τ̣ετικμενος *Calder, Friedrich, MAMA et Wilhelm* : τι τετικμενος *Haas et TITUS* : τι̣ τ̣ετικμενος *Orel.*

[ἔ]κ̣τον καὶ δέκατον ἐ̣[πιδ]|οῦσα ἔτος ἔνθα τέθα[ψται]
ἐκ τοκετοῦ δυσμόρ[ου γὰρ] | ἀνήρπασε βάσκανος Ἄ[δης]
5–6 εἰκόνα σωφροσύνης [καὶ αἰ]|δοῦ[ς] μεγάλης ἐπὶ[γαίη]
καὶ μετ' ἐπιστήμ̣η[ς] |ἔργ' ἐπιδεικνυμένη
9–10 πέντε ἔτη δὲ συνοίκησε̣ν̣ | καὶ αἴλινα κλ̣αῦε Κοδρᾶτος
γῆ κρύπτων [σ'] οἴην | ἐλπίδα καὶ γονέων.

'[Greek] You who have lived sixteen years are buried here. Hades the envy took away after an unhappy childbirth an earthly picture of chastity and great reverence, that accomplished every work with prudence. In the funeral chant, Quadratus cried when he buried you in the earth, after having been living with you for five years, you who also were the only hope of the parents. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this stele, let him be accursed.'

65 Aşağıpiribeyli (Petinessos)

65.1 (*20*)

Double door-stone ("h. 1·29; w. 1·62; th., top 0·17, base 0·39; letters 0·021 to 0·026," *MAMA* VII, 57) broken on right and above with some reliefs (two people and several objects in the pediment) and an inscription on the upper moulding. Rectangular sigma and epsilon, cursive omega.

Ramsay 1887, 396 no. XX; Ramsay 1905, col. 117 no. XX; Calder 1911, 176 no. XX; Friedrich 1932, 131 no. 20; MAMA VII, 56–57 no. 259 (pl. 15); Haas 1966, 117 no. 20; Waelkens 1986, 218 no. 554 (Tafel 80 no. 554); TITUS, no. 20; Orel 1997a, 246–247 no. C-02.*

[... Πομ]πέϊος καὶ Καρικὸς καὶ Παπια οἱ Καρικοῦ κληρονόμοι αὐτοῦ ἰδί[ω πα]-
[τ]ρὶ γλυκυτάτ[ω κ]αὶ Τατει ἀδελφῆ ἀώρω καὶ μητρὶ Τατια ζώση μνήμ[ης χάριν].
ιος νι σεμ[ουν κνου]μανει κακουν αδακετ, ṭιτετικμενος ααs κνουμ[---]

---

1 [Αὐρήλιοι] Πεῖος *dub. Ramsay 1887* : [Αὐρ.] Πονπέϊος *Ramsay 1905* : [?Αὐρ.] Πονπέϊος *MAMA* : Αὐρ. Πονπέϊος *Calder, Friedrich, Haas, Waelkens et Orel* || 1–2 ἰδί[ῳ αὐτῶν πατ]ρὶ *Ramsay 1887* : ἰδί[ῳ πα|τ]ρὶ *Ramsay 1905, MAMA et Waelkens* : ἰδί[ῳ | π]ατρὶ *Calder, Friedrich et Haas* || μνή[μης χάριν] Ramsay 1887 : μνὴ[μης χά|ριν] *Ramsay 1905* : μνή[μης | χάριν] Calder, Friedrich et Haas : μήμῃ[ς χάριν] *Waelkens* || 3 ιος νι σεμ[ουν κνου]μανει *Ramsay 1887* : ΣΕΜ[Ν ΚΝΟΥ]ΜΑΝΕΙ *Ramsay 1905* : σεμ[ον κνου]μανει *Calder, Friedrich, MAMA, Haas et TITUS* : Ιος νι σεμ[ον_κνου]μανει *Waelkens* : αδακετ, [ε]τιτετικμενος ααsκνουα[*Ramsay 1887* : ΑΔΑΚΕΤ ΤΙ, ΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟΣ ΑΑΣΝΟΥ[ΜΕΝΟΣ *Ramsay 1905* : αδακετ, τιτετικμενος ααsκνου[μενος *dub. Calder et Friedrich* : αδακετ ṭιτετικμενος ααsκνου [---] *MAMA* : αδακετ τι τετικμενος ααs κνου[---(--)] *Haas et TITUS* : αδακετ τι τετικμενος ααs κνουμ[α?--] *Waelkens*.

'[Greek] [Aur(elius)] Pompeius and Karikos and Papia, Karikos' heirs, for their own deares[t fa]ther [a]nd for Tatis (their) untimely (dead) sister and for (their) mother Tatia, whilst she is alive, in me[mory]. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to th[is to]mb, accursed ... [---].'

65.2 (*104*)

A fragment of an inscription "on a smoothed surface on a rough block, lying near no. 259 [= 63.1], and possibly a detached part of the same memorial" (*MAMA* VII, 57).

MAMA VII, 57 no. 259a; Haas 1966, 128 no. 104; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 77 no. B 104 (as variant of B 10); TITUS, no. 104; Orel 1997a, 283–284 no. C-32.*

[τιττετι]-
uacat. κμενος ειτου. *uacat.*

'[---] let him be [accur]sed.'

65.3 (*21*)

Inscription copied by Ramsay in 1883, who read it "in a panel on the side of a large sarcophagus, in distinct letters of late style" (Ramsay 1887, 396). Dated to the third or fourth c. BC by Ramsay.

Ramsay 1887, 396–397 no. XXI; Ramsay 1905, col. 117 no. XXI (*only the Phrygian text*)*; Calder 1911, 176 no. XXI; Friedrich 1932, 131–132 no. 21; Haas 1966, 117 no. 21; Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 83 no. B 21; TITUS, no. 21; Orel 1997a, 247–249 no. C*-03.*

Αὐρ(ήλια) Κύριλλα Μύρωνος
σύμβιος Αὐρ(ηλίου) Παπα Μενέ-
ου τοῦ καὶ Κυρίωνος καὶ Απ-
4 πας γαμβρὸς αὐτῆς καὶ Τατ-
α ἡ σύμβιος αὐτοῦ ζῶντες
κατεσκεύασαν τῇ μητρὶ τὴν
σορόν. ιος σα σορου κακε
8 αδακετ, με ζεμελως τιττετι-
μενος ειτου.

---

1 Αὐρ. *Ramsay 1887 et cett.* || 2 Αὐρ. Παπᾶ Μεν⟨ν⟩|ου *Ramsay 1887 et cett.* || 8 αδακετ, με ζεμελω ετιττετικμενος *Ramsay 1887* : ΑΔΑΚΕΤ, ΜΕ ΖΕΜΕΛΩΣ (Ε)ΤΙΤΤΕΤΙ|ΚΜΕΝΟΣ *Ramsay 1905* : αδακετ, με ζεμελως τιττετι|κμενος *Calder* : αδακετ με ζεμελως τιττετι|κμενος *Friedrich et Haas* : ΑΔΑΚΕΤ ΜΕ ΖΕΜΕΛΩΣ ΤΙΤ ΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟΣ *Diakonoff-Neroznak, TITUS et Orel.*

'[Greek] Aur(elia) Kyrilla (the daughter) of Myron the wife of Aur(elius) Papas Meneos the son of Kyrion and Appas her brother-in-law and Tata his wife, whilst they are living, built this coffin for (their) mother. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this coffin, let him be accursed in the sight of men.'

65.4 (*124*)

Inscription engraved on a withe marble block ("h. 1,10; l. 1,72; épg. 0,50; h. l. 0,04," Brixhe and Drew-Bear 1997, 102) found in the courtyard of a mosque, which is said to come from the old mosque recently demolished. Lunate sigma and epsilon.

Brixhe and Drew-Bear 1997, 102–110 no. VII; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2013, 182 no. 124 (*only enumerated*)*; Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018, 1818 no. 124* (*only enumerated*).

[Αὐ]ρ(ήλιος) Μενέας Παπα καὶ Κυρίων ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ
[κ]αὶ ἡ σύνβιος Κουιντιανὴ ζῶντες
κατεσκεύουασαν ἑ̣αυτοῖς μνή-
μης χάριν. ❧ ιος σα του σορου κακε
αδδακετ, με ζεμελως οττιττετικμε-
❧ νος ειτου. ❧
❧

5 οτ τιτ τετικμε|νος *Brixhe-Drew-Bear*.

'[Greek] [Au]r(elius) Meneas Papa and Kyrion, his son, and his wife Quintiane build in life for themselves in memory. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this coffin, let him be accursed in the sight of men.'

66 Turgut

66.1 (*103*)

"Stele with a male and a female figure above. H. 2·30; w. 0·60; th. 0·23; letters 0·02 to 0·035" (*MAMA* VII, 44). Lunate sigma and epsilon.

MAMA VII, 44 no. 214 (pl. 13); Haas 1966, 128 no. 103; Haas 1970a, 60–61 no. 130; TITUS, no. 103 (only the Phrygian text); Orel 1997a, 282–283 no. C-31; Strubbe 1997, 188 no. 274 (only the Greek text and a comentary of the Phrygian text following Haas).*

[Αὐρ](ήλιος) Σιδηρίων Μαμα ἑαυτῶ
[ζῶν] ϰὲ ⟨τ⟩ὴ ἑαυτοῦ συνβίω Μαμμη
[ϰὲ Ἀπ]πιῶ ἀδελφῶ φιλοστοργίας
[ἕνε]ϰεν ϰὲ Μαμας ϰὲ Βενιος το[ῖς]
[ἑαυ]τῶν γονεῖσιν ⟨μ⟩νήμης χάρ[ιν].
[ιος] σεμον τι κνουμανι κ[ακ]-
[ον α]βερετι ζει[ραι] παρταν, το[ς]
[νι με] ζι[μελως] α τι ατιτικμενος
[ειτ]ου.
[τίς ἂν] τούτω κακὴν χεῖρα
[προσ]οίσει, ὀρφανὰ τέκνα λ[ί]-
[ποιτ]ο, χῆρον βίον, οἶκον ἔ-
[ρημ]ον.

7 ⟨αιν⟩ι ζει[ρα-] *dub.* : α]βερετι ζει [---] παρταντο [.] *MAMA* : α]βερετ{ιτετικ.}παρταν το[ς] *Haas et TITUS* : α]βερετ ι[------] παρταν το- *Orel* || 8 ὑτι[----]ατια τιτικμενος *MAMA* : [νι με]

ζι[μελω] ατιατιτικμενος *Haas* : [NI ME] ẓI[MEΛΩ] A TIA TITIKMENOΣ *TITUS* : ---------- α τια τιτικμενος *Orel*.

'[Greek] [Aur(elius)] Siderion Mama for himself, [whilst he is alive], and for his wife Mamme [and for his brother Ap]pios [for the]sake of affection and Mamas and Benios for their parents in memory. [Phrygian] [Whoever] brings h[arm] to this tomb with his hand *partan*, let him [be] accursed by Zeus [among] m[en]. [Greek] [Whoever br]ings a bad hand to this tomb, may he l[eav]e behing his children orphaned, an empty life, his house d[ese]rted.'

APPENDIX

Greek Inscriptions Enumerated in the Traditional List of New Phrygian Inscriptions

Although they are Greek, the following inscriptions were transmitted within the New Phrygian corpus, for reasons including the following: they are a calque of a Phrygian curse inscription (App. 1), they contain a word considered to be Phrygian (ΠΡΙΕΙΣ in App. 8), they are completely misunderstood (App. 11). After Brixhe (1999, 287–292), they can no longer be included in the Phrygian corpus.

1 Greek Inscription from Çayırbaşı (No. 1)

Greek inscription found in Çayırbaşı and copied by Ramsay in 1884.
Ramsay 1887, 386 no. 1; Calder 1911, 165 no. 1; Friedrich 1932, 128 no. B 1; Haas 1966, 114 no. 1; Strubbe 1997, 129 no. 177 (*l. 3–4*).

Τάτεις ἐτείμησεν τὸν Ἄππουν τὸν ἑαυτῆς ἄν-
δρα ἔτι ζῶσα καὶ τὰ τέκνα μνήνης χάριν καὶ ἑαυτήν·
τίς δὲ ταύτη θαλάμειν κακὸν ποσποιήσει, κατηραμένος ἤτω
αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τέκνων τέκνα.

'Tatis honoured her husband Appos and their children in memory and herself, whilst she is alive. Whoever does harm to this (funerary) chamber, let him be accursed, himself and his children and the children of his children.'

2 Greek Inscription from Kuyucak (No. 16)

Greek inscription found in Kuyucak and copied by Sterrett in 1883.
Ramsay 1887, 394–395 no. XVI (*copy*); MAMA *V, 150 no. R 7; Haas 1966, 115 no. 16; Drew-Bear 1978, 29 no. 2* (MAMA *V 208;* SEG *29.1174*).

Ξευνα Ἰασονο[ς]
σύνβιος περὶ τῶ-
ν ἰδίων ἰδίων σωτηρί-
ας Μηνὶ Οὐρανί-

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ω ϰε Ἀπόλλωνι
εὐχήν.

'Xeuna the wife of Iaso (made) a vow to the heavenly Men and Apollo on the sake of his own safety.'

3 Greek Inscription from Yukarı Piribeyli (No. 22)

Inscription found in Yukarı Piribeyli by Ramsay and Sterrett in 1883. Dated to the third or fourth century BC.
Ramsay 1887, 397 no. XXII (as Greek); Haas 1966, 117 no. 22. Cf. Calder 1911, 176 no. XXII; Brixhe 1999, 287 no. 22.

Αὐρ(ήλια) Ἀντωνίλα Κα-
ρικοὺ ἑαυτῆ ζῶσα
ϰὲ φρονοῦσα κατέσ-
θησεν τὸ ἡρῶον
καὶ Δόμνη ϰὲ Κασμείνη
ϰὲ ἀνδρὶ Δαδῃ ϰὲ θέκνοσι
μνήμης χάριν

'Aurelia Antonila the daughter of Karikos built this tomb for herself, whilst she is alive and of sound mind, and for Domne and Kasmine and for her husband Dades and their children in memory.'

4 Greek Inscription from Yukarı Piribeyli (No. 23)

Inscription found in Yukarı Piribeyli by Ramsay and Sterrett in 1883. Dated to the third or fourth century BC.
Ramsay 1887, 397–398 no. XXIII; Strubbe 1997, 185–186 no. 268 (l. 9–14).

Αὐρ(ήλιος) Δαδης Ἰσμά-
γδου κὲ Αὐρ(ηλία) Τατία
σύνβιος αὐτοῦ ἰδ-
[ί]ῳ υἱῷ Α⟨ὐ⟩ρ(ήλιος) Μεναλί-
ω ὀλιγοχρονίω
βωμὸν ἀνέστησ-
αν μνήμης χάριν

οἱ φιλότεχνοι·
τίς τούτου μνημίου κ-
ακὴν χεῖρα προσε[ν-
έ]νκη, ζῶν αὐτὰς [πα-
ρα]δοῖτο βεβρω[μ-
έν]ας ὑπὸ θηρίῳ-
ν.

'Aurelios Dades the son of Ismagdos and Aurelia Tatia, his wife, erected, fond of art, this altar for their short-lived son Aurelios Menalios in memory. Whoever lays a wicked hand to this monument, let him, whilst he is alive, have his hands devoured by beasts.'

5 Greek Inscription from Aşağıpiribeyli (No. 24a)

Greek inscription found in Aşağıpiribeyli and copied by Ramsay in 1883. Dated to the third century BC.
Ramsay 1887, 398 no. XXIVa (*as Greek*).

Αὐρ(ήλιος) Κλώδιος Σαγαρίου χὲ
σύμβιος αὐτοῦ Κυρίλλα
τοις ἑατῶν τεκνοις
Καρικῶ χὲ Τατιᾶ ἀώροις,
μν-μ-ις χαριν. Υ--.ΣΥΕΟΙΔ -
ΠΛΑΣΟΙΟΕ--ΣΑΝΤΑΠΟΔΟΙΤΟ.

'Aurelius Klodios Sagarios and his wife Kyrilla for their untimely (dead) children Karikos and Tatias in memory…'

6 Greek Inscription from Aşağıpiribeyli (No. 24b)

Greek inscription found in Aşağıpiribeyli and copied by Ramsay in 1883. Dated to the third century BC.
Ramsay 1887, 398 no. XXIVb (*as Greek*); MAMA *VII 276; Waelkens, 1986 no. 556.*

Αὐρ(ήλιος) Αλεξανδρος [---]
[---]
[---]

ὅς αν
κακῶς
πυήσει
τῶ μνή-
μα-
[τι ---] αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖ⟨ς⟩ τ[έ]κνο[ις].

'Aurelios Alexandros [---] Whoever does harm [to] this monument [---], let him and his childrend [---].'

7 Greek Inscription from Aşağıpiribeyli (No. 24c)

Greek inscription in a small panel from Aşağıpiribeyli and copied by Ramsay in 1883. Dated to the third century BC.
Ramsay 1887, 398 no. XXIV (copy, as Greek).

[A]ὐρ(ήλιος) Τειμοθέος γλυκύτατῶ
συνβίω Ιταλική ἀναστής
μνημς χα-
ριν.

'[A]urelios the son of Timotheos erected (it) for his dearest wife Italike in memory.'

8 Greek Inscription from Iconion (NPhr. 49)

Greek inscription found in Konya (Iconion) and copied by Ramsay and Calder in 1910. Although it was considered Phrygian, it is clearly Greek. Only l. 9 ΠΡΙΕΙΣ remains unclear.
Calder 1911, 188–192 no. XLIX (copy); SEG 6.434; Friedrich 1932, 135 no. 49; Haas 1966, 120–121 no. 49; Laminger-Pascher 1984, 46–49 no. 62 (213 and Calder's copy); Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985, 86 no. C 49; Brixhe 1999, 287–291 no. 49.cc

Ἥλιος Γάϊος ἀγο-
ράνι ἀχανὲς το-
πον κὰ φάνι ἀ-
πραγματικ-
ὸν ἀτῶ κὰ

εἱστάνι π-
έλτα κὰ Ἡλι-
άδι θρεψά-
σᾳ Πριεις Ἀὐρ-
ηλίαν Βάσ[αν].
Ὅστις ἐπ[ιβιά]-
σηστε, δώ[σει]
τῶ φίσκ[ω]
*, α.

'Helios Gaios bought this plot free of constructions and declared it inalienable from him. He also raised the base (of a sarcophagus) for Helia, the nurse of (his) ΠΡΙΕΙΣ Aurelias Bas(s)a. Whoever violates (it), will pay 1000 denarii to the imperial treasury.'

9 Greek Inscription from Iconion (No. 50)

Greek inscripcion found in Konya (Iconion) and copied by Ramsay and Calder in 1910. *Calder 1911, 192–194 no. L* (*copy, as Phrygian*)*; Friedrich 1932, 135 no. 50* (*as Phrygian*)*; Haas 1966, 121 no. 50* (*as Phrygian*)*; Brixhe 1999, 291–292 no. 50* (*as Greek*).

Τῆς Πάρθε-
και Δικαίω
⟨εὐ⟩χήν.

'Tes put this vow to Dikaios.'

10 Greek Inscription from Sarayönü (No. 52)

Greek inscription found in the wall of the main Djami of Sarayönü and copied by Ramsay in 1905 (again together with Calder in 1910).
Calder 1911, 195–197, LII (*copy*)*;* MAMA *I, no. 11* (SEG *34.1375*)*; Friedrich 1932, 135 no. 52; Haas 1966, 121 no. 52.*

Αὐρ(ήλιος)
Φρούγι-
ος Νεστορι-
ανοῦ Ποκ-

ωμήτης
παρεθθον
ὑοη ᾽Ορονδί-
ω
εὐχήν.

'Aurelios Phrugios the son of Nestorianos villager of Poa put this vow for (his) son Orondios.'

11 Greek Inscription from Sultan Mezarlığı Inscripció (NPhr. 66)

Greek inscription on an altar, with serpent in relief on one side. Copied by Anderson in 1989.
Anderson 1899, 123 no. 132 (copy); Calder 1911, 212 no. LXVI (copy); Friedrich 1932, 137 no. 66; Haas 1966, 123 no. 66.

Μηνουδούτο
᾽Εστάρτωνος
μήτερ ἔστησ-
ε̣ν.

'For Menodotos the son of Starton, his mother erected (it).'

12 Hexametric Inscription from Gözlü (No. 83)

A Christian, hexametric inscription on a rough stele, found in Gözlü by Calder in 1913. Dated not earlier than the fifth century AD.
Calder 1926, 25 after no. LXXXII (l. 1–2 as Phrygian); Friedrich 1932, 139 no. 83 (l. 1–2 as Phrygian) (SEG 6.291); Haas 1966, 125 no. 83 (l. 1–2 as Phrygian); Brixhe 1999, 287 no. 83 (l. 1 as Phrygian).

☩ ὗος ἀνὴρ βέννεν
ἀμιδέα δώματα, N-
ινυ Εὐγένιος Σύρου
μεγαλήτορος ἀγλα-
ὸς υἱός σὺν ἀλόχω
δευτέρη κεκλημένη
τοὔνομα Θέκλα, ὃς

8 κὲ τίθλον ἔδιμεν· τὸ
γὰρ γέρας ἐστὶ θα-
νόντων.

A † ω

L. 1 ὗος = οἷος. L. 2 ἀμιδέα = ἀμειδέα; Νινυ, a local name, see Νινεις or Νιννις *KPN* 361 § 1040–8 and 1040–12. L. 8 τίθλον = τίτλον, ἔδιμεν = ἔδειμεν.

ὗος ἀνὴρ βέννεν | ἀμιδέα δώματα, Ν|ινυ
l. 4 Εὐγένιος Σύρου | μεγαλήτορος ἀγλα|ὸς υἱός
σὺν ἀλόχῳ| δευτέρῃ κεκλημένῃ τοὔνομα Θέκλᾳ,
l. 8 ὃς | κὲ τίθλον ἔδιμεν· τὸ | γὰρ γέρας ἐστὶ θα|νόντων.

'What man *bennes*[?] the gloomy houses! Nini Eugenios the noble son of the great-hearted Syros, together with his second wife called Thekla, he who also prepared this inscription: "that is the privilege of the dead" [= *Il.* 23.9; *Od.* 24.190].'

Maps

MAP 1 The Phrygian Inscriptions
Note: Excluding HP-114, from Persepolis

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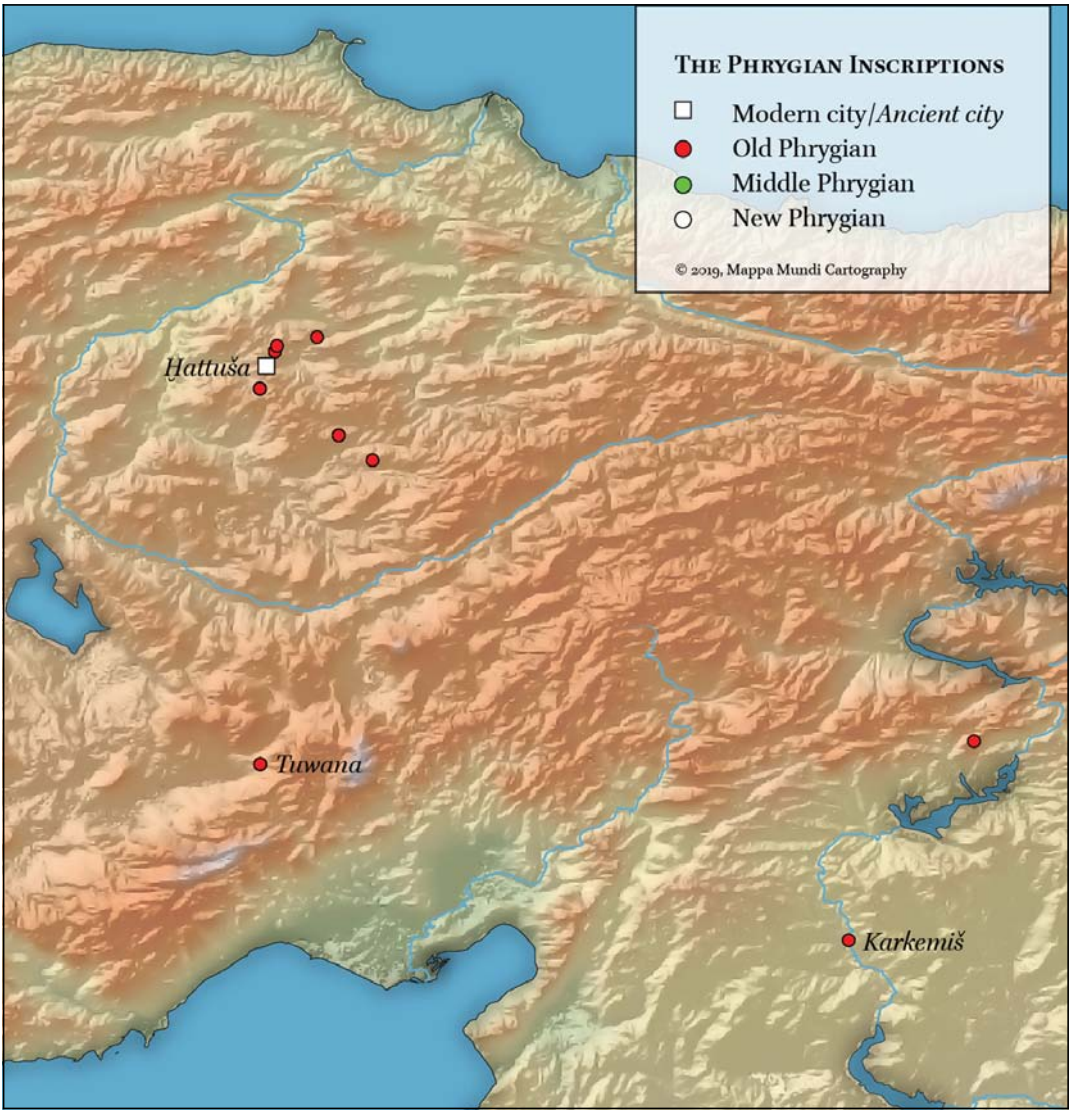
The Phrygian Inscriptions
Modern city/*Ancient city*
Old Phrygian
Middle Phrygian
New Phrygian
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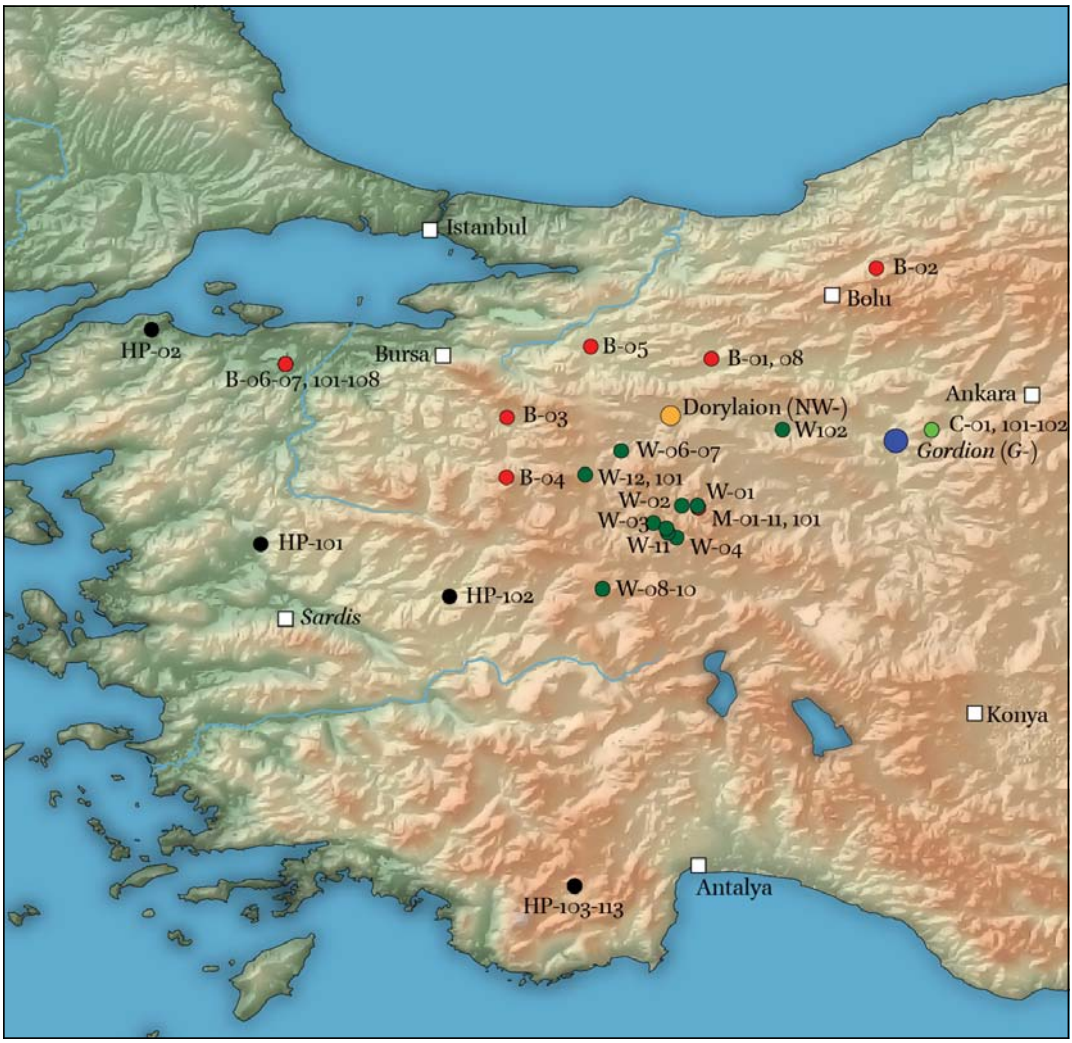
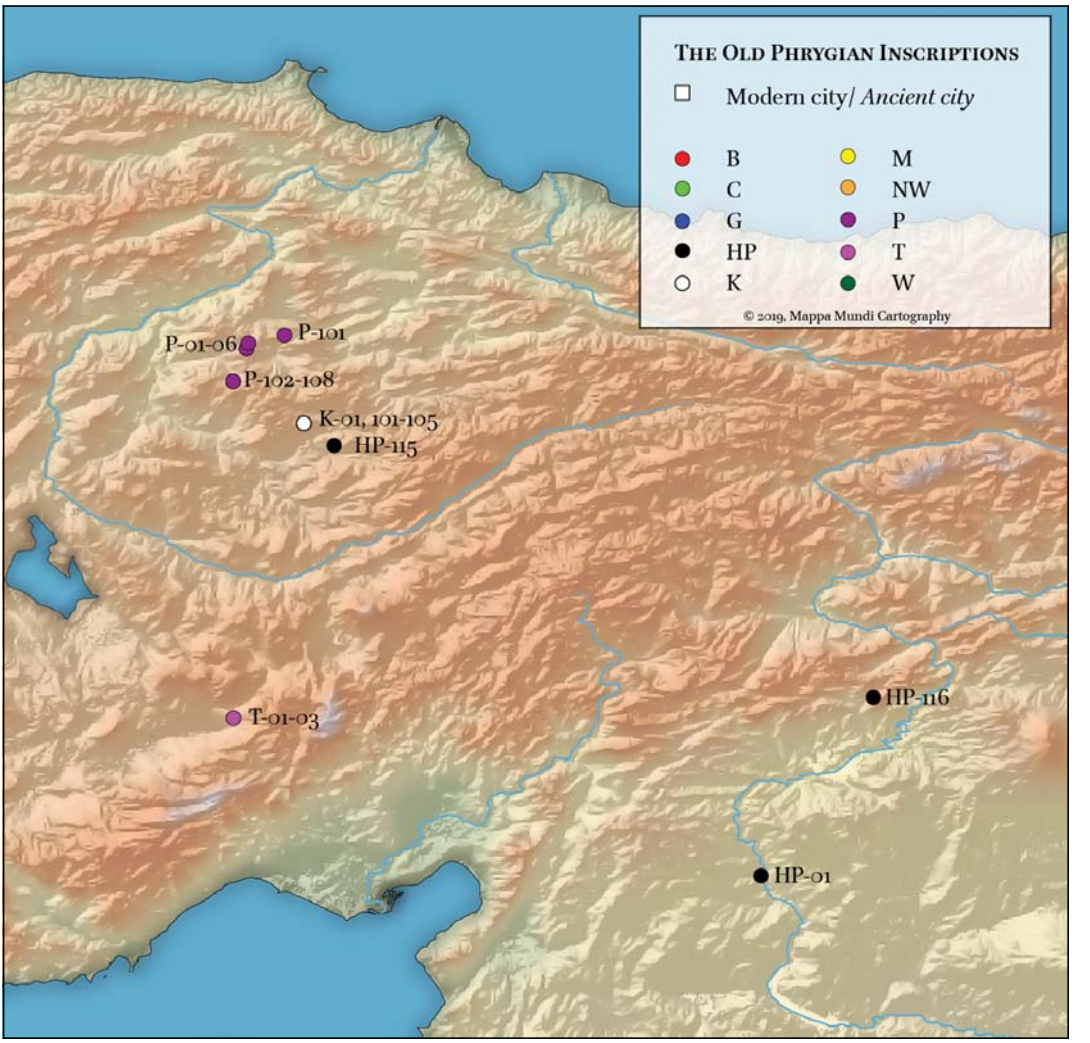
Ḫattuša
Tuwana
Karkemiš



MAP 2 The Old Phrygian Inscriptions


THE OLD PHRYGIAN INSCRIPTIONS
Modern city/ *Ancient city*
B
C
G
HP
K
M
NW
P
T
W
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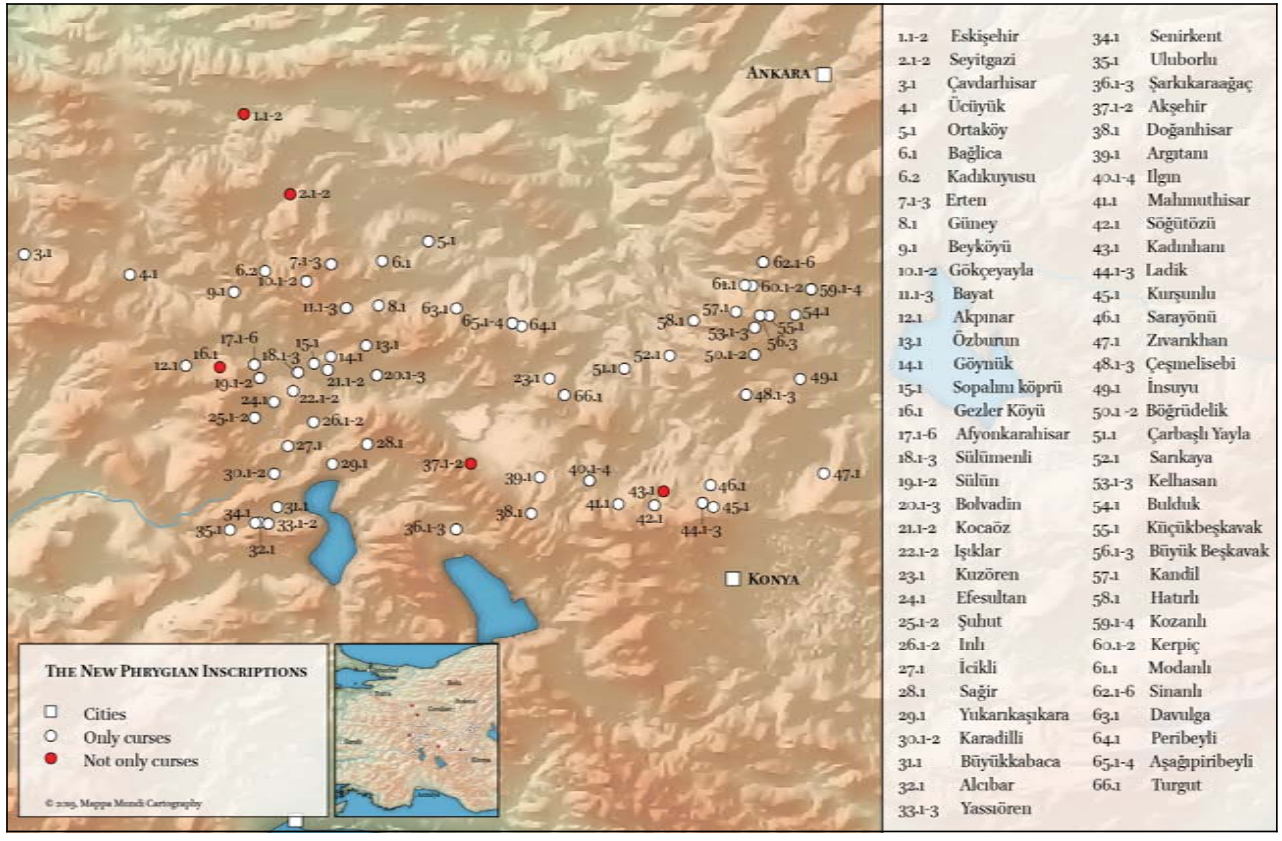
P-01-06
P-101
P-102-108
K-01, 101-105
HP-115
T-01-03
HP-116
HP-01



1.1-2	Eskişehir	34.1	Senirkent
2.1-2	Seyitgazi	35.1	Uluborlu
3.1	Çavdarhisar	36.1-3	Şarkikaraağaç
4.1	Üçüyük	37.1-2	Akşehir
5.1	Ortaköy	38.1	Doğanhisar
6.1	Bağlica	39.1	Argıtanı
6.2	Kadıkuyusu	40.1-4	Ilgın
7.1-3	Erten	41.1	Mahmuthisar
8.1	Güney	42.1	Söğütözü
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10.1-2	Gökçeyayla	44.1-3	Ladik
11.1-3	Bayat	45.1	Kuşunlu
12.1	Akpınar	46.1	Sarayönü
13.1	Özburun	47.1	Zıvarıkhan
14.1	Göynük	48.1-3	Çeşmelisebi
15.1	Sopalını köprü	49.1	İnsuyu
16.1	Gezler Köyü	50.1 -2	Böğrüdelik
17.1-6	Afyonkarahisar	51.1	Çarbaşlı Yayla
18.1-3	Sülümenli	52.1	Sarıkaya
19.1-2	Sülün	53.1-3	Kelhasan
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22.1-2	Işıklar	56.1-3	Büyük Beşkavak
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25.1-2	Şuhut	59.1-4	Kozanlı
26.1-2	Inlı	60.1-2	Kerpiç
27.1	İcikli	61.1	Modanlı
28.1	Sağir	62.1-6	Sinanlı
29.1	Yukarıkaşıkara	63.1	Davulga
30.1-2	Karadilli	64.1	Peribeyli
31.1	Büyükkabaca	65.1-4	Aşağıpiribeyli
32.1	Alcıbar	66.1	Turgut
33.1-3	Yassıören		

MAP 3 The New Phrygian Inscriptions

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68	41.1

Anderson 1899

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127	59.2
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passim 130	2.2

Bakır and Gusmani 1991

passim	B-06

Bakır and Gusmani 1993

1	B-101
2	B-102
3	B-103
5	B-104
6	B-105
7	B-106
8	B-107

Bayun and Orel 1988c

passim	B-04

Berndt 2002

1	M-01a, M-01b
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33	M-05
37	W-01a, W-01b, W-01c
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Bittle and Güterbock 1935

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Bilgen, Brixhe and Coşkun 2011

1	W-101
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Boehmer 1977

Abb. 6	HP-116

Boehmer and Güterbock 1987

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Passim	HP-01

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Brixhe 1968

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Brixhe 1978a

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113	10.2
114	29.1

Brixhe 1981

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MM 69	G-107
MM 119	G-108
MM 362	G-109

Brixhe 1982

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Brixhe 1989–1990

passim	HP-102

Brixhe 1996

pp. 137–138 § 3.1.1.	B-101
pp. 138–139 § 3.1.2.	B-102
pp. 139–140 § 3.1.3.	B-103
pp. 140–141 § 3.1.4.	B-104
pp. 141–142 § 3.1.5.	B-105
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Brixhe 1999

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Brixhe 2004a

W-12	MPhr-01

Brixhe and Drew-Bear 1982

I	W-08
II	W-09
II	W-10

Brixhe and Drew-Bear 1987

passim	29.1

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I	29.1
II	17.6
III	15.1
IV	12.1
V	18.2
VI	19.6
VII	65.4
VIII	31.1

Brixhe and Drew-Bear 2010

passim	19.2

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passim	HP-115

Brixhe and Neumann 1985

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Brixhe and Sıvas 2002

passim	W-11

Brixhe and Sıvas 2003

1	W-102
2	W-103
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4-a	M-101
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Brixhe and Summers 2006

passim	K-01
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Brixhe and Waelkens 1981

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IV	18.1
IV (*bis*)	17.1
V	18.2
VI	18.3
VII	17.3
VIII	26.1
IX	22.1
X	37.1
XI	39.1
XII	40.1
XIII	40.2
XIV	7.3
XV	2.1
XVIII	11.2
XIX	5.1
XX	65.1
XXI	65.3
XXV	35.1
XXVI	36.1
XXVII	36.2
XXVIII	33.1

XXIX	31.1
XXX	37.2
XXXI	40.3
XXXII	62.1
XXXIII	62.2
XXXIV	62.3
XXXV	62.4
XXXVI	62.5
XXXVII	34.1
XXXVIII	26.2
XXXIX	30.1
XL	24.1
XLII	21.1
XLIV	38.1
XLV	41.1
XLVI	59.1
XLVII	59.2
XLVIII	1.1
XLIX	App. 8
L	App. 9
LI	47.1
LII	App. 10
LIII	46.1
LIV	50.1
LV	50.2
LVI	55.1
LVII	56.1
LVII[1]	56.2
LIX	60.1
LX	60.2
LXI	44.1
LXII	20.3
LXIII	20.1
LXIV	56.3
LXV	45.1
LXVI	App. 11
LXVII	44.3

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LXIX	43.1
LXX	44.2
LXXI	28.1
LXXII	58.1
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Calder 1922

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Calder 1926

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LXXIII	14.1
LXXIV	11.3
LXXV	52.1
LXXVI	53.1
LXXVII	53.2
LXXVIII	57.1
LXXIX	59.3
LXXX	51.1
LXXXI	48.1
LXXXII	64.1
LXXXIII	App. 11

***CIG* III**

3822e	5.1
3880e	17.1
3882c	17.3
3883c	18.2
3974	35.1
3986	40.1

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Çınaroğlu and Varinlioğlu 1985

passim	T-03

Darga 1993

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de Saussure 1922

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A 1	M-01a
A 2	M-01b

Diakonoff and Neroznak 1985 (*cont.*)

A 3	M-02
A 4	M-01f
A 5	M-03
A 6	M-04
A 7 a	W-01a
A 7 b	W-01b
A 7 c	W-01c
A 8	M-05
A 9	W-04
A 10	P-02
A 11	W-03
A 12	W-05a
A 13	P-01
A 14	P-03
A 15	P-04
A 16	G-101
A 17	G-102
A 17 bis	G-103
A 18	M-09
A 19	T-02
A 20	P-102
A 21	T-01
A 22	Dd-103
A 23	HP-114
A 24	G-01
A 25	G-105
A 26	P-101
A 28	B-01
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A 43	G-02
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A 45	G-118
A 46	G-119
A 47	G-120
A 48	G-121
A 49	G-122
A 50	G-123
A 51	G-124
A 52	G-125
A 53	G-126
A 54	G-127
A 55	G-128
A 56	G-129
A 57	G-130
A 58	G-131
A 59	G-132
A 60	G-133
A 61	G-134
A 62	G-135
A 63	G-136
A 64	G-137
A 65	G-138
A 66	G-139
A 67	G-140
A 68	G-141
A 69	G-142
A 70	G-143
A 71	G-144
A 72	G-145
A 73	G-146
A 74	G-147
A 75	G-148
A 76	G-149
A 77	G-150
A 78	M-01c
A 79	M-01d
A 80	M-06
A 81	W-02
A 82	W-05b
A 83	W-06
A 84	W-07
A 85	P-103
A 86	P-104
A 87	P-105
A 88	P-106
A 89	P-107
A 90	Dd-101
A 92	W-08
A 93	W-09
A 94	W-10
B 2	4.1
B 6	18.3
B 7	44.2
B 10	37.1

B 11	39.1
B 14	7.3
B 21	65.3
B 26	36.1
B 28	33.1
B 33	62.2
B 35	62.4
B 42	21.1
B 51	47.1
B 53	46.1
B 56	55.1
B 61	44.1
B 62	20.3
B 64	56.3
B 67	44.3
B 71	28.1
B 73	14.1
B 72	59–1
B 75	18.2
B 75	52.1
B 86	8.1
B 87	9.1
B 88	6.1
B 91	8.4
B 92	27.1
B 96	19.1
B 99	7.1
B 100	61.1
B 106	59.4
B 111	29.1
C 9	22.1
C 15	2.1
C 48	1.1
C 49	App. 8
C 58	56.2
C 69	43.1

Dinç and Innocente 1999

passim	HP-101

Drew-Bear 1978

2	App. 2

Drew-Bear and Lochman 1996

p. 123	13.1

Drew-Bear, Lubotsky and Üyümez 2008

1	25.2
2	33.3
3	20.2

Edwards 1959

p. 265	G-116

Edwards 1963

25	G-129

Friedrich 1932

OPhr.

A 1	M-01a
A 2	M-01b
A 3	M-02
A 4	M-01f
A 5	M-03
A 6	M-04
A 7a	W-01a
A 7b	W-01b
A 7c	W-01c
A 8	M-05
A 9	W-04
A 10	P-02
A 11	W-03
A 12	W-05a
A 13	P-01
A 14	P-03
A 15	P-04
A 16	G-101
A 17	G-102
A 18	M-09
A 19	T-02
A 21	T-01

NPhr.

B 1	App. 1
B 2	4.1
B 3	17.2
B 4	18.1
B 4 *bis*	17.1
B 5	18.2
B 6	18.3
B 7	17.3
B 8	26.1
B 9	22.1
B 10	37.1
B 11	39.1
B 12	40.1
B 13	40.1
B 14	7.3
B 15	2.1

NPhr. (*cont.*)

B 17	11.1
B 18	11.2
B 19	5.1
B 20	65.1
B 21	65.3
B 25	35.1
B 26	36.1
B 27	36.2
B 28	33.1
B 29	31.1
B 30	37.2
B 31	40.3
B 32	62.1
B 33	62.2
B 34	62.3
B 35	62.4
B 36	62.5
B 37	34.1
B 38	26.2
B 39	30.1
B 40	24.1
B 42	21.1
B 43	21.2
B 44	38.1
B 45	41.1
B 46	59.1
B 47	59.2
B 48	1.1
B 49	App. 8
B 50	App. 9
B 51	47.1
B B. 52	App. 10
B 53	46.1
B 54	50.1
B 55	50.2
B 56	55.1
B 57	56.1
B 58	56.2
B 59	60.1
B 60	60.2
B 61	44.1
B 62	20.3
B 63	20.1
B 64	56.3
B 65	45.1
B 66	App. 11
B 67	44.3
B 68	30.2
B 69	43.1
B 71	28.1
B 72	58.1
B 73	14.1
B 74	11.3
B 75	52.1
B 76	53.1
B 77	53.2
B 78	57.1
B 79	59.3
B 80	51.1
B 81	48.1
B 82	64.1
B 83	App. 12
B 84	48.2
B 85	48.3
B 86	8.1
B 87	9.1
B 88	6.1
XI	B-04

Friedrich 1965

pp. 154–156	Dd-103
pp. 154–156	HP-114

"Funde" 1898

pp. 362–363	1.1

Garstang 1908

p. 10	T-02b

Gelb 1935

94	HP-116

Gosche 1864

1	M-01a
2	M-01b
3	M-01f
5	M-01c
6	M-03
7	M-02
8	M-04
9	W-01
11	17.3
12	35.1
13	40.1
14	5.1
15	18.2

Gusmani 1988

passim	HP-102

Gusmani 2001

pp. 164–166	B-07

Gusmani and Poetto 1981

passim	Dd-101

Gusmani and Polat 1999a

passim	B-07

Gusmani and Polat 1999b

passim	B-108

Haas 1951

OPhr.	
I	M-01a
IV	M-01f
VI	M-04
VIIa	W-01a
VIIb	W-01b
VIIc	W-01c
VIII	M-05
XIV	P-03
XV	P-04
XXVII	P-108
NPhr.	
2	4.1
6	18.3
18	11.2
30	37.2
31	40.3
48	1.1
69	43.1

Haas 1966

OPhr.	
I	M-01a
II	M-01b
III	M-02
IV	M-01f
V	M-03
VI	M-04
VII a	W-01a
VII b	W-01b
VII c	W-01c
VIII	M-05
IX	W-04
X	P-02
XI	W-03
XII	W-05a
XIII	P-01
XIV	P-03
XV	P-04
XVI	G-101
XVII	G-102
XVIII	M-09
XIX	T-02
XX	P-102
XXI	T-01
XXIV	G-01
XXV	G-105
XXVI	P-101
pp. 176–177 no. c	Dd-103
p. 176 no. b	HP-114
NPhr.	
1	App. 1
2	4.1
3	17.2
4	18.1
4bis	17.1
5	18.2
7	17.3
8	26.1
9	22.1
10	37.1
11	39.1
12	40.1
13	40.2
15	2.1
16	App. 2
17	11.1, 11.3
18	11.2
19	5.1
20	65.1
21	65.3
22	App. 3
25	35.1
26	36.1
27	36.2
28	33.1
29	31.1
30	37.1
31	40.3
32	62.1
33	62.2
34	62.3

NPhr. (*cont.*)

35	62.4
36	62.5
37	34.1
38	26.2
39	30.1
40	24.1
42	21.1
43	21.2
44	38.1
45	41.1
46 = 107	59.1
47	59.2
48	1.1
59	App. 8
50	App. 9
51	47.1
52	App. 10
53	46.1
54	50.1
55	50.2
56	55.1
57	56.1
58	56.2
59	60.1
60	60.2
61	44.1
62	20.3
63	20.1
64	56.3
65	45.1
66	App. 11
67	44.3
68	30.2
69	43.1
71	28.1
72	58.1
73	14.1
74	11.3, 11.1
75	52.1
76	53.1
77	53.2
78	57.1
79	59.3
80	51.1
81	48.1
82	64.1
83	App. 12
84	48.2
85	48.3
86	8.1
87	9.1
88	6.1
89	23.1
90	17.2
91	17.5
92	27.1
93	32.1
94	36.3
95	33.2
96	19.1
97	3.1
98	1.2
99	7.1
100	61.1
101	42.1
102	40.4
103	66.1
104	65.2
105	62.6
106	59.4
107	59.1
108	54.1
109	53.3
110	49.1

Haas 1969

OPhr.

XXVIII	B-01
XXIX	G-02
XXX	G-125
XXXI	G-04
pp. 82–83	G-136

NPhr.

18	11.2

Haas 1970a

OPhr.

I	M-01a
XV	P-04

NPhr.

5	18.2
12	40.1
30	37.2
32	62.1
39	30.1
48	1.1
57	50.1

61	44.1
69	43.1
71	28.1
86	8.1
88	6.1
99	7.1
100	61.1
103	66.1
106	59.4

Haas 1970b

OPhr.

I	M-01a
IV	M-01f
VI	M-04
VIIb	W-01b
VIII	M-05
XIV	P-03
XV	P-04

NPhr.

2	4.1
6	18.3
18	11.2
30	37.2
31	40.3
48	1.1
69	43.1

Hamilton 1842

I, p. 383	P-01
II Appendix V, no. 165	17.3
II Appendix V, no. 383	40.1
II Appendix V, no. 449	35.1
II Appendix V, no. 376	18.1

Haspels 1971

1	M-01a
2	M-01b
3	M-01f
4	M-01c
5	M-01d
6	M-06
7	M-04
8	M-02
9	M-03
10	M-05
11a	W-01a, W-01b
11b	W-01c
12	W-02
13	W-04
14	W-05a
15	W-05b
16	W-06
17	W-07
18	M-09
19	M-07
20	W-03
45	7.2
56	10.1
57	10.2

Heberdey and Wilhelm 1896

43	37.2

Hogarth 1890

1	21.2
2	21.1
3	44.3

Kerkenes News

4 (2001) pp. 11–12	K-102

Kowal 1984a

15	2.1

Kowal 1984b

31	40.3

Körte 1898

p. 19 no. 1	P-01
p. 19	P-02
p. 64	M-01a
p. 85	M-01b
p. 93	W-03
pp. 108–109	W-05a
p. 117	W-01a
p. 117	W-01b
p. 118	W-01c
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Körte and Körte 1904

1	G-347
2	G-101
3	G-102

Körte and Körte 1904 (*cont.*)

4	G-103

Koşay 1937

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Koşay 1939

pp. 9 and 20	P-101

Koşay 1941

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Kretschmer 1896

p. 218	W-05

Kretschmer 1899

pp. 352–353	M-02
p. 354	M-03
pp. 355–357	P-03
p. 357	M-05

Kretschmer 1901

pp. 115–116	M-01f

Laminger-Pascher 1984

62	App. 8

Laminger-Pascher 1989

pp. 51–53	43.1

Lazović, Dürr, Durand, Houriet and Schweizer 1997

2	Dd-102

Legrand and Chamonard 1893

94	24.1

Lejeune 1969a

XVI	G-101
XVI bis 1	G-103
XVII	G-102
XXXV	G-105
22	G-129
23	G-104
22 y 33	G-136
33 and 42	T-02

Lejeune 1969b

p. 289	G-01
16	G-101
17	G-102
17 biss	G-103
25	G-105
29	G-104
30	G-108
31	G-109
32	G-106
33	G-107
34	G-110
35	G-111
36	G-114
37	G-112
38	G-113
39	G-03
40	G-115
41	G-116
42	G-117
43	G-02
44	G-04
45	G-118
46	G-119
47	G-120
48	G-121
49	G-122
50	G-123
51	G-124
52	G-125
53	G-126
54	G-127
55	G-128
56	G-129
57	G-130
58	G-131
59	G-132
60	G-133
61	G-134
62	G-135
63	G-136
64	G-137
65	G-138
66	G-139
67	G-140
68	G-141
69	G-142
70	G-143
71	G-144
72	G-145
73	G-146

74	G-147
75	G-148
76	G-149
77	G-150

Lejeune 1970

16	G-101
17	G-102
17 bis	G-103
24	G-01
25	G-105
29	G-104
30	G-108
31	G-109
32	G-106
33	G-107
34	G-110
35	G-111
36	G-114
37	G-112
38	G-113
39	G-03
40	G-115
41	G-116
42	G-117
43	G-02
44	G-04
45	G-118
46	G-119
47	G-120
48	G-121
49	G-122
50	G-123
51	G-124
52	G-125
53	G-126
54	G-127
55	G-128
56	G-129
57	G-130
58	G-131
59	G-132
60	G-133
61	G-134
62	G-135
63	G-136
64	G-137
65	G-138
66	G-139
67	G-140
68	G-141
69	G-142
70	G-143
71	G-144
72	G-145
73	G-146
74	G-147
75	G-148
76	G-149
77	G-150

Liebhart and Brixhe 2009

passim	G-346

Lubotsky 1989b

no. 88	6.1

Lubotsky 1993

p. 128	16.1

Lubotsky 1997

48	1.1

Lubotsky 1998

pg. 418, no. 3	17.2

Lubotsky fthc.

131	6.2

Macpherson 1954

pgs. 13–15	1.2

MAMA

	common here	
I, no. 11	52	App. 10
I, no. 32	53	46.1
I, no. 33	69	43.1
I, no. 340	84	48.2
I, no. 341	85	48.3
I, no. 384	62	20.3
I, no. 385	63	20.1
I, no. 405	86	8.1
I, no. 406	87	9.1
I, no. 413	88	6.1
IV, no. 16	90	17.4
IV, no. 17	91	17.5
IV, no. 18	9	22.1
IV, no. 76	40	24.1

MAMA (*cont.*)

IV, no. 108	102	40.4
IV, no. 116	92	27.1
IV, no. 239	93	32.1
IV, no. 240	29	31.1
IV, no. 242	37	34.1
IV, no. 243	95	33.2
V, Lists I 182.89	48	1.1
V, no. R 7	16	App. 2
VI, no. 382	96	19.1
VII, p. xxviii, (a)	97	3.1
VII, p. xxviii, (c)	99	7.1
VII, pp. xxviii–xxix, (d)	100	61.1
VII, no. 10	101	42.1
VII, no. 79	79	59.3
VII, no. 136	45	41.1
VII, no. 137	44	38.1
VII, no. 195	30	37.2
VII, no. 214	103	66.1
VII, no. 215	65	45.1
VII, no. 258	82	64.1
VII, no. 259	20	65.1
VII, no. 259a	104	65.2
VII, no. 276	24b	App. 6
VII, no. 312	32	62.1
VII, no. 313	33	62.2
VII, no. 314	34	62.3
VII, no. 315	35	62.4
VII, no. 316	36	62.5
VII, no. 317	80	51.1
VII, no. 318	105	62.6
VII, no. 364	75	52.1
VII, no. 370	60	60.2
VII, no. 436	106	59.4
VII, no. 437	107	59.1
VII, no. 492	56	55.1
VII, no. 495	76	53.1
VII, no. 496	109	53.3
VII, no. 522	110	49.1
VII, no. 545	108	54.1
VIII, no. 347	94	36.3

Masson 1954

25	P-101
27	G-02
p. 441	T-01

Masson 1987a

passim	Dd-103

Meister 1909

pp. 317–318	17.2

Meister 1911

pp. 22–25	W-01

Mellink 1960

p. 64	HP-116

Mellink 1979

pp. 249–280	T-02

Merkelback and Stauber 1998

16 / 43 / 04	82	64.1

Mitchell 1993

p. 186, fig. 33	118	22.2

Miltner 1937

col. 51–52, no. 55	3.1

Mordtmann 1861

p. 191	P-02

Mordtmann 1862

OPhr.

5	M-01a
6	M-01b
7	M-01d
8	M-01c
9	M-01f
10	M-03
11	M-02
12	M-04
13	W-01a
14	W-01b, W-01c

NPhr.

1	17.3
2	18.2
3	40.1
4	35.1

Myres 1908

addendum	T-01
pp. 13–16	T-02

Neroznak 1978

A 1	M-01a
A 2	M-01b
A 3	M-02
A 4	M-01f
A 5	M-03
A 6	M-04
A 7 a	W-01a
A 7 b	W-01b
A 7 c	W-01c
A 8	M-05
A 9	W-04
A 10	P-02
A 11	W-03
A 12	W-05a
A 13	P-01
A 14	P-03
A 15 a	P-04a
A 15 b	P-04b
A 15 c	P-04c
A 16	G-101
A 17	G-102
A 17 bis	G-103
A 18	M-09
A 19 a	T-02b
A 19 b	T-02c
A 19 c	T-02a
A 20	P-102
A 21	T-01
A 22	Dd-103
A 23	HP-114
A 24	G-01
A 25	G-105
A 26	P-101
A 28	B-01
A 29	G-104
A 30	G-108
A 31	G-109
A 32	G-106
A 33	G-107
A 34	G-110
A 35	G-111
A 36	G-114
A 37	G-112
A 38	G-113
A 39	G-03
A 40	G-115
A 41	G-116
A 42	G-117
A 43	G-02
A 44	G-04
A 45	G-118
A 46	G-119
A 47	G-120
A 48	G-121
A 49	G-122
A 50	G-123
A 51	G-124
A 52	G-125
A 53	G-126
A 54	G-127
A 55	G-128
A 56	G-129
A 57	G-130
A 58	G-131
A 59	G-132
A 60	G-133
A 61	G-134
A 62	G-135
A 63	G-136
A 64	G-137
A 65	G-138
A 66	G-139
A 67	G-140
A 68	G-141
A 69	G-142
A 70	G-143
A 71	G-144
A 72	G-145
A 73	G-146
A 74	G-147
A 75	G-148
A 76	G-149
A 77	G-150
A 78	M-01c
A 79	M-01d
A 80	M-06
A 81	W-02
A 82	W-05b
A 83	W-06
A 84	W-07
A 85	P-103
A 86	P-104
A 87	P-105
A 88	P-106
A 89	P-107

Neumann 1975

1	P-103
2	P-104
4	P-105
5	P-106
6	P-107

Neumann 1997

passim	B-05

Orel 1995

pp. 128–132	HP-114

Orel 1996

passim	HP-102

Orel 1997

OPhr.

W-11	B-04
W-101	HP-102
B-04	B-06
B-101	B-102
B-102	B-103
B-103	B-104
B-104	B-105
B-105	B-106
B-106	B-107
L-101	HP-103
L-102	HP-104
L-103	HP-105
L-104	HP-106
L-105	HP-107
L-106	HP-108
L-107	HP-109
L-108	HP-110
L-109	HP-111
L-110	HP-112
L-111	HP-113
Dd-104	HP-114

NPhr. common here

C*-02 (20)	20	65.1
C*-03	21	65.3
C*-04	32	62.1
C*-05	33	62.2
C*-06	34	62.3
C*-07	35	62.4
C*-08	36	62.5
C*-09	46, 107	59.1
C*-10	47	59.2
C*-11	54	50.1
C*-12	55	50.2
C*-13	56	55.1
C*-14	57	56.1
C*-15	58	56.2
C*-16	59	60.1
C*-17	60	60.2
C*-18	64	56.3
C*-19	72	58.1
C*-20	75	52.1
C*-21	76	53.1
C*-22	77	53.2
C*-23	78	57.1
C*-24	79	59.3
C*-25	80	51.1
C*-26	81	48.1
C*-27	82	64.1
C*-28	84	48.2
C*-29	85	48.3
C*-30	100	61.1
C*-31	103	66.1
C*-32	104	65.2
C*-33	105	62.6
C*-34	106	59.4
C*-35	108	54.1
C*-36	109	53.3
C*-37	110	49.1
Dd*-01	98	1.2
S*-01	10	37.1
S*-02	11	39.1
S*-03	12	40.1
S*-04	13	40.2
S*-05	14	7.3
S*-06	26	36.1
S*-07	27	36.2
S*-08	30	37.2
S*-09	31	40.3
S*-10	41, 67	44.3
S*-11	44	38.1
S*-12	45	41.1
S*-13	51	47.1
S*-14	53	46.1
S*-15	61	44.1
S*-16	65	45.1
S*-17	69	43.1
S*-18	70	44.2
S*-19	94	36.3
S*-20	101	42.1
S*-21	102	40.4

W*-12	2	4.1
W*-13	3	17.2
W*-14	4	18.1
W*-15	4bis	17.1
W*-16	5	18.2
W*-17	6	18.3
W*-18	7	17.3
W*-19	8	26.1
W*-20	9	22.1
W*-21	15	2.1
W*-22	17, 74	11.1 and 11.3
W*-23	18	11.2
W*-24	19	5.1
W*-25	25	35.1
W*-26	28	33.1
W*-27	29	31.1
W*-29	38	26.2
W*-30	39	30.1
W*-31	40	24.1
W*-32	42	21.1
W*-33	43	21.2
W*-34	48	1.1
W*-35	62	20.3
W*-36	63	20.1
W*-37	68	30.2
W*-38	71	28.1
W*-39	73	14.1
W*-40	86	8.1
W*-41	87	9.1
W*-42	88	6.1
W*-43	89	23.1
W*-44	90	17.4
W*-45	91	17.5
W*-46	92	27.1
W*-47	93	32.1
W*-48	95	33.2
W*-49	96	19.1
W*-50	97	3.1
W*-51	99	7.1
W*-52	111	7.2
W*-53	112	10.1
W*-54	113	10.2
W*-55	114	29.1
W*-56	115	25.1
W*-57	116	16.1

Özgen and Öztürk 1996

60	HP-102

Pauli 1894

1	M-01a
2	M-01b
3	M-01f
4	M-03
5	M-02
6	M-04
7	W-01a
8	W-01b
9	W-01c
10	M-05
11	W-04

Perrot and Chipiez 1890

pp. 88–89	M-01 a

Pococke 1752

caput I, sectio III pag. 9, no. 3	5.1

Pridik 1900

29	T-01

Radet and Ouvré 1896

no. 7	52.1

Ramsay 1882

p. 143	18.1

Ramsay 1883

1	M-01 a
2	M-01b
3	M-01f
4	M-03
5	M-02
6	M-04
7	W-04b
8	W-01a
9	W-01c
10	M-05
11	W-04
13	P-01

Ramsay 1887

I	App. 1
II	4.1
III	17.2
IV	18.1
V	18.2

Ramsay 1887 (*cont.*)

VI	18.3
VII	17.3
VIII	26.1
IX	22.1
X	37.1
XI	39.1
XII	40.1
XIII	40.2
XIV	7.3
XV	2.1
XVI	App. 2
XVII	11.1
XVIII	11.2
XIX	5.1
XX	65.1
XXI	65.3
XXII	App. 3
XXIII	App. 4
XXIV	App. 5
XXIV	App. 6
XXIV	App. 7
XXV	35.1
XXVI	36.1
XXVII	36.2
XXVIII	33.1
XXIX	31.1
XXX	37.2

Ramsay 1888

pp. 371–372	W-04
pp. 380–381	W-01a

Ramsay 1889a

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Ramsay 1889b

309	W-01a
310	M-04
310	W-01c
311	W-01b

Ramsay 1905

II	4.1
III	17.2
IV	18.1
IV bis	17.1
V	18.2
VI	18.3
IX	22.1
X	37.1
XI	39.1
XII	40.1
XIII	40.2
XIV	7.3
XV	2.1
XVII	17.3
XVIII	11.2
XIX	5.1
XX	65.1
XXI	65.3
XXV	35.1
XXVI	36.1
XXVII	36.2
XXVIII	33.1
XXIX	31.1
XXX	37.2
XXXI	40.3
XXXII	62.1
XXXIII	62.2
XXXIV	62.3
XXXV	62.4
XXXVI	62.5
XXXVII	34.1
XXXVIII	26.2
XXXIX	30.1
XL	24.1
XLI	44.3
XLII	21.1
XLIII	21.2
XLIV	38.1
XLV	41.1
XLVI	59.1
XLVII	59.2
XLVIII	1.1

RECAM

II, no. 366	61.1
II, no. 369	60.1
II, no. 370	60.2
IV, no. 96	6.1

Roller 1987a

2A-29	G-337
2A-44	G-273
2A-51	G-338
2A-66	G-278
2A-67	G-277

2A-73	G-336
2A-102	G-335
2A-111	G-339
2A-130	G-208
2A-206	G-203
2B-4	G-257
2B-9	G-248
2B-13	G-254
2B-19	G-338
2B-22	G-337
2B-23	G-282
2B-25	G-278
2B-27	g-336
2B-35	G-215
2B-44	G-339
2B-51	G-235
2B-52	G-243
2B-54	G-260
2B-55	G-275
2B-56	G-266
2B-123	G-162
2B-152	G-225
2B-167	G-241
2B-172	G-263
2B-193	G-158
2C-3	G-228
3B-5	G-116
3B-7	G-117
3B-30	G-150

Ruge 1948

7	T-01
8	T-02

Sams 2009

pp. 141–143	G-346

Sayce 1885

p. 910	P-01

Sayce 1926

1	M-01a
2	M-01b
3	M-01f
4	M-03
5	M-02
6	M-04
7	W-01b
8	W-01a
9	W-01c
10	M-05
11	W-04
13	P-02
p. 34	W-05a
p. 34	P-01
p. 34	P-04
pp. 34–35	T-02b

Schmidt 1869

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pp. 136–137	M-02
p. 137	M-01b

Schmidt and Krogman 1933

p. 133, 109–110	HP-115

Schwyzer 1923

App. IV, 8, 1	M-01a
App. IV, 8, 2	M-01b
App. IV, 8, 3 a	W-01a
App. IV, 8, 3 b	W-01b
App. IV, 8, 3 c	W-01c

SEG

1.454	64.1
6.96	6.1
6.291	App. 12
6.434	App. 8
14.783	1.2
29.1174	App. 2
30.1126	25.1
30.1488	64.1
36.1191	43.1
39.1416	43.1
47.1725	63.1
52.1458.96	6.1

Solmsen 1897a

pp. 60–62	M-01b

Sterrett 1885

6	36.1
7	36.2

Sterret 1888a

174	38.1
175	36.1

Sterrett 1888b

571	33.1
590	31.1

Strubbe 1997

177	App. 1
257	18.2
274	66.1

TITUS

OPhr.

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Dask-1–4	B-06
Bay-1	HP-103
Bay-2	HP-104
Bay-3	HP-105
Bay-4	HP-106
Bay-5	HP-107
Bay-6	HP-108
Bay-8	HP-110
Bay-9	HP-111
Bay-10	HP-112

NPhr.

2	4.1
3	17.2
4	18.1
4bis	17.1
5	18.2
6	18.3
7	17.3
9	22.1
10	37.1
11	39.1
12	40.1
13	40.2
14	7.3
15	2.1
17	11.1, 11.3
18	11.2
19	5.1
20	65.1
21	65.3
25	35.1
26	36.1
27	36.2
28	33.1
29	31.1
30	37.2
31	40.3
32	62.1
33	62.2
34	62.3
35	62.4
36	62.5
37	34.1
38	26.2
39	30.1
40	24.1
42	21.1
43	21.2
44	38.1
45	41.1
47	59.2
48	1.1
51	47.1
53	46.1
54	50.1
55	50.2
56	55.1
57	56.1
58	56.2
59	60.1
60	60.2
61	44.1
62	20.3
63	20.1
64	56.3
65	45.1
67	44.3
68	30.2
69	43.1
70	44.2
71	28.1
72	58.1
73	14.1
75	52.1
76	53.1
77	53.2
78	57.1
79	59.3
80	51.1
81	48.1
82	64.1
84	48.2
85	48.3
86	8.1
87	9.1
88	6.1

89	23.1
90	17.4
91	17.5
92	27.1
93	32.1
94	36.3
95	33.2
97	3.1
98	1.1
99	7.1
100	61.1
101	42.1
102	40.4
103	66.1
104	65.2
105	62.6
106	59.4
107	59.1
108	54.1
109	53.3
110	49.1
111	7.2
112	10.1
113	10.2
114	29.1
115	25.1
116	16.1

Torp 1896

10	W-01

Tuğrul-Firatli 1966

pp. 230–235 and 236–241	B-01

Varinlioğlu 1992

1	HP-103
2	HP-104
3	HP-105
4	HP-106
5	HP-107
6	HP-108
7	HP-109
8	HP-110
9	HP-111
10	HP-112
11	HP-113

von Reber 1898

p. 564	W-05a
p. 566	M-01a
p. 566	M-01b
p. 571	W-01b
pp. 571–572	W-01a
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pp. 584–585	M-04

Waelkens 1986

226	3.1
292	10.1
293	10.2
319	7.2
469	17.5
470	25.1
484	17.4
490	17.2
493	19.1
499	26.2
505	14.1
506	21.2
507	21.1
509	20.1
544	11.1 and 11.3
554	65.1
556	246
573	45.1
595	51.1
602	62.2
603	62.3
604	62.4
605	62.1
610	62.5
620	60.2
629	56.1
630	56.2
638	53.1
650	57.1
664	43.1
678	37.2

Weber 1908

77	T-02b

Wilhelm 1980

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Young 1951

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Young 1953

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Young 1955

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Young 1958

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Young 1963

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Young 1964

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Young 1966

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Young 1968

pp. 235–236	G-04

Young 1969

24	G-01
25	G-105
29	G-104
30	G-108
31	G-109
32	G-106
33	G-107
34	G-110
35	G-111
36	G-114
37	G-112
38	G-113
39	G-03
40	G-115
41	G-116
42	G-117
43	G-02
44	G-04
45	G-118
46	G-119
47	G-120
48	G-121
49	G-122
50	G-123
51	G-124
52	G-125
53	G-126
54	G-127
55	G-128
56	G-129
57	G-130
58	G-131
59	G-132
60	G-133
61	G-134
62	G-135
63	G-136
64	G-137
65	G-138
66	G-139
67	G-140
68	G-141
69	G-142
70	G-143
71	G-144
72	G-145
73	G-146
74	G-147
75	G-148
76	G-149
77	G-150

Young 1981

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Bibliography

Abbreviations in the Bibliography

AnnÉp	*L'Année épigraphique*.
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*.
CAL	*Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon*, available at: http://cal.huc.edu/.
CIG	*Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum*.
CIL	*Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*.
CIPPhr	Brixhe, C., and Lejeune, M. 1984. *Corpus des inscriptions paléo-phrygiennes. I Texte, II Planches*. Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations.
CLL	Melchert, H.C. 1993. *Cuneiform Luvian Lexicon*. Chapel Hill.
CTH	Laroche, E. 1971. *Catalogue des textes hittites*. Paris: Klincksieck.
DELG	Chantraine, P. 1968–1980. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque: histoire des mots*, Paris Klincksieck.
EDG	Beekes, R.S.P. 2010. *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*. Leiden: Brill.
eDiAna	Hackstein, O., Miller, J.L. and Rieken, E. (eds.). *Digital Philological-Etymological Dictionary of the Minor Ancient Anatolian Corpus Languages*. Available at: http://www.ediana.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/.
IDR III,5	Piso, I. 2001. *Inscriptions d'Apulum* (*Inscriptions de la Dacie Romaine—III 5*). Paris: Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres.
HALOT	Koehler, L., and Baumgartner, W. 1994. *The Hebrew and Aramaic lexicon of the Old Testament*. Leiden: Brill.
IEW	Pokorny, J. 1959. *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Bern: Francke.
IGBulg III	Mihailov, G. 1961. *Inscriptiones graecae in Bulgaria repertae III, 1. Inscriptiones inter Haemum et Rhodopem repertae. Fasciculus prior: Territorium Philippopolis*. Sofia: Academia Litterarum Bulgarica.
IGBulg IV	Mihailov, G. 1966. *Inscriptiones graecae in Bulgaria repertae Vol. 4. Inscriptiones in territorio Serdicensi et in vallibus Strymonis Nestique repertae*. Sofia: Academia Litterarum Bulgarica.
IGBulg V	Mihailov, G. 1997. *Inscriptiones graecae in Bulgaria repertae V. Inscriptiones novae, addenda et corrigenda*. Sofia: Academia Litterarum Bulgarica.
IGR	Cagnat, R., Toutain, J. and Jouguet, P. 1901–1927. *Inscriptiones graecae ad res romanas pertinentes*. Paris: Ernest Leroux.
IK Iznik	Şahin, S. 1979–1982. *Katalog der antiken Inschriften des Museums von Iznik* (*Nikaia*). Bonn: R. Habelt.

IK Rhod Peraia Blümel, W. 1991. *Die Inschriften der Rhodischen Peraia*. Bonn: Habelt.

KILyk Laminger-Pascher, G. 1992. *Die kaiserzeitlichen Inschriften Lykaoniens, fasc. 1*. Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

KON Zgusta, L., 1984. *Kleinasiatische Orstnamen*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.

KPN Zgusta, L. 1964. *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*. Prag: Verlag der Tschechoslowakischen Akademie der Wissenchaften.

LIPP Dunkel, G.E. 2014. *Lexikon der indogermanischen Partikeln und Pronominalstämme*. Heidelberg: Winter.

LIV^2 Rix, H., 2001. *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben*. Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert.

LNH Laroche, E. 1966, *Les noms des hittites*, Paris: C. Klincksieck.

MAMA I Calder, W.M. 1928. *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua* I. *Eastern Phrygia*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

MAMA IV Buckler, W.H., Calder, W.M., and Guthrie, W.K.C. 1933. *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua IV. Monuments and Documents from Eastern Asia and Western Galatia*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

MAMA V Cox, C.W.M., and Cameron, A. 1937. *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua V. Monuments from Dorylaeum et Nacolea*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

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RECAM II Mitchell, S. 1982. *Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor, II: The Ankara District. The Inscriptions of North Galatia*. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.

RECAM IV McLean, B.H. 2002. *Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor, IV: Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Konya Archeological Museum*. London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara.

RPC Burnett, A., Amandry, M., and Ripollès, P.P. 1992. *Roman Provincial Coinage. Vol. I (1992): From the death of Caesar to the death of Vitellius (44 BC–AD 69)*. London, Paris: British Museum Press, Bibliothèque Nationale.

SB 3	Bilabel, F. (ed.). 1926–1927. *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten 3*. Strassburg: K.J. Trübner.
SEB	*Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*.
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*.
SERP	Ramsay, W.M. (ed.). 1906. *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press.
TAM V,1	Herrmann, P. 1981. *Tituli Asiae Minoris, v. Tituli Lydiae linguis Graeca et Latina conscripti Vol. 1, Regio septentrionalis, ad orientem vergens*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
TITUS	Lubotsky, A. 1994. "Corpus of Phrygian Inscriptions." In *Thesaurus Indogermanischer Text- und Sprachmaterialien*, available at: http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/phrygian/phryg.html.
TL	Kalinka, E. 1901. *Tituli Asiae Minoris 1, Tituli Lyciae, lingua Lycia conscripti*. Vienna: A. Hoelder
TLE	Pallottino, M., and Angeletti, M.P. 1978. *Thesaurus linguae Etruscae, I. Indice lessicale*. Roma: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche.

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